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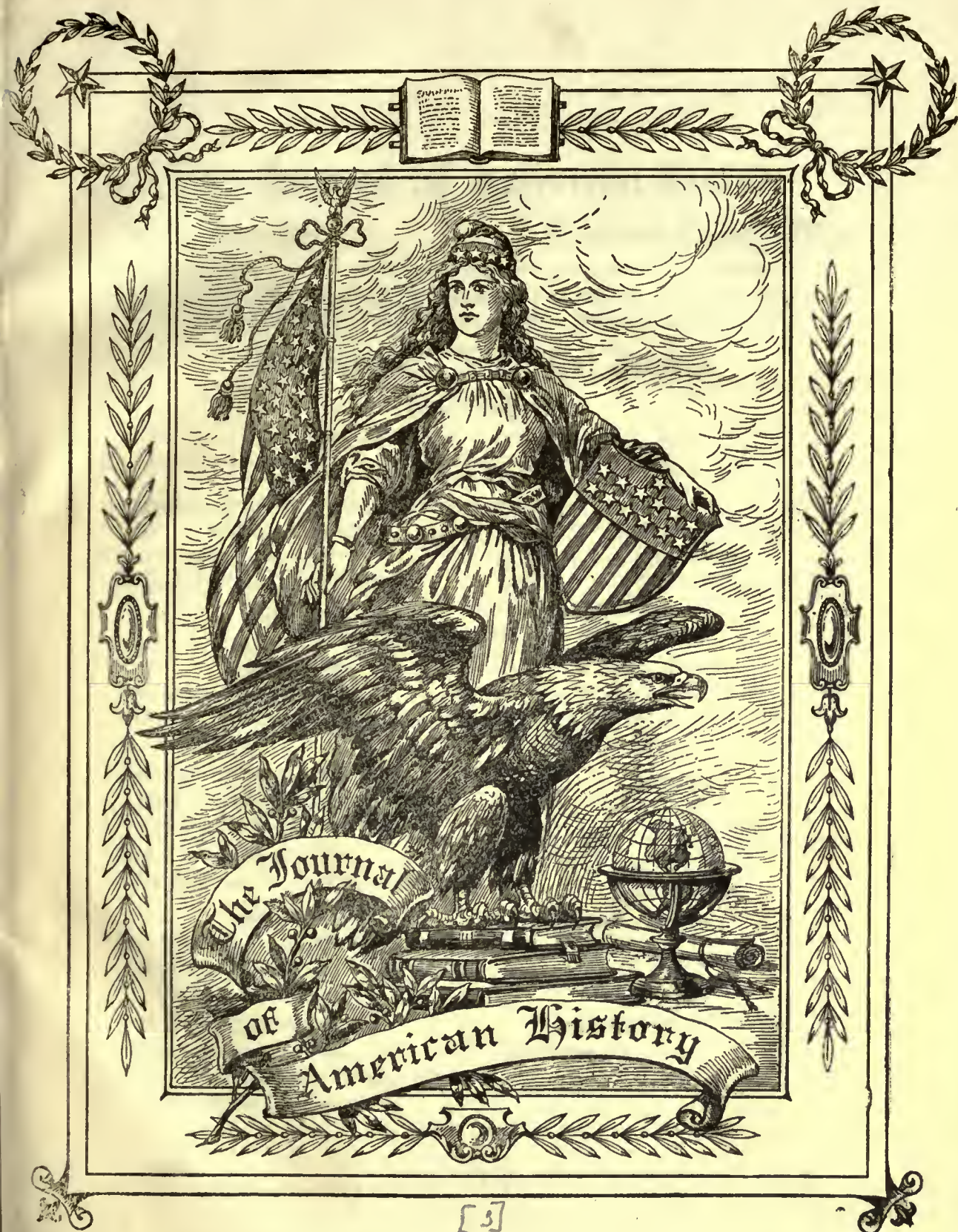
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Articles of Incorporation of The National Historical Society

Incorporated under the Laws of the District of Columbia at Washington, on the Twenty-Sixth Day of April, in the Year of Our Lord, Nineteen Hundred and Fifteen, "For the Purpose of Promoting Historical Knowledge and Patriotism, and the Peace of Righteousness among Nations"



THE NAME by which the Society is to be known is "The National Historical Society."

The Society is to continue in perpetuity.

The particular business and objects of the Society will be:

(a) To discover, procure, preserve, and perpetuate whatever relates to History, the History of the Western Hemisphere, the History of the United States of America and their possessions, and the History of families.

(b) To inculcate and bulwark patriotism, in no partisan, sectional, nor narrowly national sense, but in recognition of man's high obligation toward civic righteousness, believing that human governments are divinely ordained to bear the sword and exercise police duty for good against evil, and not for evil against good, and recognizing, as between peoples and peoples, that "God has made of one blood all nations of men."

(c) To provide a national and international patriotic clearing-house and historical exchange, promoting by suitable means helpful forms of communication and co-operation between all historical organizations, patriotic orders, and kindred societies, local, state, national, and international, that the usefulness of all may be increased and their benefits extended toward education and patriotism.

(d) To promote the work of preserving historic landmarks and marking historic sites.

(e) To encourage the use of historical themes and the expression of patriotism in the arts.

(f) In the furtherance of the objects and purposes of the Society, and not as a commercial business, to acquire The Journal of American History, and to publish the same as the official organ of the Society, and to publish or promote the publication of whatever else may seem advisable in furtherance of the objects of the Society.

(g) To authorize the organization of members of the Society, resident in given localities, into associated branch societies, or chapters of the parent Society, and to promote by all other suitable means the purpose, objects, and work of the Society.

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ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Centennial Bas-Relief by Victor D. Brenner, Sculptor, of New York. Adopted into the Coinage of the Nation.

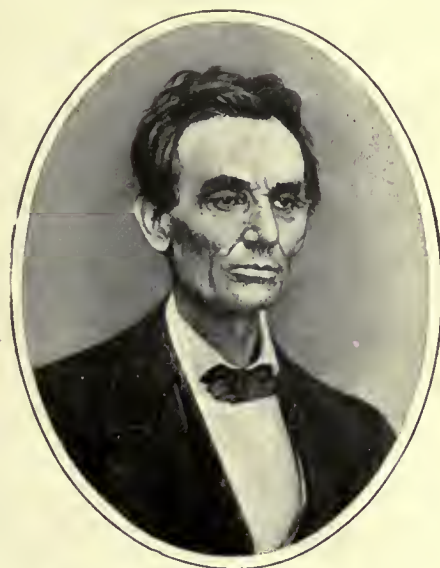


LINCOLN STATUE, UNION SQUARE PARK, NEW YORK CITY

"Lincoln is Commemorated in the Bronze Statue Which Stands as a Complement to the Equestrian Washington, in Union Square. This Fine Work of Henry K. Browne Was Paid for by Popular Subscription, and Was Erected in 1868. The Martyr President Stands in the Attitude of Addressing An Audience, and the Angularity and Ungracefulness of His Figure Are Expressed With Painful Exactitude. A Low Curb of Granite Surrounds the Pedestal, and on This Are Inscribed Lincoln's Famous Gettysburg Words, 'With Malice Towards None, With Charity For All!'"



BRONZE MEDAL IN COMMEMORATION OF THE LINCOLN CENTENARY
By Jules Edouard Roine, of Paris.



ABRAHAM LINCOLN
Portrait of Lincoln Taken in 1860 for Campaign Purposes.



STATUE OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

This Famous Augustus Saint-Gaudens Statue of Lincoln Is Erected at Chicago, Illinois.

The Journal of American History

VOLUME XV
NINETEEN TWENTY-ONE



NUMBER 1
FIRST QUARTER

The Native Grace of Abraham Lincoln

How President Lincoln, Endeared to the Hearts of Thousands by His
Great-Hearted Kindness, Won the Loyal Devotion of
Another American Heart

AN INTERESTING EXPERIENCE OF THE LATE COLONEL
BENJAMIN SILLIMAN CHURCH TOLD BY HIMSELF



HE Twelfth New York regiment, 1,100 strong, was among the first that reached Washington in 1861, on the breaking out of hostilities. The regimental organization included an engineer company commanded by Benjamin Silliman Church, and quarters were assigned in Franklin Square, where Captain Church was ordered to erect huts and board barracks in the form of a regulation military camp. It was christened Camp Anderson and proved a shelter to many other regiments during the war.

One bright morning in May, 1861, before the first advance over Long Bridge into Virginia, young Captain Church was in his hut absorbed in an attempt to fathom an abstract treatise on the art of war.

The shanty fronted the sidewalk on the corner of K and Fourteenth streets. A sentinel entered presenting a card—Mr. Abraham Lincoln—with the request that Captain Church speak with him. Hastily slipping on his accoutrements, he hurried out and found the President sitting alone in his carriage, an open landeau, with his sombre horses and colored coachman. With a kindly smile and outstretched hand the President greeted him. "Captain," he said, "two of your relatives who are on General Scott's staff, General Schuyler Hamilton and General Henry Van Renselaer, tell me you are one of the engineers on the New York Works, and that you probably know something about a particular kind of pump called the Worthington Pump. It has been doing service at the White House. But latterly it has refused to work. It has turned rebel. With no water for the plumbing, I fear sickness in the household. None of the plumbers in Washington seem to understand the mechanism. But since you are from New York, I am venturing to hope you may have the requisite knowledge and will be able to put us in the way of all needed information. Will you come and give us the benefit of your judgment?"

The Captain replied that he would follow him at once to the White House and do his utmost to relieve the situation. "No, no," said the President, "jump into the carriage and we will drive right over."

On the way he enquired earnestly concerning the regiment, and the New York State military organization, and said that he had seen many of the evening parades of the regiment and considered it as efficient in drill as the regulars.

The genial pleasantry of Mr. Lincoln speedily relieved all the natural embarrassment of the young officer, and before the end of the short drive he was wholly at ease and on a most friendly equality.

They drew up to the rear of the Executive Mansion, entered the basement and went to the pump room. The captain at a glance recognized it as one of an early and abandoned type of the Worthington Pump, known as the "Relief Reciprocating Pump."

Its mechanism was of the simplest form, but mysterious in action to those unacquainted with the principles on which it operated. The lugs on the valve-rod thrown by an arm on the piston-rod required nice

adjustment. Examination showed that the threads of the binding screws of the lugs were worn, allowing them to slip out of place. The Captain remarked that with two monkey wrenches and some thin strips of lead he could himself put it in working order. The tools were brought and Mr. Lincoln said, "Take off your coat, Captain," as he proceeded to remove his own; and, wrenches in hand, the President of the United States and the young officer fell to work tinkering with valve-rod screws. The steam was put on and off for frequent trials; until adjustment was finally secured. The President readily caught the idea and followed directions with absolute docility. "A little forward on your side, Mr. President. There—there—gently—not too much, now tighten a little more. So—so—I believe we've got it!" Finally the pump was making its strokes with regularity.

The President watched it with critical interest for a time. Becoming satisfied that it was really going, he grew exuberant, waving the monkey wrench over his head, just as a boy would rejoice who had made a good stroke at marbles. Putting his hands on the Captain's shoulders, he exclaimed: "Well, he have done what no two men in Washington could do; now we have earned a recess! Come with me and we will have a little luncheon all by ourselves!" The Captain urged that his reward was in being of some slight service to the President and that he must not consume more of his valuable time. "No! no!" was the reply—and a playful finger was held up in warning. "You must obey the Commander-in-Chief without question until relieved from duty. Come along!"

A pleasant luncheon was served in his private room, and gradually the kindly sympathetic talk on the part of Mr. Lincoln had elicited from the Captain every incident of his life, and, it seemed to him in recalling the interview, not only concerning himself, but his family and relatives. What appeared to impress Mr. Lincoln most was to discover that his young guest was the grandson of Professor Benjamin Silliman of Yale College. He knew all about the importance of the Professor's work—the first great influence in the country in popularizing science through interesting the masses by his constant lecture tours all over the United States. There was a pause. Lincoln looked at the young man and said slowly, "So you are the grandson of Professor Benjamin Silliman—Uncle Ben, they called him." "Yes," replied the Captain delightedly, they did." The tender thoughtful tone

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of Mr. Lincoln in uttering these few words forever won the loyal devotion of the young man, who adored his grandfather, with whom he had lived in New Haven since his tenth year to the beginning of his collegiate course.

The luncheon concluded, the Captain, feeling that he must not longer detain the President, turned to make his adieux and bow himself out, but without success. Mr. Lincoln said, "Remain a little longer"—and asked another question. Finally an orderly announced the carriage. The President took his hat and they went out together. On reaching the front entrance, the Captain, believing that the President was going on some special business elsewhere, again endeavored to take leave, but Mr. Lincoln said: "Stop! stop! Get into the carriage! I must take you back to your quarters. Not a word, not a word!" They drove back to Camp Anderson on Franklin Square, and with a warm shake of the hand and renewed thanks, he was gone.

NOTE BY MRS. BENJAMIN SILLIMAN CHURCH

Such delicate courtesy profoundly impressed the young soldier, and every detail of the incident remained fresh in his heart and memory through a long life. Although many times during intervening years requested to write the experience for publication, Colonel Church did so only shortly before he died. In recurring to the event he more than ever felt that it threw most interesting light on the quality of Lincoln's mind. The President of the United States and Commander-in-Chief of the army, with rare fineness of perception, apprehended that he was asking a personal favor of a military officer, and his judgment resulted in perfect breeding. He requested the service, shared in what was to be done, entertained him and personally escorted him back to his quarters. It would have occurred to few men elevated to similar position of power, at such time of overwhelming national responsibility. While due regard to subtle distinctions and sense of fitness must always constitute the high standards of human intercourse, with Lincoln there had been no educational influence as to social or military ethics. It was naught but the judgment of fine feeling and a large intelligence that always grasped with sense of proportion the entire bearing of a situation and therefore adjusted them in perfect harmony.

A Pioneer Trek from Ohio to Wisconsin

Sarah Foote's Journal of a Journey by Ox-Team from Wellington, Ohio to Winnebago County, Wisconsin, April and May, 1846



APRIL 14, 1846. Tuesday evening and 'tis to be the last night for us here in our old home in Ohio, for all of our things are packed and all but what we most need were sent on by water to Milwaukee. The rest of the things nearly fill a large wagon.

Father, mother, Mary, Sarah, Orlena, Alvin and Lucy are to ride in the family buggy.

Tonight we girls are to stay with our schoolmates, Elvira and Samantha Bradley. Their brother Charlie is going with us to Wisconsin Territory to drive one of the teams.

I have prepared this little book and am going to try and keep a journal, but I must go now for I expect to meet a few friends. I feel very sorry to part with them all, but I anticipate a great deal from our journey and think I shall enjoy a visit back again in three or four years very much.

April 15, 1846. Wednesday morning and pleasant. Many of our friends and neighbors gathered to see us off and after the usual exchanges of good wishes, goodbyes and sad farewells we were on our way at 10 o'clock. As we passed the old school house it was the saddest of all leave-takings though a silent one.——

But we were soon away from home scenes and with many new objects gaining our attention our minds turned from sad thoughts to new and pleasanter ones. We passed through the center of Brighton the first town west of our home, now a small village. It has a large white church. We next drove through Clarksfield Hollow, with its fine water privileges and a lively business place. Norwalk came next with its level straight streets, beautiful shade trees and a very pretty village. Here we saw a young buffalo that a man was showing. I suppose the animal came from somewhere in the great west. We had good roads and pleasant country the rest of the day. At night we stopped at the town of Richland at a private house where we provided our own beds and meals.

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Here we are the first night 24 miles from Wellington, in a room by ourselves with a stove. We think it is very nice for all of us.

Thursday, April 16th. This morning we got an early start. Father paid our host 75c for house and stable room.

We found good roads excepting three miles which were very sandy near Bellevue village.

We reached Hamer's Corners at noon and stopped to feed the horses and take lunch. Here we found that one of the wagon tires needed setting and as there was a blacksmith shop handy Father got it done, while there we sat waiting for two hours. The setting of the tire cost 75c. We finally got started but now found very bad roads; being rough with deep ruts. After going two or three miles Father noticed something wrong with our buggy and after examining it, he said we must all get out as the reach was broken. So we called to Alvin to bring the axe, and while we girls and Mother walked on, they fixed the buggy good and strong with some sticks they cut and a rope from the wagon. So this was not a serious break-down this time. We soon came to Lower Sandusky river which we crossed on a fine bridge.

Then we came to the macadamized road where we had to pay eighty-one cents toll.

After going a mile we came to a tavern for the night, having traveled 31 miles. Well, after all the hindrances of the day its simple history is scribbled down.

April 17. Our tavern bill was one dollar. Now we found a good road, a high turnpike paved with broken stone but we had to pay eighty-one cents toll.

We passed through Perrysburgh and Maumee City and crossed the river by bridge which cost sixty-six and one-half cents toll. We found bad roads the rest of the way. At night we stopped at a tavern called The Pennsylvania House, which was a tolerable place.

Saturday, April 18. We paid seventy-five cents for our fare and all of us felt rather down, for we had had poor water to drink for a day or two, so different from what we were used to. Soon after starting today we came to two roads, both leading to the same place, the right hand road leading through Cottonwood swamp and the left leading through a worse road so some had told us. Others declared the left hand road was better. Finally after a great deal of inquiry we took the right hand road.

A PIONEER TREK FROM OHIO TO WISCONSIN

We reached Michigan state line at noon, and stopped to rest and lunch. In three miles farther on we came to the great swamp and of all the roads this was the worst. The mud was deep and stiff except places where logs were laid across and this made it very rough.

We all walked most of the time, for it was so hard for the horses we had to stop and rest them very often.

It was only five miles but we were nearly all the afternoon getting through. They are commencing a turnpike through them and I hope it will be finished when we go back. After getting two miles out of the swamp we found better roads.

We put up for over Sunday at a new tavern and found it quite thickly settled about here. We traveled twenty miles today and feel tired and quite like resting. We find better water here and all are feeling better than in the morning.

Sunday Eve., April 19. We have enjoyed ourselves very well today. We found first rate folks and we are resting. Father has gone to meeting this evening.

Monday, April 20. We are all well this morning and in good spirits. Our tavern bill was ten shillings. We got started at 6 o'clock and found the roads very stony and rutty. A little past noon we passed Devils Lake. Great name that is!

One of our wagon wheels now was about given out. It had turned inside out already, yet we were in hopes to reach Chicago Turnpike before it gave up. But about 5 o'clock it smashed down flat and there we were in the road, and the only building in sight was an old school house. So here we concluded to stay over night while Father went on with the broken wheel and buggy to find a wagon maker. We found an old stone fire place in the school house and here we cooked our supper and ate it, using the high benches for tables and low benches for seats. Our horses had to stay out doors all night tied to trees. We have gone only twenty miles today.

Tuesday, April 21. We slept uncommonly well for we were in nobody's way. We had for breakfast, pork, potatoes, tea and sugar, and bread. After eating and washing the dishes, while Mother was placing things in order, we girls rambled about the place to find amusement, and all waiting for Father to return. We found plenty of sassafras growing and dug some roots for tea.

About 10 o'clock Father came back. He had gone on nine miles

the night before to find a wagon shop where he left the broken wheel and then came back a mile to a public house to stay over night. His bill for himself and team was one dollar. In the morning he borrowed a wagon wheel and came back to us and we were soon on our way to the village where we got our wheel fixed. We had to wait over an hour for Father to get the wheel which cost eighteen shillings for being mended.

We finally got started in the afternoon and soon found better roads and country. We now began to see large fields of wheat growing and beautiful oak openings. These latter looked like large orchards to us. The trees are smaller with spreading branches, so different from the heavy timber we have been used to seeing. We bo't two bushels of oats for fifty cents. We are now stopping for the night at a Temperance house which we have not usually found. This is also a very good place.

Wednesday morning, April 22. Today we went through Jonesville which is quite a large place. Here we bought two loaves of bread and had to pay twenty-five cents, also a trace chain for fifty cents, and enquired the way to Coldwater. On our way we saw more fine looking wheat fields, sixty and seventy acres they said, in one field! We bought a bushel of wheat for twenty-five cents. At noon we tried our loaf of bread but found it was good for nothing. It looked nice but it was so sour we could not relish it at all. At Coldwater we bought two bushels of oats for forty-four cents.

Eight miles farther on brought us to Garey's tavern which made 33 miles we have traveled today. While the others are working I am writing or trying to write about the day's travel. We have a room by ourselves tonight and all find some work to do in fixing up things for the journey.

Thursday, April 23. We got an early start and the first village we came through was Brunson, where we bought sixpence worth of potatoes and enquired for Sturges Prairie. When we arrived there we found it a very pretty village. Here we saw some few orchards in which were some very large apple trees. It now began to rain some, but we went on twelve miles farther and put up at a public house in White Pigeon. It is a poor place for us but as it rains hard we are obliged to stay.

Friday, April 24. Our bill was \$1, and we got started at six

o'clock. It is pleasant this morning. For the first time since our start we overtook a family of movers going our way and they wanted us to join company, but they could not keep up with us so we soon left them behind. We came through three villages and did not ask their names. We bought a bushel of oats for twenty-five cents, and some crackers and bread for 32 cents. It was good bread too this time and we ate it with relish.

The next village was Adamsville and then came Edwards Prairie. Here for the first time we were out of sight of trees. It is a handsome village, so level and with smooth roads. We got two bushels of oats here for forty cents and enquired the way to Bertrand where we arrived at 7 p. m. We staid over night at the M. Hargins house.

Saturday, April 25. This morning Charley Bradley came across an old acquaintance. This is a very good tavern, and we bought some more crackers. Today about as usual, a little after noon we came to a fork in the road. Some said take one direction and some the other, just as they were interested I suppose. The left hand road went through Laporte, Indiana, and the right through Michigan City. Finally after a great deal of disputing on both sides we thought best to take the right hand road. We passed through Hamilton's Prairie and Springville, a small village where we stopped for the Sabbath.

Sunday, April 26. Here I am writing up stairs. There is no meeting and folks seem to be just amusing themselves, and in various ways. The place takes its name from a fine spring that is by the roadside. It seems to be an endless supply of water. In the house here they are supplied with water by pipes, conducting it into several rooms and also to the barns. We got some papers and have sent back two or three to our friends in Wellington.

Monday, April 27. We find ourselves well rested and ready to go on. We found this tavern a good place. We had oats of the landlord and our bill was two dollars. We went about 8 miles and came to Michigan City. It is a great place for a city! As we entered we noticed a large and elegant dwelling house, but it was desolate and unoccupied. Going on a few rods we came to an old liquor still, in good progress. There seemed to be houses enough for a city yet very few good ones. Sand is everywhere. Some of the houses seemed to be nearly buried up in sand.

Soon after leaving this place we came to very thick heavy timber

where we found some wintergreen berries which were all new to us. We picked a good many by the road as we traveled. We finally came to a tavern that was built under a very large pine tree, and we stopped here to eat our dinner. After resting an hour we went on and found the roads very sandy.

We also found plenty of wintergreen berries and we had plenty of time to pick them too, for the sand was so deep that the horses could not go out of a walk.

At about 4 o'clock we came to another fork in the road and as usual we took the right hand road. But of all the dismal places we had ever seen this was the worst. A thick forest was on one side of the road and on the other were great sand banks nearly as high as the trees. And to crown all the (I thought) dismal roar of Lake Michigan could be heard in the distance beyond these sand hills. The roads were so bad we had to put part of the load from the wagon onto our buggy. Soon after we had done this we met a man who told us we would soon come to a road turning off from this road. But of all the crooks and turns this certainly beat all. The sand banks grew higher and the distant though unseen roar of the lake grew louder.

We thought that if we were only on top of the highest bank we might see the great lake, a sight we had long wished for. So while the horses were resting Mary, Orlena, Alvin and Charles took a notion to climb the hills for a view. Mary and Orlena climbed the first hill but no lake was to be seen, only higher hills beyond met their gaze, so they turned back. But Alvin and Charles kept on yet they got only a far distant and faint view of the lake after all.

After the lake searchers came back we started on through the sand. We had been told at the last house we passed, that it was nine miles to the next tavern and we thought we could easily get through. But soon after this we were overtaken by a man in a buggy and he seemed to know all about the roads. We said it was only three miles to the next public house, and said we had such a heavy load we'd better let some of us ride with him, but we thought not! So off he went and we kept on and on. It grew dark and still no house was in sight. We were sure we had gone the three miles and more, so Father left us to rest or go slowly and went on alone to find a house, but he finally came back without finding anything but the same sand hills, and so we concluded to camp out, for it was past 7 o'clock. We made a fire and

found some water which we boiled in our iron teakettle. For supper we had some bread, butter, tea and sugar. After supper we fixed a bed in the wagon for the boys and one in the buggy for the rest of us, all but father. He rested in the forward part of the buggy and did not sleep much.

Thursday, April 28. We woke early and found ourselves in the sandy woods and tolerably rested considering our beds. As soon as it was daylight we were all up. While we were getting ready to start a number of cows came around us and Father milked a little in a cup for Lucy. We did not stop to eat breakfast, but started off at once and after going two miles we came to a good tavern where we bought a good breakfast and were ready to go on again between 7 and 8 a. m.

It began soon to rain and rained most of the forenoon but the afternoon was pleasant and we put up for the night at Spees and Rays. They tell us here that we shall see Chicago tomorrow. This is a good place here and our bill is only seventy-five cents. Today for the first time we had a fine view of Lake Michigan. We rode within three feet of the water. It was a grand sight for us. We were about three miles from the city and it began to rain and the wind blew up real cold. As we could see but little of the city we did not stop. We were greatly disappointed, yet as there was no other way we had to put up with it. We were however soon out of reach of the city. Now we came upon the awfulest of roads, muddy deep ruts and no chance to avoid them. It was jerk and jolt, this way and that. We were glad enough when we came to a tavern called the Oplain Higgins tavern. We have been twenty-six miles today.

Thursday, April 30. This is a very pleasant place and as it rained we did not start out till 10 o'clock. We soon found ourselves on an extensive prairie out of sight of timber. We saw no trees of any account for about seven miles and we came to Elk Grove. Beyond this again was a beautiful rolling prairie. At noon we stopped near several bluffs or mounds, some of them being about twenty feet high and all were covered with small stones or pebbles of many shapes and all colors. I wonder how they came there? Some body said perhaps they were once covered with water! But who knows?

Friday, May 1. It rained this morning but we got an early start. On enquiring for Crystal Lake we learned it was eleven miles there. We expected to find mother's uncle Stephen Bradley at this place and

intended to spend Sunday with his family. After crossing Cornishe's ferry we came to a fork in the road and being told that the left hand road went past Uncle Stephen's and the right one by the village we took the left hand road. Soon after the turn into this road the wagon which went ahead was fast stuck in a mud hole. Father and the boys got some rails from the fence and after prying up the wheels the horses made out to pull the wagon out. We went on to the place where uncle had lived and found that the whole family, uncle, a son and daughter, had lately moved to the village which was four miles farther around. We found them about noon and they were usually well and very glad to see us.

May 2, Saturday. Today we spent recruiting up, washing, baking etc. This is quite a pleasant place yet there are very few trees in sight. It seems to be a large and level prairie all about us.

Sunday, May 3. This afternoon mother and cousin Bradley went with us girls to see the lake, and a pretty lake it is, so clear and still with its white pebbled banks sloping to the water's edge. We gathered a few white shells, and pretty stones. In returning we went through the village burying ground, a sweet retired place midst a grove of small trees. Cousin B— pointed out to us several graves covered by beautiful flowers, placed there by affection's hand. We enjoyed our walk very much and returned just as the sun was hiding behind the hills. It was to me a new and charming sight. It was a beautiful sunset on the wide and open prairie. I can not describe it nor can I ever forget the sweet thoughts that came into my mind. No words can express them and I'll not try.

Monday, May 4. After bidding our kind friends goodbye we got started about nine o'clock. We soon after saw ahead of us some movers' wagons and we thought perhaps it was Mr. Grant's teams, and sure enough on coming up with them we were saluted with "Hurrah Mr. Foote!" Here we were, old neighbors, met in a strange land and we traveled in company the rest of the day.

Just after noon we crossed the line into Wisconsin. About dusk a man came along who wanted to trade his oxen for our horses, but we could not stop there, so we enquired for the next good stopping place and told him to come on, and then we went on about three and a half miles to a tavern.

Tuesday, May 5. Our bill here was sixty cents. The man who

A PIONEER TREK FROM OHIO TO WISCONSIN

had the oxen was here and so this morning after looking over his cattle father traded the old horses that had been so faithful so far for five oxen and one cow. Our company of the day before had gone on and now we did not expect to keep up with them. We traveled 10 miles before noon and got to Darien. Here we bought some ammunition and myself a pair of combs for fifteen cents. We went on twelve miles farther in the afternoon and stopped at Humphrey's tavern. Here we bought some corn for sixteen cents.

Wednesday, May 6. Our bill was seven shillings. It is rainy this morning and bad roads. We came across Mr. Grant's people who had stopped to visit. About an hour after this it rained hard and we stopped at a private house until 2 o'clock. We then went on to Torrey's hotel. We also passed through Fort Atkinson which is quite a large place. We bought some tea here.

Thursday, May 7. The tavern where we stopped was a good place but the charges were very high, \$2.50! almost double former charges. It now rained again but we went on. We were now within ten miles of Watertown. We passed through Asterland and at noon stopped at a small red house and father asked the woman of the house if she would get us a dinner of bread and milk. She very soon had it ready and a better dinner we had not had since we left home. Then she thought twenty-five cents would pay her for her trouble. We thought it cheap. After going on four miles we got the wagon into an awful mud hole and it took an hour to get it out.

Of course we went around with our buggy, so we avoided the worst roads. About a mile farther on we stopped at a log house. We have been only 14 miles today and are yet two miles from Watertown.

Friday, May 8. Our bill here was seventy-five cents and a good place, too. At Watertown—which is really a large place for this new country—we bought a bushel of corn for sixteen cents and four pounds of crackers for our lunch, for thirty-two cents. We also bought eighteen pence worth of oats, and 100 w't of flour for \$2.00. We have been through very pretty country all day. We all think that if it is as good land as this where uncle John and Henry are we shall be contented. At night we found no signs of a public house so enquired at a log house of a man who said he could keep us. So we took his word for it and stopped. But when we went into the place we found a hard

looking situation. But as they said it was some ways to the next house we concluded to make the best of it and stay here.

Saturday, May 9. After paying the bill which seemed to be greatly needed, we went on, getting a very early start. We were now between forty and fifty miles of Rush Lake, Winnebago Co., our destined home, so concluded to leave Alvin and Charles behind with the oxen and the rest of us would go on with the horses and buggy as fast as possible, for we did not like to be out over Sunday again. While feeding the horses at noon we saw Baliph Grant, but we soon left them all behind for we found good roads, mostly level prairie. At a place called Hewitt's we bought some cookies for lunch and they proved to be good ones too. It was a warm sunny day and we enjoyed the ride first rate. At about 3 o'clock we found ourselves in Ceresco, a Fourierite settlement where they pretend to live all alike and have all property in common. Here we expected to meet brother Henry, or uncle John, to guide us the last ten miles, but we learned that they had been there and had given up our coming, so had gone away. They had left about two hours before we arrived, so after resting awhile and gaining all the information we could about the roads, we set out.

After going a short distance away from the Settlement we came to a small stream over which was a bridge made of planks laid lengthwise and all loose. We thought it looked as though lumber was pretty scarce there. Mother thought we better not ride across, but father said, "Sit still all of you. I'll get out and drive very slowly and we shall get over all safe." We went on and got over except the back wheels of the buggy. They dropped down through between the planks, up to the hubs. Then father said, "Sit still, I'll lift you out," and he did, so that we were finally over safe, for all our fright. About a mile farther on we passed a log shanty and three miles more another building and then all was woods, prairie and oak openings. We finally came to a road leading off to the right. Father was much puzzled by this, but concluded after considerable hesitation to keep on this road. We went on until about dusk and then the bushes became very thick. It soon got so dark we could hardly distinguish any track but we kept moving slowly. Now and then we had to stop to look for the best crossing to a creek, and found the very best bad enough. It was not wide but deep. Father did not like to wait for us to all get out so with one or two exceptions we staid in the buggy. Many times we had

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hard work to keep from being thrown out, as the horses liked the plan of jumping across creeks rather than walking. We girls began to get very uneasy and began teasing mother to know whether she didn't think father was really lost and whether she thought we should ever find any body off here in this wilderness. But she told us to just keep still and that all would be right, she guessed; and guessing was all that could be done I guess at that time. There was no moon but the night was clear so it was not so very dark.

At last we came to a sort of turn out track and we stopped to investigate. After looking about we came across an upright stake or pole, split at the top and in this split was a stick crosswise. But owing to the darkness and our ignorance of that sort of guide boards, the affair was no guide to us so we kept on in the same track. We had not gone far before we got into trouble again by coming to a watery slough or marsh. The water got deeper and deeper and finally father thought best to stop and call three times which he did. There we waited with anxious suspense and there came from a distance an answer, faint but from some person. We waited with great anxiety for several minutes and then heard some one or something coming towards us and right through the water too. Then when near enough the call came again and we all knew it was Uncle John!

After much rejoicing and glad explanations he told us that we must turn around and go back to the place where we saw the split stick, that they put it there as a guide to us to turn out. When we reached this place we went on and soon met Henry who had gone that way to find us, supposing we had taken this road. The road we started on they traveled in the winter when it was frozen and this one we were now on they used when the marsh was full of water. We soon found the way around the marsh and a jolly rejoicing crowd we were and when we reached the log shanty as they called it we were a happy company. There was brother Henry, Uncle John and his wife Aunt Laura and little Harriet, and all so glad to see us!

We were now at our journey's end. We ate supper, and after talking for I don't know how long, we fixed beds on the floor of the shanty for most of us, and the boys slept in the wagon out doors, but we slept well.

Sunday, May 10, 1846. This day finds us somewhat rested, in a log house sixteen by fourteen feet, situated on the shore of Rush Lake,

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town of Nepeuskun, Winnebago county, Wisconsin. There is a fine sugar bush near and all new. But there are no neighbors around.

Toward night the men all went to look after Alvin and Charles who were coming with the oxen and wagon. After going about two miles and not seeing anything of them they returned. The next day they started out again and found the two boys coming slowly and on the right road, although they did not know it, and were very glad indeed to see friends as they were tired out almost. So now here we are all of us, ready to begin life in the woods, and here I must stop for the present, though I might continue and perhaps make it interesting too, but do not feel really capable; so here is an end of this journal for now.

SARAH FOOTE.



PIONEER LIFE



GEORGE WASHINGTON READING A LETTER
From the Original Painting by Alexandre Casarin.



THE BUTLER MANOR HOUSE, ASTON-LE-WALLS



WASHINGTON AND HIS FAMILY



PRESIDENT WASHINGTON—PORTRAIT BY GILBERT STUART

The Original Painting From Which This Engraving is Made is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City.



SULGRAVE MANOR



STREET IN SULGRAVE

A Day in Washington's Country

Account of a Visit to the Places Where the Ancestors of Our First President Lived, Worshiped, Died, and were Buried

BY

JOSEPH G. BUTLER, Jr.

EVERY patriotic American knows that the ancestors of the immortal George Washington—first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen—came from England; but few know the exact locality from whence they came, and a smaller number still have visited the region. While in England during the month of August, I was attracted by an advertisement of one of the many tours running in all directions from London—"A DAY IN WASHINGTON'S COUNTRY." I immediately decided to make the journey to the place where the ancestors of our first President were born, where they lived, where they worshiped, where they died, and where they are buried.

The day, August 18th, was bright and pleasant. The train left Euston Station, London, early in the morning with a special car attached for Northampton, eighty-two miles distant. From the extensive advertising given the excursion, I anticipated having a score at least of Americans as fellow-travelers, anxious to visit the promised land. My surprise was great when it was made known to me that I was the sole excursionist, or, if I may so express it, the one patriot mustered in for that particular day. However, I am pleased to add that the London & Northwestern Railway Company carried out the terms of the round-trip contract with the same exactness and fidelity as if the party had been of large dimensions. Reaching Northampton, a very competent guide met the train, and after a diligent quest, failed to discover the large party expected.

I was taken through and around the historic town from which Northampton, Mass., is named—the home of one of our great American Women's Colleges. A word in passing about Northampton, a county borough, under the government of a mayor and town council. The mayoralty is an ancient office, running back to the latter part of

the twelfth century. Laurence Washington, great-great-grandfather of George Washington, was Mayor in 1533 and again in 1556, serving two terms at different periods.

The town dates back to Roman occupation, and the remains of the ancient Roman wall are shown. The town is also mentioned in Domesday Book, and "Northampton." Saxon and Dane and Norman successively occupied the territory, and many events prominent in English history are connected with the locality. Danes' Camp is shown the visitor, and Bishop Thomas A. Becket's well is walled in and pointed out, where the great saint and martyr, disguised as a monk, took a drink before his final flight; all of which is familiar in history and tradition.

The place contains a number of ancient churches, two of which are quite noted, "St. Peter's Church" and "All Saints' Church," both dating from the twelfth century. I copied an inscription from the outside of the front wall of "All Saints' Church."

"HERE UNDER LYETH
JOHN BAILES BORN IN THIS
TOWN, HE WAS ABOVE 126
YEARS OLD AND HAD HIS HEARING,
SIGHT AND MEMORY TO YE LAST
HE LIVED IN THREE CENTURYS
AND WAS BURIED YE 14TH OF APRIL
1706."

I was shown two very ancient houses, one known as "The Welsh House," and the other as the "Cromwell's House." I copied from the principal window in the Welsh House, this motto, in Welsh: "Heb Dyw. Heb Dym Dwya Digon, i. e., 1595," which, rendered into English reads: "Without God, without everything, God and enough." The Cromwell House is where Cromwell slept the night before the battle of Naseby, which is commemorated by a fine monument erected over the battle field a few miles distant.

Among other noted places, I saw "Queen Eleanor's Cross," about one mile from the town, erected by King Edward I, in the Thirteenth Century, the main reason for the cross being to induce passers-by to pause and pray for the eternal welfare of the soul of the beloved Queen. Also St. John's Hospital, founded in 1183, still in use and in good

repair; and Abington Abbey, dating from the fourteenth century, and of particular historic interest by reason of its early ownership. Sir John Bernard married for his second companion, Elizabeth, the daughter of Susannah Shakespeare's eldest daughter, the wife of Dr. Hall of Stratford on Avon, so that one of the descendants of the great Bard of Avon lived in the Abbey as its last mistress. David Garrick, the great actor of the eighteenth century, planted a mulberry tree upon the lawn, which still lives and produces fruit, and is duly authenticated by a bronze plate, properly inscribed.

After the tour through the town with the guide, we lunched at the George Hotel, an ancient hostelry with a decided "Dickens's flavor." After luncheon, a large, first-class automobile, or motor, as it is called in England, was placed at my disposal. With a competent chauffeur and with the guide as a fellow-passenger, the journey was resumed. Our first stop was at the little village of Ecton, five miles from Northampton, where was born Josiah Franklin, who married young and emigrated with his wife and three children to New England, in 1682. Dr. Benjamin Franklin was the youngest son of Josiah Franklin, by a second marriage. We found in the little churchyard, a Franklin gravestone inscribed as follows:

"HERE LYETH THE BODY OF THOMAS FRANKLIN
WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE JANUARY 6TH ANNO
DOM 1702, IN THE SIXTY FIFTH YEAR OF HIS AGE."

I saw the cottage where the ancestors of Franklin were born—still in a fine state of preservation. After the property was permitted to pass out of the hands of the Franklin family, the cottage was enlarged and made over into a school, and is still known as the "Franklin School." During our Revolutionary troubles, Dr. Franklin spent much of his time in England and France, and always visited Ecton at each returning visit; but, notwithstanding these visits, the property and ancestral home were acquired by strangers.

Our next halt was at ALTHROP HOUSE, the home of the Spencer family and famous for its magnificent collection of paintings, the gallery containing examples by Sir Joshua Reynolds, Gainsborough, Van Dyck, Holbein, Murillo, Raphaël, Romney, Rubens, and others of equal reputation.

The Earl of Spencer had just died, and his remains were lying in

state at the time of the visit. As we passed through the churchyard, his grave was being dug, as it was his last request that he be buried along side of his wife, although all of his ancestors were entombed in the nave of Great Brington church, dating back to the thirteenth century. These Spencer monuments are all in good condition and illustrate the costumes of the various periods. In this same church are buried members of the Washington family. In the chancel is a funeral slab, placed in memory of Laurence Washington, who died in 1616, and at the foot of the slab are carved these lines:

"THOU THAT BY CHANCE OR CHOICE OF THIS HATH
SIGHT,
"KNOW LIFE TO DEATH RESIGNS AS DAY TO NIGHT;
"BUT AS THE SUNNS RETORNE REVIVES THE DAY
"SO CHRIST SHALL US, THOUGH TURNED TO DUST AND
CLAY."

The slab was broken and some of the inscription illegible, but the care-taker informed us that the death of Margaret Butler, wife of Laurence Washington, was also recorded, and that her remains were buried beside her husband. In any event, history records that this Laurence Washington's wife's maiden name, was Butler. In the chancel is another memorial slab, recording the death of Robert Washington, brother of Laurence, and his wife, Elizab. Washington, bearing this inscription:

"HERE LIES INTERRED YE BODIES OF ELIZAB.
WASHINGTON WIDDOWE WHO CHANGED THIS
LIFE FOR IMMORTALLITIE YE 19TH OF MARCH,
1622. AS ALSO YE BODY OF ROBERT WASHINGTON,
GENT. HER LATE HUSBAND SECOND
SONNE OF ROBERT WASHINGTON OF SOLO-
GRAVE IN YE COUNTY OF NORTH ESQ. WHO
DEPARTED THIS LIFE YE 10TH OF MARCH, 1622,
AFTER THEY LIVED LOVINGLY TOGETHER."

Both the slabs referred to bear the Washington Coat of Arms, the distinguishing features of which are, three mullets and two bar (Stars and Bars). In this connection, a letter received from the Rector of Great Brington Church is copied, or rather that portion referring to

A DAY IN WASHINGTON'S COUNTRY

the Washington ancestry. The letter is in response to one I wrote, asking for information as to the Official Parish records:

Great Brington Rectory
Northampton.
19th August, 1910.

To Joseph G. Butler, Jr.
Dear Sir:

The only marriage entry of the Washingtons is that of Amy Washington to Philip Curtis, on August 8th, 1620. Amy Washington was a daughter of Robert. Laurence Washington was buried on December 15th, 1616, and his name is entered in the burial register. The only other Washingtons mentioned in the register are—

"Robert Washington, buried March 11th, 1622, and Elizabeth Washington, buried March 25th, of the same year."

In a church roll which is in my possession, dated 1606, a pew is assigned on the south side to Robert Washington and his wife, and a bench outside for his menservants.

I am sorry I have no further information to give you respecting the family.

Yours faithfully,
(Signed) WILLIAM MARTIN B. D.
Rector of Brington.

Thrapston is a small market town, twenty-two miles from Northampton. Our visit to this place was brief, but the information obtained is of value. Sir John Washington lived and was buried in Thrapston. He was the uncle of the two Washingtons who emigrated to Virginia and founded the Washington family in America. At the west entrance of the Church of St. James, the well-known Coat of Arms and crest are carved in stone. The Parish Register contains these records:

BAPTISM

1624—PHILLIPUS WASHINGTON FILIUS JOHANN
WASHINGTON ARMIGER DE THRAPSTON 27
DECEMBRIS.

1632—ELIZABETHA WASHINGTON FILIA JOHANN
WASHINGTON (KNIGHT) EQUITIS AURATI
SEPULTA FRIT DIE JULY 1632.

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1639—GUILIEMUS WASHINGTON GENEROSUS
SELPULTUS ERAT MARTY 25, 1639.

1668—THE WRIGHT WORSHIPFUL SUR JOHN
WASHINGTON, KNIGHT AND BARRENNIT
MAY 18, 1668.

We next motored to LITTLE BRINGTON, which contains a small stone house, known as "Washington's House," and is regarded as the home of the Washingtons after their retirement from Sulgrave. Over the doorway, upon a smooth, rectangular-shaped stone, is carved these words—"The Lord giveth, the Lord taketh way: Blessed be the name of the Lord Constructa 1606." Near this house is a sun-dial, bearing the Washington Arms, and "R. W. 1617," probably the initials of Robert Washington, buried in Great Brington Church chancel.

We next visited the church of St. Mary's at Sulgrave. This is where the Washingtons worshiped, and are buried. At the east end of the South Aisle is a slab of grey stone, on which were originally six brasses, put down as memorials of Laurence Washington and his family. Three of the brasses were removed or stolen by some unknown vandal and three remain, including Laurence Washington's own effigy, a shield of the Washington Arms, and another containing the following inscription:

"HERE LYETH BURIED YE BODYES OF LAURENCE
WASHINGTON GENT. AND ANNE HIS WYF BY
WHOM HE HAD ISSUE iiij SONS & ij DAUGHTS WC
LAURENCE DYED YE...DAY....ANO 15.... &
ANNE DECEASED THE VJ OF OCTOBER ANO DNI
1564."

It would appear from the inscription that Laurence Washington put down the monument after the death of his wife and left a blank space for the date of his own death, which occurred in 1584, but this has not been added.

Our final pilgrimage was to the famous Sulgrave Manor, or, as it is now known, the Washington Manor. The property is owned * by Mr. Reynell Peck, of Netherton, of whom later on, and is leased to a farmer tenant, whose name I did not learn. The manor proper is

*Sulgrave Manor is now owned by the Sulgrave Association, an American-British patriotic organizaion. The present article gives an interesting account of the situation some years ago—Editor.

A DAY IN WASHINGTON'S COUNTRY

occupied by the tenant and a large family. The caretaker is Miss Anna Cave, who apologized for her appearance by the statement that the "sweep" had just finished his work. Chimney sweeps are still in vogue in England. Notwithstanding her begrimed dress and somewhat smutty face, Miss Cave was still a comely lass and proved an interesting mine of information, besides furnishing, for a nominal consideration, some fine photographs.

The Manor of Sulgrave was granted to Laurence Washington by Henry VIII in 1538, upon dissolution of the Monasteries. Evidently more had been laid out and contemplated than was carried out. The manor is of stone and the interior of solid oak. Some of the beams which I measured are two feet in diameter. Upstairs there are all sleeping rooms, and in good condition also. The particular room where was born Laurence Washington, the ancestor of President Washington, was pointed out; and probably the information is correct.

On the lower floor are the remains of a room, evidently a private chapel, but now used as a hall. On each side of the wall appear carvings. The house has a high gabled roof, upon the outside of which appear the Arms of the Washington family. If any doubt exists as to the origin of the American Flag, this should dispel the suspicion, as it is repeated wherever the Washington family are in evidence.

There are a number of out-houses of stone and one very large barn, which, with the manor, are in fairly good repair when it is considered that no one with any particular patriotic motive is connected with the property.

It at once occurred to me that the property should be acquired by one of our Patriotic Societies, put in proper condition, and with an endowment fund sufficient to care for and maintain it for all time to come, making of it a veritable "Mecca" for all patriotic Americans visiting Europe.

With this idea in mind I obtained from Miss Cave the address of the owner, and upon my return to London I wrote him as to his willingness to dispose of the manor. I received a most courteous reply, indicating that he would sell, adding that the estate had been in his family for many generations, and he was not anxious to dispose of same.

FAC-SIMILE REPRODUCTION OF A MANUSCRIPT BY GEORGE WASHINGTON. THE SHIP OF STATE: "WILL NOT THE ALL-WISE AND ALL-POWERFUL DIRECTOR OF HUMAN EVENTS PRESERVE IT?"

It is indeed a pleasure, from the walks of private life to view in retrospect all the meanderings of our past labors - the difficulties through which we have waded - and the fortunate Haven to which the ship has been brought! - Is it possible after this that it should founder? - Will not the all-wise, & all-powerful director of human events, preserve it? - I think he will, he may hereafter for wise purposes not discoverable by finite minds, suffer our indiscretions & folly to place our national character low in the political scale - and this, unless more wisdom & less prejudice take the lead in our government, will most assuredly be the case. -

G. Washington

A New England Witch Story

Interesting Legend, Handed Down in the Adams Family of Massachusetts, of the Days in Which it was Customary to Blame the Tangled Spinning Wool or Household Work Delayed or Poorly Done on the "Witches" of the Neighborhood.

BY

SADIE ADAMS SMITH



EDWARD ADAMS, the eighth son of Henry of Braintree, was born in England, in 1630, came with his parents to this country in 1632, and married Lydia Rockwood, daughter of Nicholas Rockwood. Edward Adams' son, John, married Deborah Partridge, whose grandfather, William Partridge, with Nicholas Rockwood and Edward Adams, three of my lineal ancestors, were original grantees and settlers of Medfield, Mass. Edward Adams was a man of note in early Colonial days. He was a magistrate and much employed in the Ancient and Honorable Artillery, being a charter member of same. He was selectman for many years, commissioner, representative to the General Court several terms, father of fourteen children, and died in 1716, the last of the original settlers of Medfield, Mass.

The foregoing is purely historical. The following is an old tradition in our family relating to witchcraft, how true I cannot decide. But since men of those times, such as Governor Endicott, Department Governor Bellingham, and ministers of the Gospel, Cotton Mather, John Norton and others, not only believed in witches, but persecuted them, I dare not say this story, often told me by my grandparents, is not true.

Near Edward Adams' home lived an old woman, said to be a witch, to have the evil eye and the evil hand. She lived alone and spent much time in field and wood gathering herbs, of which she knew the use. Her neighbors believed that they gave her power over men and women. They credited her with the powers with which Long-

fellow endows his witch: "A touch from me and they are weak with pain. A look from me, and they consume and die. The death of cattle and the blight of corn, the shipwreck, the tornado, and the fire—these are my doings, and they know it not. Thus I work vengeance on my enemies."

Of course, this old witch could ride through the air, above tree-tops and houses, upon a broom stick, and many there were who claimed to have seen her perform this feat. If children, teething, fell into convulsions, it was because "the witch" had passed the door and looked with evil eye upon the little one. If cattle died of plague, instantly they cried, "the witch!" Mothers and daughters, engaged in household duties, especially when spinning, if for any reason the wool became tangled, or the thread broken, or if for any cause the work was delayed, or poorly done, solemnly declared that their work was "bewitched."

At this time witchcraft was spreading. Trials were frequent at Boston and Salem. One day Squire Adams, the story goes, had been in Boston attending the trial of a witch, and, returning late in the day, was much annoyed and delayed by the frequent appearance of a large, black cat, which persistently leaped in front of his horse, spitting and scratching, causing the horse to rear and plunge with fear. Squire Adams, using his whip, would drive the cat away, quiet and reassure his frightened horse, and proceed, only to encounter again and again the same manœuvre.

Darkness was rapidly falling, and he, still some distance from home, cast about in his mind for the meaning, the cause of all this, when the thought came to him, "It is the witch!" To satisfy himself and escape the black cat, he tore a silver sleeve button from his linen, and placed it as a bullet, in his gun, which hung from his saddle—remembering that it was said lead could not injure a witch, but only silver.

Presently the cat again emerged from the thicket, with eyes gleaming in the gloom of the forest, hair cristling, a thing of terror. It was about to leap at the horse's head, when Adams taking aim, fired. With a human cry of pain the black cat fell back crying, and limped back into the darkness from which it had come. Squire Adams, no longer molested, proceeded quickly on his homeward way, to be greeted

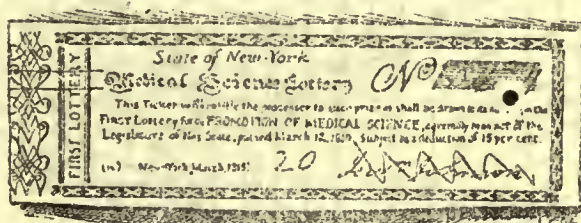
A NEW ENGLAND WITCH STORY

by wife, children and hot New England supper, which it is presumed he enjoyed, after such an exciting ride home.

The next morning the country doctor, riding by, stopped for speech with Squire Adams, telling how he had been called to attend the "old witch," who, the previous afternoon, while in the woods gathering herbs, had been mysteriously shot in her shoulder, probably by some hunter's stray bullet, as she claimed.

"The strange part of the story," said the doctor, "was that when I probed for and extracted the bullet I found this!" He held out his hand, in which lay a silver sleeve button. Squire Adams claimed it showing its duplicate in one sleeve, and empty button hole in the other, into which he slipped the button, so strangely restored to him. He then told the Doctor the story I have told you, and they agreed to say nothing, but await results.

The "old witch" recovered from her hurt, and, it is said, never again resorted to her witch's wiles. Shortly after this witchcraft was suppressed and the terrors inspired by this "old witch" of Medfield, in common with others, died out. Doubtless repenting of her former practices, and grateful for her life, spared her, she lived many years after, kindly cared for by the man she had attempted to injure, and then passed on to face a more merciful Judge than those of New England, who, under a horrible delusion, brought death, suffering and banishment to many innocent souls.



AN OLD-FASHIONED WAY OF RAISING MONEY FOR
WORTHY PURPOSES



A True Colonial Dame

A Story of How the Courage and Daring of One Brave American Mother
of New England Saved the Lives of Many Settlers
From An Indian Massacre

BY

MARY L. D. FERRIS

Just over there in the corner,
In a quaintly antique frame,
There smiles a face of winsome grace,
A real Colonial Dame.

Would she could tell her story,
Would she could let us know
All the events of colonial life
That the records fail to show.

How she helped the cause of freedom,
And spun, and swept, and prayed;
Training her sons to fill the gaps
That the enemy's fire made.

In the days of Warring Philip,
When houses were rifled and burned,
Hers was the hand that held the gun
Till the dusky savage turned.

When want was near, and famine,
Heartsore, weary and lame,
She sought the cattle and drove them home,
This brave Colonial Dame.

Wise and true was her counsel,
That feared not reproach or shame;
When right was right she never swerved,
This faithful Colonial Dame.

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Simple her life, her pleasures,
Well we revere her name,
The woman who never thought of self,
The true Colonial Dame.

No history tells the story,
She never was one to boast,
But her hair turned white the winter night
That she rode to Plymouth Post.

Day long the snow had fallen,
Sharp was the icy blast,
Its very breath seemed born of death,
And night was coming fast.

All alone at the Homestead,
Save babies of two and four,
She gave the fire an extra log,
And carefully barred the door.

Not that she feared intruder,
For he was a fearless foe
Who would brave a tempest such as this
Even to strike a blow.

Drawing her babies nearer,
She lifted her heart in prayer
For the absent ones of the household,
Abroad, she knows not where.

What makes her blood grow icy?
A shuffling sound near the door,
Is followed now by a quick, hoarse cry—
And there is nothing more.

Quick as a flash, with rifle,
She calls, "Are you friend or foe?"
No answer, she draws back the iron bolts,
And gazing into the snow,

A TRUE COLONIAL DAME

On the step sees lying prostrate,
A form; and another near:
'Tis the Boston Post and his faithful horse—
How foolish was all her fear.

She hears a gasp: "God's mercy!
Saddle a horse and ride,—
This letter must be in Plymouth to-night,
Or awful woe betide!

The Indians are bent on murder,
And no alarm is given:
Ride as you value your children's lives—
Ride for the love of Heaven!"

Not a thought of self,—hand trembling,
She loosens the restless steed,
Who seemed to scent the peril near,
And to realize that speed

Alone can avert the danger,—
They were off in the blinding snow,
With the letter close to the woman's heart.
'Tis useless to try to know.

The road, but the brute, all faithful,
With an instinct true and tried,
Struggles to keep the narrow path—
Till he suddenly turns aside.

A sharp report—another—
And, dazed by the sudden flash,
The animal staggers and then stops short,
Unheeding the cruel lash.

They are lost in an Indian campment,
With the horse's strength clean spent,
When, urged by the frenzy that horror brings,
A sudden power seems lent,

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And the well-nigh frozen woman,
Raising her hand on high,
Strikes at the horse with a sudden force,
And her arms, with a desperate cry,

Flings round the neck of the creature,
Who quivers and starts again,
Till the lights of Plymouth are seen at last,
And the ride is not in vain.

She rides till the danger's over,
And then, with a moaning wail,
The rider falls with her duty done—
She has carried the Boston mail.

We look at the cherished portrait
And think of the bitter strife
That strengthened a character such as hers
And gave a Nation life,

And rightly her memory cherish,
Asking no better fame
Than to ring the deeds and follow the steps
Of such a Colonial Dame.



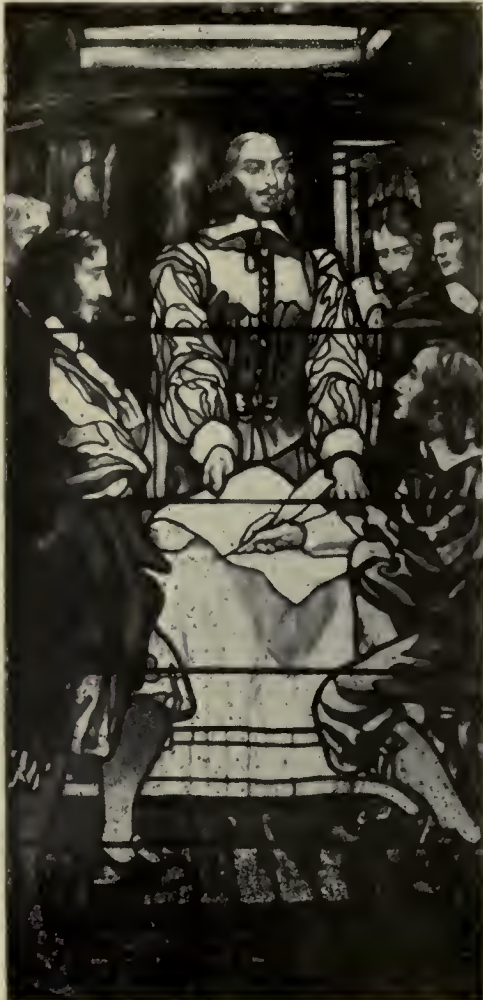
"She Seeketh Wool and Flax and Work-
eth Willingly With Her Hands."
Proverbs 31:13.



THE PILGRIMS IN AMERICA

Elder Brewster Offering Thanks to God for the Preservation of the Mayflower Pilgrims.

THE PILGRIMS IN DECORATIVE ART. MEMORIAL
WINDOWS, PLYMOUTH CHURCH, BROOKLYN, NEW
YORK. By Frederic Strymets Lamb.



SIGNING THE COMPACT IN THE CABIN OF THE
MAYFLOWER



JOHN ELIOT PREACHING TO THE INDIANS



LANDING OF THE FIRST DUTCH MINISTER, JONAS
MICHAELIUS, AT NEW AMSTERDAM

THE PILGRIMS IN DECORATIVE ART. MEMORIAL
WINDOWS, PLYMOUTH CHURCH, BROOKLYN, NEW
YORK. By Frederic Stymets Lamb.



THE FOUNDATION UPON WHICH THE NATION WAS
LAID—THE LANDING OF THE PILGRIMS



THE LANDING OF THE MAYFLOWER PILGRIMS

The Mayflower Spirit

Its Influence in America and the World

BY

HON. L. BRADFORD PRINCE, LL. D.

Vice-President of The National Historical Society

An Address Delivered at Plymouth, Massachusetts, November 20, 1920, the 300th Anniversary of the Signing of the Mayflower Compact

I

The Mayflower Spirit



DANIEL WEBSTER, in that magnificent oration which he delivered on this very spot a hundred years ago, pictured the future generation which should gather to celebrate another centennial anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers.

I hold in my hand the original edition of that great discourse, and quote his prophetic words.

"They are in the distant regions of futurity, they exist only in the all-creating power of God, who shall stand here, a hundred years hence, to trace, through us, their descent from the Pilgrims, and to survey, as we have now surveyed, the progress of their country during the lapse of a century.

"We would anticipate their concurrence with us in our sentiments of deep regard for our common ancestors. On the morning of that day, although it will not disturb us in our repose, the voice of acclamation and gratitude, commencing on the Rock of Plymouth, shall be transmitted through millions of the sons of the Pilgrims, till it lose itself in the murmurs of the Pacific Seas."

Surely he had the spirit of prophecy. For at that time not one Anglo-Saxon, not one man or woman speaking the English tongue, lived in the whole line of coast of California; the lofty peaks of the mountain range stood as an impassable barrier between the Mississippi and the Pacific, and there seemed no reason to expect a change. But

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every obstacle has been overcome, and even the spirit of the prophet would be astonished to know that the Society of Mayflower Descendants in the State of California today stands third in the number of its membership, exceeded only by the original society in New York, and the home organization in Massachusetts, showing that not only has the Mayflower spirit leavened the whole land but that the actual descendants of the Pilgrim Fathers cover the continent from ocean to ocean.

To be called on at any time, or in any place, to speak of our Pilgrim ancestors, of their virtues, their sacrifices, their constructive ability, and of the wonderful results of their influence on the history of America and of the world, is an honor, and to respond is a delight; but to come to Plymouth itself, to walk in the streets where they actually walked and visit all the localities of their daily life and even the sacred places where they lie at rest, and that on the exact Three Hundredth Anniversary of their first coming, causes sensations that are almost over-powering. I bring today from the far Southwest the homage of the descendants of the Pilgrims and of all others who have felt the influence of their spirit; and to you, Sons and Daughters of the Pilgrims, congratulations that we have been permitted to live to see this Tercentenary Anniversary—this day of general celebration and universal applause.

The subject of the Pilgrim Fathers is so many-sided that it presents at least a half dozen phases of importance and deep interest, worthy of separate and full consideration; and the following division naturally suggests itself.

The Pilgrim Genesis at Scrooby.

The Exile in Holland.

The Voyage of the Mayflower.

The Compact and Its Influence.

The Settlement of New Plymouth.

The Mayflower Spirit and Its Influence in America and the World.

It is on this last topic that I am to have the privilege of addressing you today.

II

The Mayflower

Three hundred years ago this Saturday afternoon, a little wooden vessel, about 90 feet in length and 24 in width, which had been slowly making its way across the wide Atlantic ocean, was finally passing around the extreme point of Cape Cod, and carefully examining the sand bars of the vicinity. It was over-strained with the burden of its freight imposed by the failure of its intended colleague; and overcrowded with its human passengers, for it carried two more than an even hundred men, women and children, with all of their belongings, crushed into smallest space, and a crew of fifteen or twenty sailors largely discontented by unfortunate delays. The voyage had been long and full of discomforts; all the conveniences of modern travel were absent, and as far as can be learned there was no furniture whatever on the vessel, notwithstanding the current traditions of modern days.

To outward appearance it was an ordinary little vessel of the type then prevalent, with three masts and a high bow and stern, rated at 180 tons, with nothing to distinguish it from dozens of the craft of that day, except its long distance from the European shore; for it had sailed more than 3,000 miles and was now in full sight of the coast of the New Western Continent that was its destination.

It bore aloft no brilliant banner, its deck was covered by no gorgeous canopy, it displayed no ornaments of purple or of gold, its progress was not heralded by the roar of artillery, nor celebrated by strains of martial music, but it bore across the ocean the most precious freightage which ever was carried from the Old World to the New, full of the future of America, and of the world; for the vessel was the Mayflower; and the freightage, the Pilgrim Band, of men and women, with the ideals and principles which were to influence all time.

More than nine weeks had elapsed since the vessel had sailed from Plymouth in old England and the passengers had seen their last land. Surely a weary time; and with many the days of travel were much longer. For it was on the last day of July that the original Pilgrim Band left Leyden, as the nucleus of the great emigration. Difficulties and delays had been their experience from the first. At

Delfshaven the Speedwell, a small boat of 60 tons which had been bought for the voyage, received the little company and after the pathetic parting from their beloved pastor, Robinson, and their brethren who remained in Holland carried them to Southampton on the English channel. Here it was that the whole number of the Pilgrims was to concentrate from both Holland and England, and here was the Mayflower, which had been chartered for the expedition by the London leaders of the movement. The plan was that the two vessels should proceed across the ocean together, and that after the colony was established the Speedwell should remain in the New World for the purpose of coast trade, while the Mayflower should return to England to carry furs and other products to the country, and to bring new colonists on its return voyage.

Here the Pilgrims of Leyden met for the first time their comrades from London, who had agreed to form part of the colony, and the goods to be used in trading with the Indians were packed with care in the hold of the larger vessel. But new difficulties unexpectedly arose. Certain demands made by the merchant adventurers of London who were interested in the expedition, not being acceptable to the Pilgrims, Weston, the agent of the merchants, suddenly left for London without paying the port dues, amounting to nearly a hundred pounds, and these had to be settled before the vessel could set sail. It illustrates better than words the comparative poverty of the Pilgrims, that it was impossible to raise the required sum, even by the united effort of all concerned, and that it was necessary to sell some firkins of butter and other provisions intended for the journey in order to liquidate the claim and release the vessels.

III

The Voyage

At length all seemed to be ready, and on August 3rd, the two vessels set sail, but it now appeared that the Speedwell was unseaworthy, and they were compelled to take refuge in Dartmouth, where the necessary repairs occupied all the time till August 31st, when the expedition again started. But it was soon evident that the Speedwell was in no condition to stand a long voyage on the open ocean, and so, after sailing about a hundred miles and reaching Lands End, they

were compelled again to seek the shore, and landed at Plymouth. It was impossible to obtain another vessel, and so it was finally determined that the Mayflower should make the voyage alone. The Colonists on the two attempted voyages consisted of 120 persons, but the accidents and delays discouraged those least strong in the faith, so that 20 new abandoned the enterprise, and thereby lost the great opportunity of their lives. The concentration on one vessel made many changes necessary; the remaining hundred passengers had to be crushed into smaller spaces, and baggage, freight and provisions were all massed together within the narrow dimensions of the little ship. At length, however, on the 16th of September the Mayflower sailed out of Plymouth harbor, on the most important voyage in its results and influence ever undertaken by man.

An accident to the main beam of the vessel had nearly caused its destruction, but by good fortune this had been remedied sufficiently for the voyage to continue. And now the long ordeal was nearly passed. On November 19th came the welcome sight of land; welcome, although different from that expected. Their charter was from the Virginia Company, and under it they were sailing for the vicinity of New Amsterdam, but the land actually reached was the sandy peninsula of Cape Cod. Their first attempt was to turn southward in order to pursue the intended route; but wind and weather prevented, and so, on the 20th, they anchored at the extremity of the Cape, near Provincetown.

Pilgrims had an abiding faith in Providence, and in its over-ruling care and power. May we not follow them at least to the extent of wondering whether there was not providential design in some of the events of the time which then appeared accidental? In the eleven years of exile in Holland which gave a world-knowledge and broadening and liberality of ideas scarcely attainable at that time in the insular isolation of England; in the accidents and delays in commencing their long voyage which were trials of courage and patience, and left as the final passengers on the Mayflower those who had thus proved their faith and consistency; and in the change of destination which caused the settlement to be made in territory independent of any outside control instead of being within the jurisdiction of a chartered company and under the influence of prior inhabitants?

IV

The Compact

At all events, they finally decided to make their new home in Cape Cod bay, and thus they were left absolutely independent and without any government whatever, except the nominal authority of the King of England, which they cheerfully acknowledged. For all practical purposes they were like the first inhabitants of a new world, with no law or authority of any kind. And so with true Anglo-Saxon love of good government and orderly procedure, before taking possession of a foot of land and even before the exact location of the new settlement was determined, they met in the cabin of the Mayflower on November 21st and signed the "Compact," which is justly looked upon as the fountainhead of the American system of republican government. It is wonderfully brief and simple, but it contains the germs of all that has come after, which has been only the development, as required by circumstances, of the original fundamental idea which may be briefly defined to be "The selfgovernment of the community, with equality of rights, controlled by the majority and supported by the minority."

This Compact, apparently so simple, embodied the great principles of freedom and progress which have revolutionized governments and been of inestimable benefit to man. Its influence is now universally recognized, but to trace its successive triumphs and the gradual adoption of its principles would exceed the proper limits of this occasion. All that I can do is to suggest a few points and leave you to fill in the details from your own knowledge of history.

In the first place, the Government of Plymouth itself, with the Compact as a Constitution, was a pure Democracy. The Compact was signed by all the adult men of the Pilgrim Colonists. They all signed as equals. There was no distinction of caste or classes. There was no property qualification. There was no religious test. There was no educational requirement. The rich and the poor, the employer and the employed, the learned and the ignorant, stood on the same political level, by virtue simply of their Manhood. This condition did not exist anywhere else in the world at that time; and it required centuries before it was generally recognized as a principle, and longer before it became an actual rule of government. Among the Pilgrims it was

immediately put into operation, the election of Governor Carver by the whole body politic following the signing of the Compact, and this equal, unrestricted manhood suffrage continued as long as the Colonial government existed.

V

Extending Influence

The influence of this example soon extended beyond the narrow limits of Plymouth; not by conquest but by the force of example and the power which the successful operation of a principle always exerts. It gradually softened the restrictions and broadened the views which at first characterized the government of the Colonists in Massachusetts Bay; and its principles of selfgovernment were dominant in the settlements of the Connecticut river and Long Island sound. As the New England population extended westward, the same Mayflower spirit was carried into the valleys of the Mohawk and the Genesee, and later into the Western Reserve in Ohio and northern half of Indiana and Illinois. From thence it permeated the whole nation until the principles of the Pilgrims and the "New England Conscience," based on the Bible, became the controlling forces which created America's greatness.

Returning to Colonial days, this spirit is found in the laws and resolutions of Colonial Legislatures, in the proceedings of the Conventions and Congresses held in pre-Revolutionary times, and appears in full glory in the language of the Declaration of Independence. The two great principles enunciated in that immortal document, that "all men are created equal," and that "Governments derive their just power from the consent of the governed" come directly from the Compact signed in the cabin of the Mayflower, a century and a half before. It had required time for the righteousness of those principles to gain control of the hearts and minds of the whole people so as to lead to their logical result in the Independence of the American nation, but the hour struck at last in 1776. Even then, more time was required for those principles to be crystalized into actual living facts, for you will remember that for years after the Declaration of Independence slavery still existed in the land, and a large part of the population that was governed had no voice in the government itself, so that the opponents of true democracy stigmatized the word of the Declaration as

"Glittering generalities." But at last, after ninety years of struggle the three great Constitutional Amendments—the 13th, 14th and 15th—in our own generation, gave freedom to the slaves and equal rights to every citizen, and thus make of those glorious principles living actual facts.

And if time permitted I could easily show, as your memories will suggest, that the influence of the Mayflower's spirit has passed far beyond even the wide limits of our own domain. For every free government that exists on the earth is the creature of that spirit. But for the success of the American Republic, the Spanish colonies of Central and South America would have made no effort for independence and far less achieved it. France, which aided in our own struggle, was the first to follow our example, and though unsettled in its form of government for years has now become the bulwark of Republicanism in the Old World. The newly organized nationalities in Europe, whose stability and prosperity are our ardent hope, are all republican in form, and most remarkable of all, the oldest government in the world and the one supposed to be the most unchanging, that of China, is today a republic.

VI

Majority Rule: The American Principle

One more point on this subject, and I have done, and I refer to it because it seems to have failed to receive general attention. I allude to the last sentence in the Compact—that referring to the obedience of the minority. After providing for laws, ordinances and offices, for the general good of the Colony, it adds, "unto which we promise all due submission and obedience."

No part of the instrument is more important than this, and these words mark the foundation of what may be called the "American idea" of the finality of elections and the acquiescence of minorities. It is so ingrained in the American system that we do not appreciate it, but it is all important in the practical life of the nation. Here, as a matter of course, when the result of an election is known, the minority accepts that result, and usually in the best of temper; by a graceful custom the defeated candidate congratulates his more fortunate opponent. The minority is no doubt disappointed, but never sullen, and usually sat-

isfies itself by claiming that it will have better luck next time. The idea of resistance or revolt does not enter the mind. This is the spirit of the Mayflower which has become the spirit of America. It is purely American or at most Anglo-Saxon. The chief difficulty in the Latin republics of South and Central America is that this principle has not prevailed there. Instead of an election being conclusive it is too often the beginning instead of the end of a political contest. The stability of American institutions is based on the acceptance of this principle, and it is first found enunciated in distinct terms in the Mayflower Compact.

Thus the spirit of the Mayflower has marched down the vista of the centuries, conquering and to conquer!

VII

The Challenge and the Answer

I opened this address by quoting from the eloquent reference by Daniel Webster to those who should meet here a century later; and to that I again refer in closing.

That dramatic peroration of Webster's was more than a greeting to those still in the womb of time, for it was a challenge to the generations to come at least to equal those of the two preceding centuries in their devotion to the principles of the fathers, and their achievements based thereon. They were reminded that a grand inheritance of principle and prosperity was something not simply to be enjoyed but to be transmitted unimpaired, broadened and strengthened as the sphere of influence had been increased.

Let us rejoice that we are not afraid or ashamed to meet this challenge. Let us thank God that the present descendants of the Pilgrims can stand upright, with clear eye and unshaken voice and boldly though reverently declare that we have not been recreant to our duty or unmindful of our trust.

Great trials have come upon the republican form of government as represented by our nation within these last hundred years. The most severe was when it was attacked by rebellion from within, for all previous republics had fallen when thus assailed. If the Great Republic of America had succumbed, the cause of freedom would have

been set back for ages. The nation was purposely left unprepared, but when the day of trial came, after four years of struggle and of sacrifice, the spirit of the Mayflower prevailed and brought at once Victory and Peace and Union; and when, a half century later, the world across the sea was in dire distress, it was again the Mayflower spirit that nerved the nation to stretch forth its strong right arm and bring to the warring peoples security and peace.

Yes! Thank God that we can answer the challenge; and as the gallant chief of our armies across the sea, at the grave of the generous Frenchman who had aided us in achieving independence, electrified the world by the concentrated eloquence of the four words; "Lafayette, We are here!" so can the descendants of the Pilgrims invoke the spirit of the mighty orator of 1820 and say without fear or trembling, "Webster, We are here!"



CROSSING THE ATLANTIC



THE PILGRIMS' FIRST INDIAN: VISIT OF SAMOSET

One of Attwood's Cartoons, in the Series, "The Pilgrims and Their Neighbors." The Cartoonist Gets the Most Fun Out of Subjects Deep in the Hearts of the People.

Colorado's First Schools

A Story of Early Days in the West, Where the Children of the Miners
Learned Both Lessons and Discipline

BY

ABNER R. BROWN

I

The First School in Boulder, Colorado



HAVING taught several terms in Pine Plains and White Plains, New York, as well as in Muscatine and Cedar Rapids, Iowa, it occurred to me, as I passed through the little nest of some twenty log cabins in Boulder, Colorado, on June 1, 1860, that the groups of children of school age playing in the streets numbered more than two to each house. So I asked one of the citizens if there was a school in the town. The reply came quickly:

"No, but we would like to start one as soon as we can find a good teacher."

I was then on my way to Gold Hill and Left Hand, to assist in erecting a quartz mill, and I said:

"If I do not like milling or mining, I may return to Boulder in about two weeks, and get up a school."

I returned about June 15, and secured forty pupils, for whom I was to receive a dollar and a half a month each, tuition. I hired one room of a log cabin, twelve by twenty feet in size, for ten dollars a month, of a man named Street, who lived with his family of five in the only other room of the cabin. My room was nicely furnished, for the price, as follows: The floor was painted a beautiful yellowish drab color (the virgin soil), and artistically inlaid with nodules of various sizes and colors, arising from the surface at irregular distances, some of which may have been a rare species of marble for aught I know, or some other variety of precious stones.

COLORADO'S FIRST SCHOOLS

The walls consisted of solid logs of spruce and other varieties of native pine, with the bark nicely retained, and glowing in the most naturally preserved, variegated colors—so much so, that one could easily imagine one's self reposing in the cool shadows of the most romantic mountain resort in the deepest recesses of the most enchanting glen, almost hidden among the thick and majestic pineries of the Rockies. The interstices between the logs were nicely filled with neatly fitting split and quartered cord-wood, placed therein with mechanical precision, called by the euphonious name of "chinking," and fastened there, not with vulgar nails at forty cents a pound (which was the price then), but with beautiful wooden pegs driven into the logs, and with all remaining air holes plastered up with soil which has in some cases proven to be filled with gold sufficient to show several colors to the pan. The roof consisted of shingles split out of three-foot cord-wood, called "shakes," nailed on the roof logs, and, when finished, we had the privilege of looking up into the blue sky or gathering clouds any time of day, or seeing the stars at night, between the shakes. But in case of wind storms (and the wind does blow in Boulder!)—whew! one could see neither sky nor clouds, nor each other inside the cabin.

I taught this school for three months, when the town began to grow, and a gentleman by the name of J. W. Partridge—now residing in Denver—came into town with saw-mill and shingle machine, which stirred us all up, and we began to "put on airs," with the result that the citizens were called together, and we voted to build a good frame school house, twenty-four by thirty-six feet, with a ten-foot ceiling, lath and plaster it, put on a shingle roof, and ornament it with a real brick chimney, with brick brought all the way from Denver, thirty miles distant. All of us agreed to take off our coats, cut down the trees, haul the logs to mill, and get them sawed into lumber on shares, with which to build the house. Being a carpenter myself, I agreed not only to help cut and haul the logs, but to do the carpenter work on the building, and the citizens were to board me without charge. We finished the house, October 15, 1860, at a cost of about twelve hundred dollars.

One of the humorous incidents which occurred during the building of the house was that one day David H. Nichols, who afterward was Lieutenant-Governor of the State, found a man loading up logs with our mark on, which he intended to use in building a house for himself.

"Drop those logs off that wagon, or one of us will get licked," was the order the man heard.

The man looked at "Dave," as we called him, and asked:

"What is your name?"

"Dave Nichols," was the reply.

"All right. I reckon I made a mistake in the logs."

But he made no mistake in the man, as he evidently had heard of Dave; and he quickly unloaded the logs, which Dave as quickly proceeded to reload upon his own wagon.

After the school-house was finished, we found we had run out of money, and still lacked a stove. But we were equal to the emergency. We found a few sheets of abandoned tom iron, an eighth of an inch thick, down in the placer diggings, and I soon made a stove of it, two feet wide, two feet high, and four feet long. Ten years later that stove was still in use, and I am told that it is still used occasionally in winter in newly plastered houses to keep the plaster from freezing. We bought the large sheets of stove-pipe iron in Denver, and I also made thirty feet of pipe, bending it around a wagon tongue, and riveting it on a crowbar, and it fitted like a charm.

Then the ladies of the place got up a fine supper in the school house, at which we had toasts and speeches, and they raised forty-two dollars in gold dust, taken out of Boulder Creek within the town limits, which they presented to me, and soon I strutted around town in a new suit of clothes.

The cut of the old school-house, which appeared in a Boulder paper a couple of years ago, is not an accurate picture, in many particulars. For instance, the roof shows to be down to the tops of the windows, while there was from three to four feet space above the windows. There was also a fine transom sash above the door. The substantial brick chimney was at the back end of the house, and had a well-ornamented top, four feet above the ridge, and it was never deformed by any old piece of stove-pipe either. This picture was gotten up to belittle the beginnings of the pioneers, and show the greatest possible contrast with the five elegant school structures which grace the city of Boulder now.

I taught the school that winter, but by spring the placer mines had proven a failure, and many of the cabins had been moved out on the ranches, so there were but few pupils left to attend school, and I turned

it over to Miss Kate Goss, who is now Mrs. George T. Clark, and a resident of Denver.

Then J. H. Decker and I took up eighty acres of land adjoining the town site (now the very heart of the City of Boulder), fenced it in, and built a large two-story house of hewed logs upon it. We cut the logs from the top of the highest cliffs just west of the State University buildings, and pitched them off the cliff to slide down the mountain-side as best they could.

We moved into our new mansion in April, 1861, and, having built a large hotbed months before, we had thousands of plants set out and just ready to use and sell, and several acres of garden in a nicely growing condition, when one fine mornig, to our dismay, we found millions of grasshoppers hatching out in every direction, and in less than a week they had eaten every green thing above ground, and had even dug down into the roots under-ground to eat them.

A public meeting was called of all the ranchmen in Boulder Valley, at which the money was raised to send a big wagon to Omaha to buy seed to plant again. We paid ten per cent. a month interest for borrowed money to send, and it cost ten cents a pound freight to get it here.

In September following, we were all "in clover," on account of crops of all kinds, as well as gardens, looking so promising, and were just enjoying the fruits of our labors, with roasting ears right in their prime, and all kinds of vegetables at their best, when, as we were gathered in the school-house one bright sunshiny Sunday afternoon, listening to a sermon, suddenly the sky was darkened to almost the gloom of a total eclipse of the sun, and great drops of hail seemed to be driven against the windows and roof of the house. On looking out, we saw, to our astonishment and terror, that a perfect living cloud of full-grown grasshoppers filled the air in every direction, as far as the eye could reach. This scourge continued, settling down upon our fields and gardens as the cool of evening came on, until, with all we could do, by whipping the ground with brush, we could not make them rise more than a few inches above the ground, and, as we drove them before us in little jumps, by dark they were gathered into windrows of fifty feet in length and three to four inches deep.

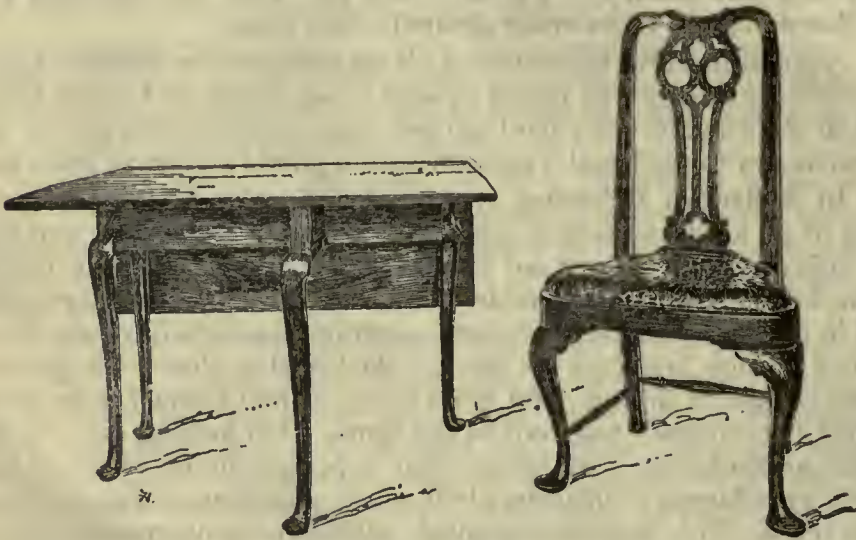
They remained with us throughout Boulder Valley for some three or four days, eating nearly everything green before them, when sud-

THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY

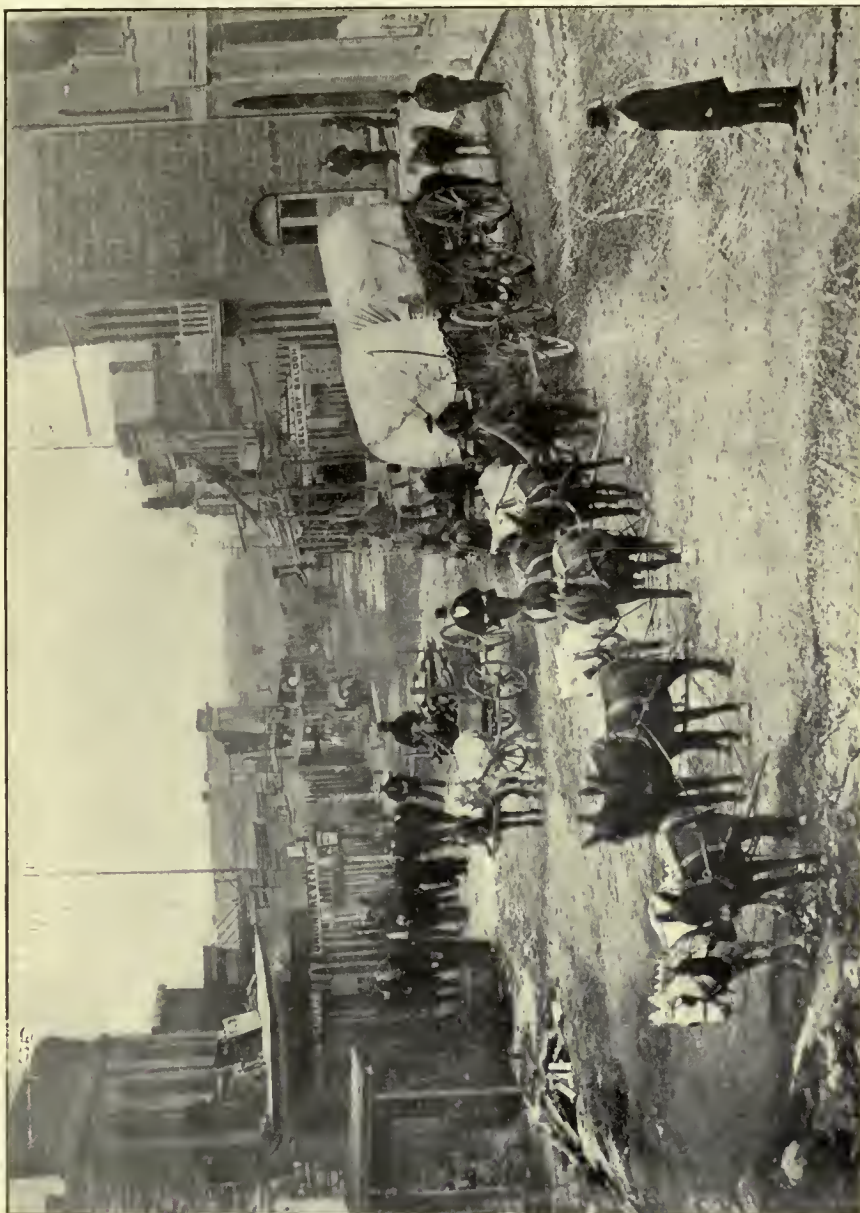
denly they all rose at once and migrated eastward, to pester some other locality. They did not like tomatoes, and could not eat hard-shell squashes, so we had these left us.

The firm of Brown & Decker sold their ten-thousand-dollar addition to Boulder to a Denver capitalist named Amos Widener, father-in-law of Ex-Mayor Platt Rogers of Denver, for an old worn-out yoke of oxen, hitched to a still worse and older rickety lumber wagon, the wheels of which we had to soak up and wire up to make it stand up alone long enough to move our few household goods down to Denver.

(To Be Continued)

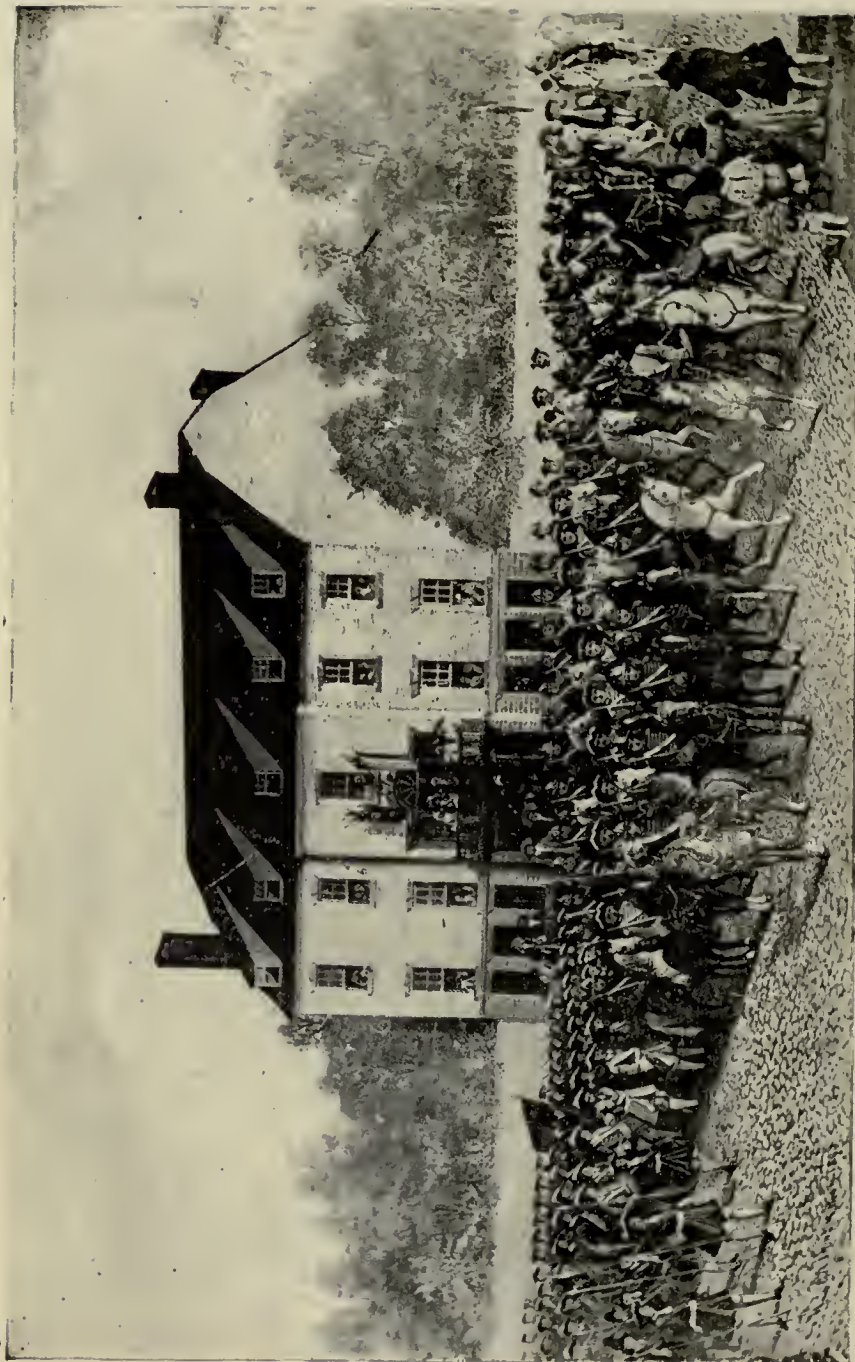


OLD FURNITURE

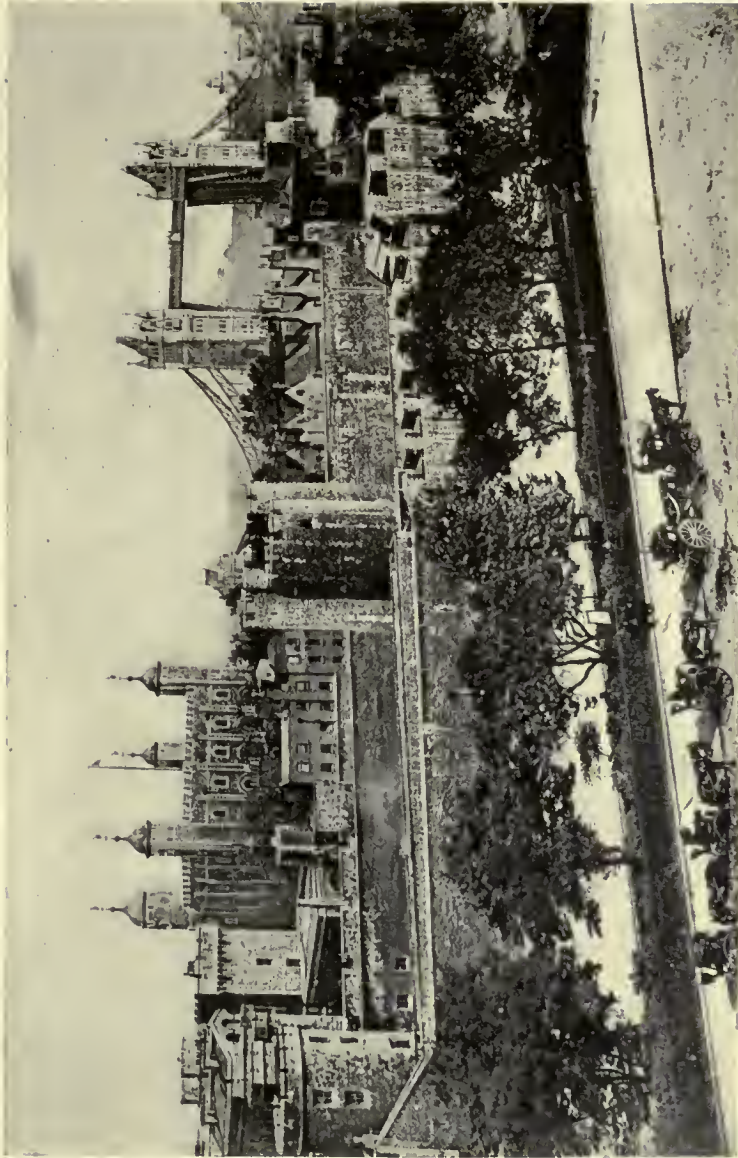


HELENA, MONTANA, ABOUT 1867

Helena Sprang Up Near Gold Mines Discovered Late in the Fall of 1864 and Was Originally Called "Last Chance Gulch."



GOVERNOR BELLOMONT REVIEWING NEW YORK TROOPS BEFORE COLONEL ABRAHAM DE PEYSTER'S HOUSE
Colonel de Peyster's Home in Broad Street, New York, at the Period When the Bank of England Was Founded in London.



THE TOWER OF LONDON

The Oldest Building, Now Standing, in the Old Part of London, England, Where the Bank of England Was Established and Still Occupies An Impressive Building.



KING OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND AT THE TIME WHEN THE GOLD-
SMITHS OF LONDON BEGAN THE PRACTICE WHICH LED TO MODERN
BANKING.

A History of Banks and Banking and
of Banks and Banking in the City of
New York :: :: :: :: ::

BY

W. Harrison Bayles

and

Frank Allaben

FRANK ALLABEN, Editor-in-Chief

CHAPTER IV

THE BANK OF ENGLAND

Need for a National Bank Increases—The “Land Bank” Project—William Paterson’s Plan for a National Bank—His Plan is Adopted—The Bank of England Established—Opposition to Bank of England Strongly Supported by Disappointed Projectors of Rival Schemes—Nevertheless, the Bank Prospers—Montague Becomes Chancellor of the Exchequer—Bank Notes Issued—The Bank, Supported by the Government, Becomes a Great Financial Institution—The “Land Bank” Project Again Revived—The Scheme Fails—A Terrible Year Follows for the Bank of England—The King Asks for a Loan of £200,000—The Bank Loans Money to the King—It Becomes Prosperous Once More—A System of Giving a Depositor Credit is Installed—The Company Erects a New Bank Building—The Bank of England Becomes an Established Financial Institution—It Commands Respect Throughout the Kingdom.

The Bank of England



DURING a critical period in the history of England, when her King was greatly in need of money in order to maintain his seat upon the throne, a scheme was brought forward and put in operation by an act of Parliament which not only accomplished the desired object of raising funds, but at the same time founded one of the greatest financial institutions that the world has ever seen, the Bank of England.

As we have seen, the business of banking, which had started with the goldsmiths in the time of Charles I., had grown into great importance in the time of Charles II., before the end of whose reign the new system of financing transactions by goldsmiths' notes had become so well established that few would have chosen to go back to the old ways. On the contrary, as banking became an important business, men began to discuss the question of the expediency of setting up a national bank. The increased wealth of the people of London, and the active business which had grown up among the goldsmiths, had convinced many of the probable benefits of a public bank. The Bank of St. George in Genoa and the Bank of Amsterdam had long been renowned throughout Europe, and had the confidence of all. The services rendered by these banks, their stability, and the prosperity which they had created, were often cited, and became favorite topics in conversation on business. Such establishments were held up as models, and the question was asked, Why should not a Bank of London be as great and durable as either of these? The subject was agitated and discussed in all its bearings.

Various schemes were brought forward to establish a national bank, some of them of the most ridiculous and impracticable character. One of these was brought forward by Dr. Hugh Chamberlayne, who laid before the Commons, in December, 1693, the scheme of a Land Bank, by which he proposed to raise eight thousand pounds of current

credit, as he called it, on every freehold estate of one hundred and fifty pounds a year, which should be brought into his bank. Distress and hope made the landed gentlemen credulous, and Chamberlayne's scheme was referred to a committee, which reported that it was practicable and would tend to the benefit of the nation; but no further action was taken.

The man whose plan was finally adopted, and who is therefore considered as the founder of the Bank of England, was William Paterson, a Scotchman. He submitted to the government, in 1691, a plan for a national bank. It was favorably received, but nothing was done until the spring of 1694, when it became absolutely necessary to raise money to carry on the war. Paterson's plan, slightly changed from the first proposal, was then taken up by Charles Montague, who placed it before the House of Commons, advocating its passage.

Among commercial men in the City of London, Michael Godfrey, one of the ablest, most upright, and most opulent of its merchants, supported the project, which was to incorporate the subscribers to a fund of £1,200,000 under the name of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England. The whole of this fund was to be loaned to the government, for which the bank was to receive interest at the rate of eight per cent. per annum, and £4,000 a year for expense of management, making altogether £100,000 per annum. The banking corporation was not to borrow nor to owe more than the amount of its capital, was to have no exclusive privilege, and was to be restricted from trading in anything but bills of exchange, bullion, and merchandise on which they had advanced money and which had not been redeemed.

In support of the intended bank, Godfrey wrote "that if the bank can circulate their foundations of £1,200,000, without having more than £300,000 lying dead at one time with another, the said bank will be in effect at £900,000 fresh money brought into the nation. Thus it will make money plentiful, trade easy and secure; will raise the price of lands; will draw the species of gold and silver into the hands of the common people, as we see it in Holland, Genoa, and other places where these funds are accommodated to receipts and payments. But, after all, the happy effect of this undertaking, like almost all other great things in trade, will be best understood by the practice thereof, when time shall convince the ignorant," etc.

Furious opposition arose from the disappointed projectors of rival

schemes that had failed to get the support of those in authority. The opposition was strongly supported by the goldsmiths and bankers, who foresaw the ruin of their business. Some said that it was a new thing, and they did not understand it, but that banks certainly could thrive nowhere but in a republic. The Tories predicted ruin to the monarchy, and that the terms of the loan would be disastrous to borrowers on landed security. Others predicted ruin to their liberties, that the bank would be a formidable instrument of tyranny, the whole wealth of the nation being in the bank, and the bank being in the hands of the King. Thus the power of the purse would be transferred from the House of Commons to the Governor and Company of the Bank of England. This last objection caused a change to be made in the pending bill, so as to prohibit the bank from advancing money to the Crown without authority from Parliament. Thus amended, it passed the House of Commons.

The House of Lords contended that the question of calling into existence a body that might one day rule the whole commercial world should not be decided by one branch of the legislature, but that the peers should have opportunity to examine the subject, make amendments, and ask for conference; and that the law establishing the bank should not be made a part of a law granting supplies to the Crown. However, notwithstanding much opposition, the bill passed the House of Lords, and a few hours later received the royal assent. Parliament was prorogued by the King, with a speech in which he warmly thanked the Commons for their liberality, and Montague, for his services, was rewarded with the place of Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The statute under which the bank was created was "An Act for granting to their majesties several rates and duties upon tonnage of ships and vessels, and upon beer, ale and other liquors, for securing certain recompenses and advantages in said Act mentioned, to such persons as shall voluntarily advance the sum of fifteen hundred thousand pounds towards the carrying on the war against France." It was known as the Tonnage Act, and in derision the bank was generally spoken of by its opponents as the Tonnage Bank. It was supposed that the tax would produce about £140,000 per annum, out of which the bank was to get £100,000 to pay interest and expenses.

As it had been supposed that subscriptions would be made very slowly, considerable time had been allowed; but so popular was the new investment that three hundred thousand pounds were subscribed the

day the books were opened, in the Mercers' Chapel. This was Thursday, June 21st, and by Monday, July 2nd, the entire amount was taken up. Subscriptions were also made for £300,000 in annuities, for one, two, or three lives, which completed the £1,500,000 to be raised by the so-called tonnage bill. The charter of the bank was issued on the 27th of July, 1694, and after remaining in Mercers' Hall for a few months, the Bank of England opened for business in the Grocers' Hall, where it continued until 1743. Active operations were commenced on the first of January, 1695.

Sir John Houblon became the first Governor of the bank, and Michael Godfrey, Deputy Governor. One of the first twenty-four Directors was William Paterson, who soon retired. Among the first business transactions of the bank was the payment into the Exchequer of £112,000 in bank-notes, sealed with the seal of the corporation, which bore the figure of Britannia sitting on a bank of money.

The managers of the Bank of England, as originally incorporated, had three great advantages over all competitors. They received on deposit the government balances; by virtue of the law and their charter they enjoyed a limited liability, the shareholders being liable for the debts of the bank only to the amount of their investment; and they were able to loan their notes as money up to the amount of their loan to the government.

The linking of the financial interests of England with the government was a wise political move. The Bank of England for several generations was emphatically a Whig body. As Macaulay says, "It was Whig, not accidentally, but necessarily. It must have instantly stopped payment if it had ceased to receive the interest on the sum which it had advanced to the government: and of that interest James would not have paid one farthing." The fact that the bank was so closely bound to the then existing government forced it to lend its support in any emergency. Thus the bank and the government pulled together through the war, and the bank became a great financial institution, with which the British government has been more or less closely connected ever since. The fund-holder, too, in self-preservation, was bound to support the government. Experience has, indeed, demonstrated that the control of the people by a government can best be gained by securing the support of the financial interests of the country. The establishment of the Bank of England caused a change in

the relations of Crown and City. Hitherto the City of London had been called the King's Chamber, and when the King wanted money he called upon the City for a loan, which, if not excessive, was generally conceded. Henceforth the bank was called upon, instead of the City, in any monetary emergency.

William Paterson, the founder of the Bank of England, deserves from us more than a passing notice. We are, besides, particularly interested in him because he was, it is supposed, a resident for some time of New York and Albany, his name appearing prominently in the records of New York Colony.

"Of his early life," says Macaulay, "little is known except that he was a native of Scotland, and that he had been in the West Indies. In what character he had visited the West Indies was a matter about which his contemporaries differed. His friends said that he had been a missionary; his enemies that he had been a buccaneer. He seems to have been gifted by nature with fertile invention, an ardent temperament, and great powers of persuasion, and to have acquired somewhere in the course of his vagrant life a perfect knowledge of accounts."

In or about the year 1668, a man by the name of William Paterson appeared in New York. He called himself a merchant, or trader, but the only article in which he traded, so far as can be ascertained, was liquor—rum from the West Indies. Unlike most newcomers, who, possessing little, generally commenced business cautiously, hiring at first a small house, Paterson seems to have had considerable means, and soon was the owner of several houses and lots. He purchased in 1668 the house and lot of George Woolsey, now No. 75 Pearl street, where stands a brick building used as a bagging and cooperage warehouse. Besides this property, Paterson came into possession of a small house and lot in William street, near Wall, a house with nearly half an acre of land near William street, on a lane afterwards closed, a lot of ground on the corner of Wall and William streets, a lot of ground which is now a part of the lot on which the Old Cotton Exchange stands, and a house and lot on Pearl street near the fort.

Paterson got into trouble in New York in the spring of 1669. He became involved in litigation, in which the proceedings of the court, according to his ideas, were quite unjust, and he expressed his views so plainly that the marshal of the court brought against him "an action of Disfamation," in which he declared that Paterson "hath greatly dis-

famed this plaintiff in doing his office as Marshal of this city, in calling this plaintiff Roag, & would prove him to be one before the Governor." For this insult to the court officer Paterson was fined twenty-five guilders, and was recommended "to take warning not to affront or abuse any of the officers for the future any more, or that a greater penalty shall be imposed upon him according to the merits thereof."

Soon after this Paterson went to Albany, where he became a prominent figure in an affair which, causing considerable interest and excitement, threatened for a time to involve the Dutch colonists and their English rulers in very serious difficulties.

Paterson, on coming to Albany, hired a small house of Jochem Wessells, where he and his servant-man lived, taking their meals, it seems, at Jochem's house.

In the evening of July 31, 1669, Paterson was calmly sitting on a bench in front of Jochem's house, smoking his pipe and conversing pleasantly with Gertruyd, Jochem's wife, when Captain John Baker, in command of the English garrison at Albany, from all accounts a swash-buckler of the most pronounced type, coming from a nearby tavern, walked up to him and addressed him in foul and insulting language. Paterson replied in a proper manner, but without temper. The captain, whose evident intention, as Paterson says, was "to pick a quarrel," threatened to cut off Paterson's ears, etc., and struck him in the face. Paterson stepped back, and warned his adversary, while Jochem's wife endeavored to make peace; but Baker again struck Paterson, who, concluding that he had been sufficiently patient, sprang at his enemy, grasped him around the body, threw him to the ground, and thrashed him till the bystanders interfered. Baker, now thoroughly enraged, repaired to the fort and ordered out a detachment of men, with whom he returned to the scene of action. He ordered his men to burst open the door of Jochem Wessel's house, which he found fastened. This the soldiers refused to do, as being plainly unlawful, whereupon he did it himself.

Not finding Paterson, who had gone to his own house, the captain vented his anger on Jochem's wife, whom he struck and ordered under arrest, after which, as Paterson asserts, "he came running with his said guard to the house and lodging of this complainant, and without knocking or warning of this complainant that he would be in the house,

he charged his said guard to break open the door of the complainant's house * * * which they likewise refused to do; and this complainant, hearing the noise, being just ready to go abed, called out to them and said, 'Stay, Captain Baker, I will open the door.' But the said Baker replied, 'No, but I will break it open,' which he likewise did, * * * which being done, he came in with his sword drawn and pointed at this complainant with intent to have killed him, which he likewise would have done, in case it was not hindered by the Providence of God."

Paterson was put under arrest and taken to the fort, but the case was so gross a violation of the rights of criminal and civil jurisdiction, provided for in the articles of surrender to the English, that the Dutchmen of Albany arose *en masse* in Paterson's defense. That very night the magistrates were called together and proceeded in a body to the fort to demand Paterson's release. This was at first refused, but within twenty-four hours, Baker, seeing the danger of his position, assented to Paterson's discharge.

The next day, although it was Sunday, the magistrates held an extra session in the afternoon, at which Paterson was present, when papers were prepared for transmission to the Governor and Council at New York. These were probably presented by Paterson in person, and were quickly acted upon.

Baker was ordered to answer the charges. This he did in a curious document, which proved quite unsatisfactory. The result was that an order was made, on the 18th of August, suspending Captain Baker from his command, allowing Paterson to prosecute him in the civil courts, and ordering the soldiers of the command to give in their depositions, which they promptly did, against their commander.

There was evidently a desire in some quarters that the matter should not be pushed to rigorous conclusions, as technically the offense embraced the capital crime of burglary. Paterson, too, seems to have been anxious to dispose of the case as soon as possible. The special court or commission, appointed to try the case, having recommended that the parties should come to some agreement, reports that "Mr. Paterson flung up his papers and left the case to be decided by the committee." They then, having found Captain Baker at fault, ordered him to pay to Paterson the sum of 200 guilders sewant, and thus the case was ended. By an order of the Council, dated May 14, 1670, Captain Baker was dismissed from the service.

Paterson shortly after this episode, or in the fall of 1669, left New York. He had not then disposed of his lands, and they were in all probability managed by an agent. Mr. Bayard is said to have held a letter of attorney from him.

When the Dutch captured New York, in the year 1673, all of Paterson's property in the city was confiscated, on the ground that, being a resident of Scotland, he was not protected by the articles of surrender. After the restoration of New York to the English, Paterson, through his attorney, attempted to recover compensation for the loss of his property. The occupants of the premises were sustained in their possession, but it was recommended that "in consideration of Mr. Paterson's loosing his houses," he should have "for each house a lot of vacant ground in some convenient place within this City, to bee laid out by the magistrates with the first convenience." Nothing appears to have been done to carry out this proposal.

Through some influence in England the Duke of York was induced to take an interest in the affair, for, on the 17th of May, 1676, it is recorded in the minutes of the Governor and Council that the case of Mr. Paterson "having been taken into consideration in obedience to His Royal Highness' commands," it is stated that "such of his houses as were disposed of in the time of the warre being confirmed to ye Passessors by the Court of Assize, it is not knowne how hee can be relieved therein."

Some years later, in June, 1684, he, then described as a merchant of Edinburgh, executed a power of attorney to George Lockhart, chirurgeon, a Scotchman residing at that time in New York, authorizing him "to sue for and recover all and sundry houses, plantations, etc., belonging to me in New York, Albany and the colonies of New England, or in any other parts of America whatsoever, and to sell and dispose of the same," etc. Under this power of attorney, issued at Edinburgh before Watts Marshall and J. Barbour, witnesses, several releases in the year 1685 were executed by Lockhart to the former grantees of Paterson's property, which ends the records of Paterson's connection with New York.

It has been conjectured that some portion of the spoils of the Spaniards in the West Indies, or possibly of Morgan's sack of the town of Porto Bello, may have entered into the purchase of Paterson's real estate in New York. There is strong suspicion that the abundant

means, of which he seemed possessed while here, were in some way acquired among the buccaneers, which, if true, would in those times not at all have disparaged his character in New York City. The life of the founder of the Bank of England in the West Indies, in his younger days, is clouded with a mystery which he himself never seemed to care to lift, and there seems no reason to doubt that the William Paterson who resided in New York in 1668 and 1669 was the man who originated the plan for the establishment of the Bank of England, the leading institution of modern finance.

Paterson was director of the Bank of England for only a year. Some have stated that he was ill-used, but there may have been good cause for his retirement. Although founder of the bank, his views may not have been in harmony with those of other careful and conservative directors, for he was of a speculative and adventurous turn of mind, a few years later becoming the promoter and leader in one of the wildest schemes that has ever been put in operation, the Darien Expedition.

While preparations were being made for this unfortunate undertaking Paterson was a prominent man. "The great projector was the idol of the whole nation," writes Macaulay. "Men spoke to him with more profound respect than to the lord high commissioner. His antechamber was crowded with solicitors desirous to catch some drops of that golden shower of which he was supposed to be the dispenser. To be seen walking with him in the High Street, to be honored by him with a private interview of a quarter of an hour, were enviable distinctions. He, after the fashion of all the false prophets who have deluded themselves and others, drew new faith in his own lie from the credulity of his disciples. His countenance, his voice, his gestures, indicated boundless self-importance. When he appeared in public he looked—such is the language of one who probably had often seen him—like Atlas, conscious that a world was on his shoulders. But the airs which he gave himself only heightened the respect and admiration which he inspired. His demeanor was regarded as a model. Scotchmen who wished to be thought wise looked as like Paterson as they could."

The scheme for a Land Bank, but somewhat different from the one that had failed of success in 1693, was brought forward in 1696, to the great delight of the country land-owners, who were of opinion that a bank which should make a special business of advancing money on

the security of land would be a blessing to the nation. Members of Parliament, including the speaker, proposed that such a bank should be established, and claimed that if their plan were adopted the King would be amply supplied with money for the war.

A bill was introduced, authorizing the government to borrow £2,564,000 at seven per cent., the interest on it to be paid by a new tax on salt. If subscriptions to one-half of this loan should be paid into the Exchequer before the first of August, the subscribers were to become a corporate body, under the name of the National Land Bank.

At least half a million pounds were to be loaned annually on mortgage, at three and a half per cent., if paid quarterly, or at four per cent., if paid half yearly. The Tories and even the landed Whigs were enthusiastic in support of the new bank, and exultingly predicted that it would completely eclipse the Bank of England. The bill passed both Houses. On the 27th of April it received the King's assent, and Parliament was prorogued. Of course, the moneyed men were not anxious to invest in a corporation to loan money at three and a half per cent., and the landed men, although they ardently wished for its success, had no money to lend; they wished to borrow. The scheme thus became a complete failure, but, for a time, produced a very disastrous effect upon the Bank of England.

At the same time a reformation of the coinage, carried out by Sir Isaac Newton, was making a great disturbance in trade. Saturday, the second of May, 1696, the last day on which clipped coins were to be received by tale in payment of taxes, was followed by months of agony and trouble. Coin became extremely scarce. The upper classes seem to have lived to a great extent on credit. It was difficult even for a wealthy man to pay the weekly bills of the baker and butcher. By such a man promissory notes were used. The notes of the goldsmiths and the notes of the Bank of England were in circulation, and did much towards relieving the situation. Those of the Bank of England would have been of greater service had it not been that the public confidence in it had been shaken by the recent act establishing the Land Bank.

For a time it was generally supposed that the Land Bank would be established as a rival to the Bank of England. It was doubted whether there would be room for two such institutions, and as there were great expectations from the Land Bank in the form of a loan,

it seemed to be the favorite of the government and the legislature. The shares of the Bank of England dropped from one hundred and ten to eighty-three, and the goldsmiths, or private bankers, hostile to the bank from the beginning, now joined with its enemies, collected its paper from every source, and on the 4th of May, when the old money had mostly been taken out of circulation and scarcely any of the new had been issued, came down to Grocers' Hall and demanded immediate payment. One goldsmith alone asked for thirty thousand pounds. The directors wisely refused to redeem these notes, but continued payments to ordinary customers. It was soon impossible to procure silver enough to pay even claims made in good faith.

A call was made on the shareholders for twenty per cent., which enabled the bank to pay in milled money fifteen per cent. of each note presented. The note was returned to the applicant, after indorsing on it this partial payment. The bank still preserves in its archives a few notes, thus indorsed, as memorials of that terrible year.

On July 13, the Lords of the Treasury issued an order that no public notary should enter a protest upon any bill of the Bank of England for fourteen days. This was a practical suspension of specie payment, which lasted until the autumn of 1697. The notes of the Bank continued to circulate, but their value fluctuated from day to day. The discount eventually dropped as low as twenty-four per cent. On July 28, 1696, it had been ten per cent., on October 10, twenty per cent.

On the bill for establishing the Land Bank, Montague had succeeded in engrafting a clause authorizing the government to issue treasury notes, bearing interest at the rate of three pence a day on a hundred pounds, and in the midst of the general distress Exchequer bills appeared, for various amounts from five pounds to a hundred pounds. These were rapidly distributed, and were everywhere received with satisfaction by the great majority of the people.

The King had hoped to get money by the loan which was to be made by the new bank, and great dependence had been placed upon it; but when, on the first of August, the whole amount subscribed was only two thousand one hundred pounds, and the last hope from this source was extinguished, the Council of Regency, almost in despair, appealed to the Bank of England. The very smallest amount which would suffice to meet the most urgent needs of the King was £200,000, which the bank was asked to advance. As the government had favored the

establishment of an institution, which, it was generally supposed, would cause the ruin of the bank, the capitalists who controlled it were in no very good humor; but fair words and earnest and persuasive entreaties prevailed. The directors promised to do their best, but it was thought to be impossible to raise the money without a second call of twenty per cent. A meeting of shareholders, or, as it was called, a General Court, was called at Grocers' Hall, on August 15, 1696.

This was an important epoch in the history of the bank. The government was in terrible straits, and the bank was bound, for its own sake, to support it. Sir John Houblon, the Governor, who was also Lord Mayor, and Commissioner of the Admiralty, occupied the chair, and in a carefully-prepared speech explained the case and implored the stockholders to stand by King William. As the money was to be used in Flanders, notes of the bank would not suffice; it must be hard money. There was some murmuring, but when the question was put every hand was raised for sending the money.

Although the Bank of England's notes gave some relief in the great scarcity of coin in 1696, their use was limited, as no note was issued for less than £20. This caused demand on the bank for coin for small transactions. The notes at first were drawn to order, and passed only by indorsement. They were written out in full. The notes of private bankers had at first been drawn for any odd amount, and written in full on paper. The practice of having notes partly printed, so that the amount and the name of the payee could be filled in, was first introduced in 1729 by Child & Co. It was not till 1793 that the issue of their own notes to depositors was discontinued by the London bankers, and the system of giving a depositor a credit, and allowing him to draw against it at his own convenience, was generally established.

The needs of the government led to the legislation of 1697 by which the capital of the Bank of England was enlarged to the extent of £1,001,171 by subscriptions to a new loan. The bank was authorized to issue notes to the amount of the subscriptions, provided that the notes were made payable to bearer on demand, and its charter was extended until the expiration of twelve months' notice after August 1, 1710. This was an extension of five years. The notes, previously issued, had borne interest, and now rose above par, while the issue of non-interest-bearing notes circulated at par. It is said that the sub-

scriptions, which added to the capital in 1697, were made by those already shareholders, and were repaid to them between 1697 and 1707 from the profits of the bank.

The principal feature of the early transactions of the Bank of England, and its main source of profit, was the issue of notes by which it loaned its credit. In some of the early acts relating to the bank, note-issues are spoken of as if they were the entire banking business. As we have seen, the modern system of checks, drawn against deposits, was little used.

Thirty-eight years after the bank's foundation, the cornerstone of a new building was laid in the presence of the governor and other officials, in Threadneedle street, on the site once occupied by the handsome residence and extensive garden of Sir John Houblon, the first governor. On June 5th, 1734, the bank was moved from its old quarters in Grocers' Hall into the new building, and from that time has been designated as "The Old Lady in Threadneedle Street." The bank building has since been much enlarged, as business has increased, until it now covers the whole space inclosed by Threadneedle street, Princes street, Bartholomew lane, and Lothbury, an area of over three acres of land, upon which, unique in its style of architecture, its windowless walls, only one story in height, rise with imposing solidity.

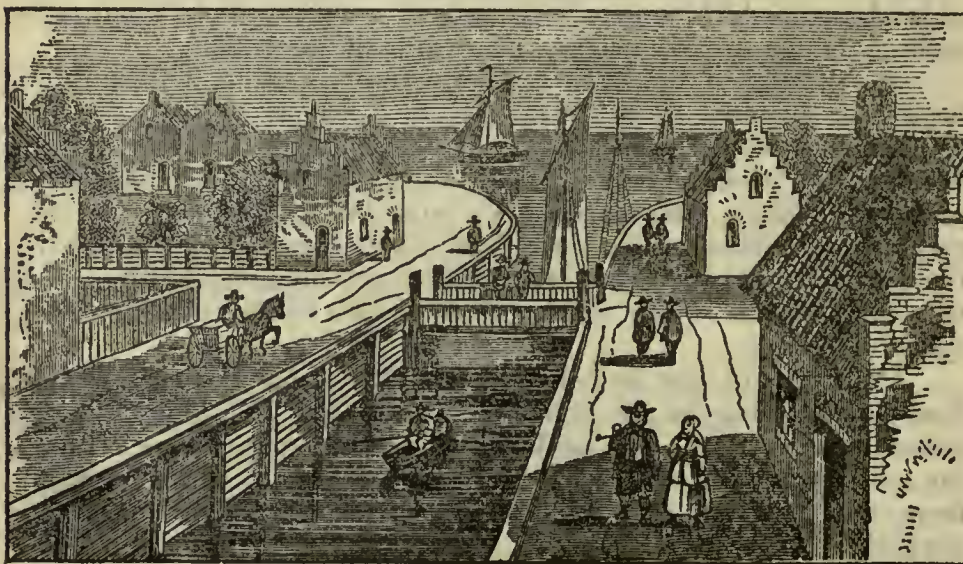
An official of the bank resides within its walls, and he or his deputy is supposed to be always on the premises. Clerks are also selected to remain at the bank every night during the year, and on Sundays and bank holidays. Besides this, a feature of the bank is the guard of soldiers, who march down from the tower and are on duty every night. This custom dates back to the summer of 1780, when the Gordon riots took place. The soldiers are supplemented by a body of porters and workmen, fully trained in case of fire or other emergency.

From time to time the bank's charter has been extended and modified, and each time the government has exacted an additional loan, or a reduction of interest. The bank has passed through many vicissitudes, the most important of which was the suspension of specie payments from 1797 to 1822, a period of twenty-five years, caused by large advances to the government for war purposes. This suspension is commonly called the "Bank of England Restriction," because the bank was restricted by the Privy Council, and afterwards by Parliament,

from paying specie for its obligations. The bank continued its usual discounts, however, paying the amount in its own notes, which for three years continued at par with gold. The issue of notes was increased, and they consequently fell below par, until they were, at one time, at a discount of twenty-five per cent.

The debt of the government to the bank has increased, in the lapse of two hundred years and more, from the original debt of £200,000, with interest at eight per cent. per annum, to £11,015,100, with interest at two and three-fourths per cent. per annum. Since 1844 this has remained unchanged, as well as the capital of the bank, which is now £14,553,000.²

²The present chief function of the Bank of England, in acting as a great balance wheel in regulating the currency of Great Britain in accordance with changing business needs, through its discount arrangements with the other banks of the United Kingdom, and in sustaining the foreign as well as the domestic credit of England, the exchange-center of the modern commercial world, by guarding the British gold reserves by means of its influence upon foreign exchange, arose during a later period in the history of the institution. These functions, which have exercised a profound influence upon the development of modern banking throughout the world, and have an increased interest for us in view of our recently established Federal Reserve System, will come before us later in chronological connection with the development of the United States. But the preceding accounts picture to us the banking methods of Europe preceding and contemporaneous with the beginnings and earlier development of banking in the United States. As we shall see in the chapters immediately following, the few centuries of our colonial and national history have recapitulated the primitive trade methods of the youth of the world and the rise and development of modern banking in Europe, and now at length, in the new Federal Reserve System, have taken a step in advance of all other nations.—F. A.



BROAD STREET, NEW YORK, WHEN A CANAL RAN THROUGH IT. This was the Financial District of New York in 1668, when William Paterson, Founder of the Bank of England, was a Resident and Property Owner of New York.

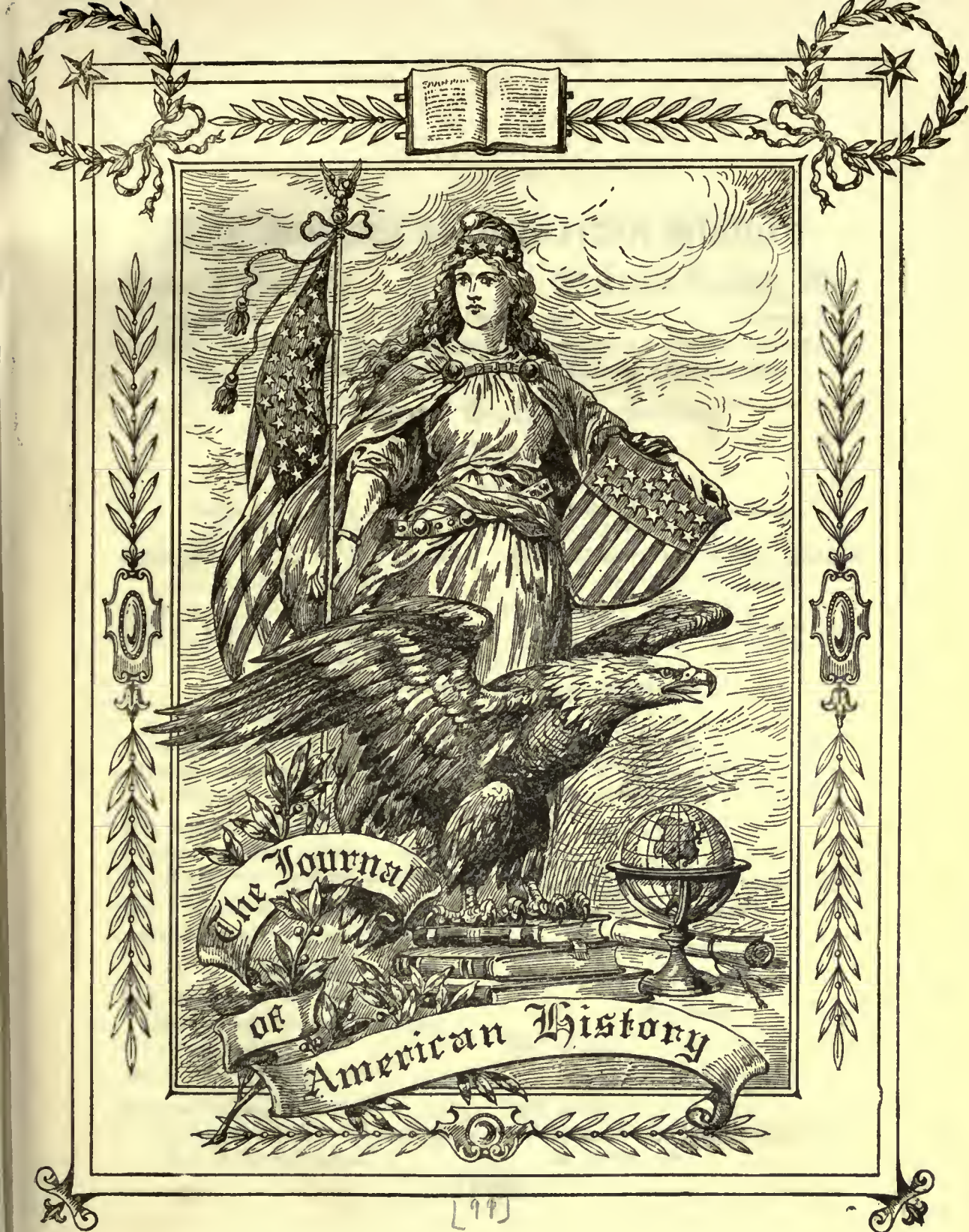
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Articles of Incorporation of The National Historical Society

Incorporated under the Laws of the District of Columbia at Washington, on the Twenty-Sixth Day of April, in the Year of Our Lord, Nineteen Hundred and Fifteen, "For the Purpose of Promoting Historical Knowledge and Patriotism, and the Peace of Righteousness among Nations"



THE NAME by which the Society is to be known is "The National Historical Society."

The Society is to continue in perpetuity.

The particular business and objects of the Society will be:

(a) To discover, procure, preserve, and perpetuate whatever relates to History, the History of the Western Hemisphere, the History of the United States of America and their possessions, and the History of families.

(b) To inculcate and bulwark patriotism, in no partisan, sectional, nor narrowly national sense, but in recognition of man's high obligation toward civic righteousness, believing that human governments are divinely ordained to bear the sword and exercise police duty for good against evil, and not for evil against good, and recognizing, as between peoples and peoples, that "God has made of one blood all nations of men."

(c) To provide a national and international patriotic clearing-house and historical exchange, promoting by suitable means helpful forms of communication and co-operation between all historical organizations, patriotic orders, and kindred societies, local, state, national, and international, that the usefulness of all may be increased and their benefits extended toward education and patriotism.

(d) To promote the work of preserving historic landmarks and marking historic sites.

(e) To encourage the use of historical themes and the expression of patriotism in the arts.

(f) In the furtherance of the objects and purposes of the Society, and not as a commercial business, to acquire The Journal of American History, and to publish the same as the official organ of the Society, and to publish or promote the publication of whatever else may seem advisable in furtherance of the objects of the Society.

(g) To authorize the organization of members of the Society, resident in given localities, into associated branch societies, or chapters of the parent Society, and to promote by all other suitable means the purpose, objects, and work of the Society.

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BATTLE OF PRINCETON
Engraving From Painting By John Trumbull



SITE OF GENERAL SULLIVAN'S BRIDGE

Erected by the American Army 1777-8. Destroyed by Freshets in the Winter of 1778-9. This Memorial Tablet Was
Erected by the Historical Society of Montgomery County, Pennsylvania.



THE BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL

The First Organized Resistance to the British in the American Revolution. Rare Engraving of the Battle of Bunker Hill, Fought June 17, 1775, in Which the British Lost 1,054 Men, or Over One-third of Their Whole Number Engaged. In This Battle the Americans Lost 449, Which Was Over One-Fourth of the American Soldiers Engaged in the Battle of Bunker Hill.



THE BATTLE OF MONMOUTH

A Rare Engraving From a Painting by Chappel, Showing the Battle of Monmouth, June 28, 1778, Where the American Soldiers Fought the British and Compelled Them to Withdraw From New Jersey. In This Battle the American Loss Was 362; the British, 416.

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General Enoch Poor

The Story of a Brave American Patriot Who Endured the Terrible Winter at Valley Forge, Played a Prominent Part in the War for the Independence of the Colonies and Died While Serving His Country

BY

HONORABLE HENRY M. BAKER



HE living commemorate and honor the dead, illustrious for service to country and humanity, by monuments and statues. Such tributes become incentives to high endeavor and brave deeds. Poets, orators, sculptors and painters vie with each other to express fittingly the approbation of the people, and the people applaud their best efforts and achievements. Patriotic societies promote and sustain this natural tendency to perpetuate the honor of the individual and the glory of the State, and in that they find ample justification for their existence and prosperity.

The period of the Revolution is replete with examples of the highest excellence in patriotism, personal service and moral purpose.

No other era of our history presents so much of high thinking and noble action. Wise statesmen—as brave as wise—enunciated principles of government which have found hearty approval wherever men have aspired to personal liberty and self-government.

We cannot too often remember or too greatly honor those who endured hardships and perils and freely made sacrifices that liberty might be preserved and men be ennobled by a representative government. We honor ourselves by the respect and devotion we pay the memory of General Enoch Poor, who enjoyed the confidence and esteem of Washington and the friendship of Lafayette.

Enoch Poor was born on the twenty-first of June, 1736, in that part of Andover, in the State of Massachusetts, which is now incorporated as North Andover. The family was of good English stock. In the mother country it had held responsible positions in both civil and military life, with a marked preference for army service. General Poor was of the fourth generation in America. The homestead farm was on the Shawsheen River, near its junction with the Merrimack.

Here his ancestors settled in the first half of the seventeenth century and at once began to clear and till the soil. His great-grandfather, Daniel Poor, was one of the town officers and also a member of the first military company organized in the town. His father was at the siege of Louisburg, in 1745. They were all of the Puritan stock, faith and practice. Their homes were religious and their lives exemplary.

Amid such surroundings and influenced by such examples and instruction, the boyhood of Enoch Poor was passed in the usual routine of New England farm life. His education was that of the district school and the home circle. He appears to have been an industrious and thoughtful boy, with a wonderful adaptation to details. Whatever he attempted, he generally accomplished through persistent effort and careful thought. In his early manhood, he was apprenticed to a cabinet-maker and served his time as such. Some of his handiwork remains to attest his skill and ingenuity.

When nineteen years old he enlisted as a private in the French and Indian War and was assigned to the expedition under General John Winslow, which subjugated the Acadians of Nova Scotia. His brother, Thomas, was a captain in the same service. A few years later he removed to Exeter, New Hampshire, which remained his

home throughout the remainder of his life. There he engaged in trade and soon became a shipbuilder, employing many men.

Before he left Andover he had fallen in love with Miss Martha Osgood, the daughter of a neighbor, Colonel John Osgood. She fully reciprocated his attachment, but her father did not give his approval. So when Enoch Poor called at the Osgood mansion for his bride, he met with firm opposition. Colonel Osgood had locked his daughter in her chamber. He would not permit young Poor to see or communicate with her. Defeat for the lovers seemed eminent. Colonel Osgood's tactics appeared to be beyond the power of their resistance. Just then, however, Martha appeared at her open window and quickly jumped into Enoch's extended arms. Their marriage speedily followed, Colonel Osgood in due time acknowledging his defeat and being fully reconciled to his son-in-law. General Poor's married life was happy. Three daughters crowned the union, each of whom survived him. His widow resided in Exeter until her death, in 1830.

No record has been found which determines the date on which he removed to Exeter and began business there. It was probably prior to his marriage, but diligent inquiry and search have failed to discover the exact date of his marriage. It is generally admitted that he must have established himself in New Hampshire about 1760, for, by 1765, he had become sufficiently prominent in the town to be one of the thirty principal citizens who united in an agreement to maintain peace and order during the excitement occasioned by the Stamp Act and the determination of the people not to conform to it. Five years later the town voted not to purchase tea until the tax upon it should be repealed and to encourage, so far as possible, the use of home products. Mr. Poor was one of the committee of six to enforce the vote.

When the Continental Congress of 1774 passed the famous Non-importation Resolutions, Exeter ratified them in town-meeting and elected a committee, of which he was a member, to secure a faithful compliance with them. The following year he was elected to the Third and Fourth Provincial Congresses of the Colony. On the twenty-fourth of May, 1775, he was elected to muster into the service of New Hampshire at the Medford, under the command of Colonel John Stark. The same day the Provincial Congress, authorized the enlist-

ment of three regiments to serve for the year and elected John Stark, Enoch Poor and James Reed colonels to command them.

Stark, with about eight hundred men, was already encamped before Boston. Reed's regiment was made up of two companies detailed from Stark and from enlistments made before and after his election as colonel, and soon encamped at Charlestown. Both were in the Battle of Bunker Hill. Colonel Poor's regiment was to be wholly enlisted and enlistment papers were promptly issued and rapidly filled. A careful examination fails to disclose that Colonel Poor ever held a military commission before he was appointed colonel, though he served as a private in the French and Indian War. He must have had service in the militia of Massachusetts and New Hampshire.

In his business, he had had great experience in the control of men, and his appointment to muster Colonel Stark's regiment into the service indicates that he was known to have had military knowledge and experience. That he was believed to be competent is proved by the fact that his selection to command the second regiment appears not to have been criticised and furthermore from the fact that the men did not hesitate to enlist under him. The wisdom of his selection is attested by his subsequent service. From May, 1775, until his death, he was constantly in command of a regiment or a brigade. He was not at Bunker Hill. Prior to the battle the people of New Hampshire were apprehensive that their territory might be invaded with the purpose of capturing Portsmouth, which led to the attack on Fort William and Mary, and Exeter, where the rebellious Provincial Congresses held their sessions.

Colonel Poor's men were stationed along the coast, at Portsmouth and at Exeter. At Exeter they were building fire-rafts with which to destroy any vessels which might attempt to ascend the river. The day after the battle the Committee of Safety of New Hampshire ordered the regiment, with the exception of one company, which was stationed at or near Portsmouth, to join the other New Hampshire troops before Boston, and they arrived there on the twenty-fifth of June, and encamped at Winter Hill. From that time until the following March, when the British evacuated Boston, Colonel Poor and his men were performing the usual routine duty in an army of investment.

The records show that the regiment discharged its full share of guard and fatigue duty and that the men were perfected in the manual

of arms. The nine months during which the Americans besieged Boston were valuable to them for instruction and discipline. Before the evacuation of the city they had learned that a long contest was inevitable and that they must prepare for it in earnest. However most the patriots failed to profit by this experience, they knew the necessity for drilled troops and for long terms of enlistment. They also learned the necessity for supplies, and that the demands of an army are multiform and incessant. The stern realities of war confronted them and no man who loved his country could neglect or disregard the duties of the hour. On the other hand, the British had been taught to respect the foe they had despised at first, and to recognize that the man fighting for his home and liberty is a braver soldier than the hireling of despots.

Boston having been occupied by the patriot army, it became evident that the British intended to make New York their headquarters and Washington immediately ordered a march upon that city. Among the troops selected for that service was General Sullivan's brigade, including Colonel Poor's regiment. The British troops evacuated Boston on the seventeenth of March, 1776, and ten days later Colonel Poor and his men marched for Long Island. Soon after their arrival there, they, with other regiments, were ordered to join the ill-fated expedition which had attempted, under Montgomery, the occupation of Canada.

At that time there were no steamboats and no railroads. The march of an army was literally a march. All the privates and many of the officers were on foot. There were few roads and those were in poor condition. Frequently the troops followed a trail or cut a road through the forest as they advanced. The country was too sparsely settled for an army to subsist upon it and the transportation of munitions and other supplies was by horse and by ox teams, or occasionally by boat. Such a march from Long Island to Canada is a hardship from which the veteran troops of today would shrink. The patriots began it without complaint, and endured reverses and disasters seldom equaled. To add to their losses and ill fortune, smallpox ravaged the American army to such an extent that in some regiments hardly a man was fit for duty. Colonel Trumbull said, "I did not look into a tent or hut in which I did not find either a dead or dying man." Everything went wrong and the army abandoned Canada and retired

to Crown Point. There a council of war was held July 7, 1776, and it was decided to retire to Ticonderoga, which then became the only fortress held by the Americans on Lake Champlain.

Against the evacuation of Crown Point, Colonels Stark and Poor, with others, protested in writing and it is conceded that Washington believed the surrender of Crown Point unnecessary and ill-advised.

While at Ticonderoga, Colonel Poor became president of the court martial which tried Colonel Hazen, who had been arrested upon charges presented by General Arnold. In the course of the trial, the court refused to admit the testimony of Major Scott, who was one of Arnold's principal witnesses, on the ground that he was personally interested in the result. General Arnold protested in a vigorous communication, which the court held to be disrespectful and prejudicial to its authority. They refused to enter it upon their records and instructed their president to demand an apology from General Arnold. This Colonel Poor did in a letter which would have done credit to an experienced lawyer. General Arnold returned an intemperate reply, in which he refused to apologize and suggested his readiness to fight a duel with any member of the court. Colonel Poor then reported the whole transaction to General Gates in a courteous and dignified letter, but General Gates thought it unwise to enforce the rights of the court at that time against an officer of Arnold's standing and popularity. Hence he dissolved the court and the trial ended.

Colonel Poor continued to serve under General Arnold and did not permit this episode to influence his conduct toward him. In this he exhibited a magnanimity and love of country worthy the emulation of all soldiers.

The British commander, Sir Guy Carlton, went into winter quarters in November, and the danger of an attack upon Ticonderoga being removed, General Gates sent a considerable part of his troops to reenforce Washington in New Jersey. Colonel Poor's regiment and two others from New Hampshire were included in the order and joined Washington in December. These troops assisted him to win the battles of Trenton and Princeton.

On the seventh of January, 1777, the army under Washington arrived at Morristown, where it built log huts and went into winter quarters. The army suffered for supplies of every kind. The destitu-

tion of that winter was exceeded only by that of the next at Valley Forge.

General Howe occupied New York as his winter headquarters. Neither army engaged in any extensive offensive operations during the winter. The Americans were active in perfecting their military organization, in recruiting and in securing supplies. The army was established upon a more permanent basis, enlistments were made for three years during the war and the officers were commissioned accordingly.

To meet the new conditions and to provide for an increased army Congress appointed additional generals, and, on the twenty-first of February, 1777, Colonel Poor was commissioned a brigadier-general. Colonel John Stark was the senior colonel from New Hampshire and had had considerable service prior to the Revolution. He was a brave officer, conspicuous at Bunker Hill, and had proved himself capable and vigilant at all times. Therefore, when Congress promoted Colonel Poor and other colonels and did not promote him, he felt the slight keenly, especially as he believed that his merits had once before been unrecognized. He at once resigned from the army. Colonel Poor offered to decline his promotion and ask for the appointment of Colonel Stark in his place. This Stark positively refused and congratulated Colonel Poor upon his promotion, which he said was merited. There was no enmity between them and they remained friends through life.

In the early spring, General Poor was assigned to duty in the Northern Department and was stationed at Ticonderoga. His brigade was composed of three regiments from New Hampshire and detachments from Connecticut and New York.

It was the purpose of the British commanders to extend their posts from Crown Point southward, and from New York until they should have a complete line of fortifications from Canada to the sea, thus segregating New England from the other colonies. To that end Burgoyne was to fight his way to Albany, where forces from General Howe, ascending the Hudson, were to join him. The plan was excellent and almost successful.

General Schuyler, who was in command at Ticonderoga, had neglected to fortify or occupy Sugar Loaf Hill, which commanded the fort. The excuse was that he did not have troops sufficient to

hold both places. The British occupied this hill, sometimes known as Fort Defiance, on the fifth of July, 1777. A council of war decided to evacuate the fort, which was done early in the morning of the next day. General Poor favored the evacuation. Congress was excited by the abandonment of the fort and demanded the immediate removal of General Schulyer, and that the other officers be tried by court martial. The wiser and cooler judgment of Washington prevailed. The court martial was not held and General Schuyler remained in command until superseded by General Gates on the nineteenth of August.

At that time, the tide of victory had turned in favor of the patriots. The advance of the British upon Albany by the Mohawk Valley had been defeated and the glorious victory at Bennington, under Stark, who had returned to the service of his country under the authority of his State, had been achieved. The spirits of the patriots revived and confidence again ruled in camp and field.

Meanwhile, Burgoyne had great difficulty in supplying his army with provisions. The devastation he had accomplished counted against him. It was almost impossible to procure sufficient supplies from Canada and there was no immediate prospect of a union with General Howe. His Indian allies were importunate in their demands and failed to obey his orders. The Americans harassed him on every side. They had abandoned Fort Edward and Fort George, but they made it difficult for Burgoyne to profit by their retreat or to follow in pursuit. Their numbers increased daily and, by the time the Americans were encamped at Stillwater, Burgoyne was compelled to provide against an attack upon his rear.

Upon the nineteenth of September, 1777, soon after noon, the British attacked the American camp. The battle, now generally known by the name of Stillwater, ensued. On the part of the Americans it was almost fought wholly by the left wing, commanded by Arnold. General Poor's brigade, then consisting of about sixteen hundred men, constituted one-half of Arnold's division. The battle was not decisive, though generally favorable to the Americans, whose loss was only one-half of that of the British. The total American loss was three hundred and twenty-one. Of this number General Poor's brigade lost two hundred and seventeen, or more than double that of all the other troops of the patriot army.

The battle of the seventh of October became a necessity to the British, for inaction was assured starvation. There was no safety in camp or retreat. Victory alone could save Burgoyne and his men. Therefore, the British again assumed the initiative. The attack was met by a superior force and the British soon driven from the field. Poor's brigade was in the thick of the fight, and in conjunction with Morgan's regiment really won the battle of Saratoga, as it did that of Stillwater.

General Wilkinson says in his "Memoirs":

"After I had delivered the order to General Poor, directing him to the point of the attack, I was commanded to bring up Ten Broeck's brigade of New York troops, three thousand strong. I performed this service and regained the field of battle at the moment the enemy had turned their back, only fifty-two minutes after the first shot was fired. I found the courageous Colonel Cilley (of Poor's brigade) astraddle a brass 12-pounder, and exulting in the capture."

The victory was complete, the foe being pursued and driven from their own camp. The surrender of Burgoyne occurred ten days later. It was well known to General Gates that about two thousand men, under command of Sir Henry Clinton, had left New York and were marching up the Hudson with the intention of joining Burgoyne at Albany. They had captured Fort Clinton and Montgomery, and in consequence Fort Independence and Constitution had been abandoned. Everywhere the American had retired before him. Hence it was a matter of supreme importance to occupy Albany before General Clinton could arrive there. To accomplish that General Poor's brigade marched forty miles, fording the Mohawk below the falls, in fourteen hours. Clinton having heard of the surrender of Burgoyne, returned to New York.

The campaign on the Hudson having ended gloriously, General Poor and his brigade joined Washington near Philadelphia. The battle of Germantown had been fought, nearly won, and then lost. Washington, being urged by the Assembly of Pennsylvania and some of his officers not to go to winter quarters but to attempt the capture of Philadelphia, required the written opinion of his officers as to the advisability of an assault upon the city. Four of them favored the attack and ten, including General Poor, advised against it. The prevailing opinion was that the army was in no fit condition to risk a

general engagement, which might prove fatal to the patriot cause. The army went into winter quarters at Valley Forge on the Nineteenth of December, and to those who objected, Washington replied as follows:

"Reprobate the going into winter quarters as much as if they thought the soldiers were made of sticks or stones. I can assure those gentleman that it is a much easier and less distressing thing to draw remonstrances in a comfortable room, than to occupy a cold, bleak hill, sleep under frost and snow, without blankets. However, although they seem to have little feeling for the naked and distressed soldiers, I feel superabundantly for them, and from my soul I pity their miseries, which it is neither in my power to relieve or prevent."

General Poor was not a malcontent. He did his duty fearlessly and, so far as possible, accommodated himself to his environment. He wrote few letters. Probably there are not a score of them relating to public affairs now in existence. Such as have been found are well expressed, direct and positive. Just before the troops went into winter quarters he wrote to a member of his State Legislature stating their condition and needs and the duty of the state to them, in simple but burning words, as follows:

"Did you know how much your men suffered for want of shirts, breeches, blankets, stockings, and shoes, your heart would ache for them. Sure I am that one-third are now suffering for want of those articles which gives the soldier great reason to complain, after the encouragement given by the State to supply those of its inhabitants who should engage in their services."

"But there is another circumstance more alarming still; that is, when you engaged your men to serve for three years or during the war, they were promised a certain sum for their services; your State at the same time fixed a reasonable price upon such articles as the country produced and which they knew their families must be supplied with, which would but barely support them at those prices. But after they left home, it seems by some means or other, the contract on the side of the State was broken, and those very articles, which their families must have or suffer, rose four hundred or five hundred per cent.; soldier's wages remain the same. How can it be expected that men under those circumstances can quietly continue to undergo every hardship and danger which they have been, and are still, exposed to; and

GENERAL ENOCH POOR

what is more distressing is, their daily hearing of the sufferings of their children at home.

"I don't write this by way of complaint, but do wish that some mode would be hit upon that the families of those in service may be supplied, or I fear we shall have many of our best officers resign and many soldiers desert for no other reason than to put themselves in a way to support their families, or share with them in their sufferings; and should that be the case, I fear the consequences."

Later while in camp, he wrote the Legislature of New Hampshire:

"I am every day beholding their sufferings and am every morning awakened by the lamentable tale of their distresses."

General Poor's Camp was on the extreme west of the encampment at Valley Forge. The best that can be said of his troops is that they suffered no more than the others. During the winter a committee from Congress visited Valley Forge and made a careful report of their observations. In mid-winter, Baron Steuben arrived at the encampment, and the troops were subjected to stern discipline and exacting drill. General Lafayette again joined the army here. Plans were discussed and formulated for the coming campaign. It was not a winter of idleness. On the seventh of May, 1778, there was great rejoicing in camp. The treaty of alliance with France was announced to the troops, while on parade at nine o'clock in the morning. The chaplains thanked God that he had given them a powerful friend. The troops sang, "Praise God from Whom All Blessings Flow." Everywhere in camp there was thanksgiving and rejoicing, with cheers for the King of France, for Washington and for Liberty.

The encampment at Valley Forge was not broken up until late in June, but, on the eighteenth of May, Washington sent Lafayette, with two thousand and one hundred chosen troops, including General Poor's brigade, to occupy Barren Hill, an eminence about half-way to Philadelphia. This was Lafayette's first independent command and it gave him excellent opportunity to observe and prove the ability of General Poor. Subsequent events show that he was well satisfied with his ability and efficiency. General Clinton sent five thousand troops to surprise and capture Lafayette and his men. The surprise was nearly complete, but Lafayette with great wisdom and coolness, ordered General Poor to lead retreat, which was done so promptly

that their guns were saved and the loss of men was only nine. The British returned to Philadelphia. At three o'clock on the morning of the eighteenth of June, General Clinton began the evacuation of Philadelphia and before noon his entire army was in New Jersey en-route to New York. Washington anticipated this movement and immediately bridges were burned and roads obstructed so as to impede the march. A series of skirmishes led to the battle of Monmouth. Clinton did not wish to fight, but desired a safe and expeditious march to New York. Washington hoped to engage him in battle and win a victory.

Reverend Israel Evans, a native of Pennsylvania and a graduate of Princeton, was the chaplain of General Poor's brigade. He was a staunch patriot and a firm believer in the rights of man. He was an outspoken, independent and arrogant man who

Would shake hands with a king upon his throne

And think it kindness to his majesty.

When the brigade was about to engage in the battle of Monmouth it paused for a moment for prayer by the chaplain, in which he is reported to have said:

"O Lord of Hosts lead forth Thy servants of the American army to battle and give them victory; or, of this be not according to Thy sovereign will then we pray Thee stand neutral, and let flesh and blood decide the issue."

Each was partially successful. Clinton escaped and joined his troops to those in New York, but Washington compelled him to fight, and would have won a decisive victory had not jealousy and treachery prevented. The Americans remained master of the field, but the British fled under cover of the night so quietly that even General Poor, who was near them, did not know they were escaping. The heat was intense, the suffering extreme. The thermometer registered ninety-six degrees and the troops contended not only with the foe, but with an inexpressible thirst which could not be satisfied. Washington and the whole army slept upon the field of battle. General Poor was active in efforts to retrieve the fortunes of the day and received the approbation of Washington.

There were in that year no extensive field operations in the northern States after the battle of Monmouth. Washington stationed his

army so that it could be easily concentrated and at the same time restricted the British supplies. The southern States were rapidly becoming the theater of the war.

By intrigue and purchase the British frequently availed themselves of the service of the Indians but were unable satisfactorily to control them either in camp or in battle. The hatred and independence of the Americans, engendered in the hearts of the Indians, broke out in frequent depredations and in the massacres of Cherry Valley and Wyoming. Washington determined to end these brutalities by such an object lesson as would prevent their repetition. The so-called "Six Nations" were selected for punishment.

A total force of about five thousand men was detailed for that service. The command was offered to General Gates but he declined for the reason that, in his opinion, a younger man was preferable. General Sullivan was then given the command. His orders were to devastate their country, destroy their villages, crops and orchards, and capture those of every age and sex. General Poor and his brigade constituted the right wing of Sullivan's army. Evidently, from the records of the expedition, he relied upon Poor and his men for faithful service in difficult situations. The Indians were overtaken on the twenty-ninth of August, 1779, and the battle of Newtown was fought. General Poor was ordered to go in the foe's rear. In doing so, he encountered some six hundred of the savages and a fierce fight ensued, in which twenty of them were killed.

The Indians fought from tree to tree until the Americans had gained the summit of the hill and captured their stronghold by a bayonet charge, when they fled in disorder. In his account of the battle, General Sullivan said, "General Poor, his officers and men deserve the highest praise for their intrepidity and soldierly conduct." The bloody work was continued until the Indians were completely subjugated.

General Sullivan made a full official report of his expedition to General Washington, in which he gave great credit to his troops for bravery and efficiency. Upon its receipt Washington wrote to Congress, congratulating it upon "the destruction of whole towns and settlements of the hostile Indians, in so short a time and with so inconsiderable a loss of men," and to Lafayette, rejoicing that the Indians had been given "proofs that Great Britain cannot protect them and

it is in our power to chatise them." The Indian confederation in New York was broken and her lands opened to peaceful settlement. An historian of the expedition has said:

"The boldness of its conception was only equaled by the bravery and the determination with which its hardships and dangers were met and its objects accomplished."

It was late in the fall before the expedition rejoined the main army. Soon after the troops went into winter quarters. This winter was an exceedingly severe one, and the hardships and sufferings endured were scarcely less than those of Valley Forge.

Lafayette availing himself of the winter's inaction, went home for a visit, returning the latter part of May with renewed promises from his government for substantial help. Again he offered his services to Congress, which were gladly accepted and recognized by an appointment to the command of a division to be composed of two brigades of light infantry, a troop of horses and a battery of artillery.

He selected General Poor to command one of these brigades. The whole division went into camp in New Jersey and the work of drill and discipline began under his own direction. Largely by his generosity the soldiers were uniformed. The division was known as the best clothed, equipped and disciplined in the Continental army. It has been said that in the essentials of drill and efficiency it equalled the veteran troops of Europe. By the fortunes of war they were to see no important service during the year.

While in camp, General Poor contracted fever from which, on the eighth of September, 1780, he came to an untimely end, at the zenith of his career and at the prime of his life, when forty-four years of age. Universal sorrow pervaded the army. He was popular with officers and men. Two days later he was buried with full military honors. The officers of the brigade followed immediately after the coffin. Then came General Washington and General Lafayette and other general officers of the army. The escort consisted of three regiments of light infantry and a troop of cavalry. At the grave the chaplain of the brigade delivered a eulogy, in which he said,

"Oh, sacred Liberty! with thee this day we condole the loss of one of thy worthy sons! Early he saw thy danger, and early in this contest espoused thy cause. Happily he united the love and defense of thy glorious person with the practice of sublime virtue. That glory,

GENERAL ENOCH POOR

which results from the generous protection of the privileges of our country, and that righteousness which exalteth a nation, he laudably pursued.

"The State of New Hampshire in tears will lament the loss of a brave defender of her rights. To him she may not fear to decree the title, too rarely found of a patriot. . . No charms were powerful enough to allure him from the unutterable hardships of the American war and the dangers of the field of battle. . . . He was an unchangeable friend of the moral and social virtues, and taught the excellence of them by his amiable example more than by a pompous parade of words without actions. He was invariable advocate of divine worship. His virtues laid the solid foundation for all his other excellencies to build upon and stand immovable amidst all the seeming casualties of time. Intemperance and profaneness and every vice were strangers to him.

"From the time when he with his country first armed in opposition to the cruelty and domination of Britain and precious American blood was first shed in defense of our rights, near Boston. . . He was entitled to a large share of those laurels which crowned the American arms."

One of his staff officers, Major Jeremiah Fogg, in the intensity of his love and grief, wrote: "My general is gone. A cruel stubborn, billious fever has deprived us of the second man in the world."

In communication to Congress announcing his death, General Washington wrote: "He was an officer of distinguished merit, one who as a citizen has every claim to the esteem and regard of his country." As a further mark of respect and esteem Congress ordered Washington's letter to be printed as the nation's tribute to his memory. Governor Plummer of New Hampshire said of him (quoting almost literally from the eulogy of Chaplain Evans.)

"As an officer he was prudent in council and sound in judgment, firm and steady in his resolutions, cautious of unnecessary danger, but calm and undaunted in battle, vigorous and unwearied in executing military enterprises, patient and perserving under hardships and difficulties, of which he had many to endure, and punctual and exact in performing all the duties assigned and devolving upon him. His mind was devoted to the improvement of the army. He possessed great self-command. . . He promptly obeyed his superior officers,

respected his equal and subordinate officers, and thought no man who was faithful and brave unworthy of his notice. The soldiers when in distress had free access to him and he was a father to them."

Of very few of the men famous in civil or military life during the Revolution are there authentic and accurate portraits. The friends and relations of General Poor are to be congratulated that his features have been preserved to posterity by a talented artist, known to us more by the generous patriotism than by his artistic talent and accomplishments.

Among the friendships General Poor formed in the army was that of the distinguished Polish engineer and general Thaddeus Kosciuszko, who was an artist of considerable merit. General Kosciuszko had several times requested him to sit for his portrait, but he had not done so. One day Kosciuszko handed it to him. General Poor was greatly surprised and asked,

"How is this general, I have never sat for my picture?" Kosciuszko replied, "I drew it in church on the fly-leaf of a hymn book, and have since painted it for you." General Poor presented it to his wife on his last visit home. From it, the oil painting which adorns the hall of the New Hampshire House of Representatives and all other pictures of General Poor have been copied. The continental uniform worn by the general is now in good preservation.

The War of the Revolution is crowded with events of pathetic and dramatic interest. Possibly, no life, not even that of Washington, presents more incidents in the same number of years, to attract the attention and secure the sympathy of the observant student than that of General Poor. His rank was less and his field of service more limited than that of many others, and hence he does not fill the space in history to which he is entitled, but there was no officer in the Revolution more conscientious or more faithful who gave more attention to details and performed, within his sphere of action, his whole duty more wisely and discreetly than he. He was equally beloved by his superior officers and the soldiers of his command. His courtesy was constant and not influenced by rank or position. He was courageous in mind, as well as in body, and stood firmly upon the right as he saw it. He withheld his approval from no one whose conduct was meritorious, or whose intentions were kindly and honorable.



WASHINGTON BEFORE TRENTON

An Engraving From the Original Painting of Washington Before
Trenton by Dael.



MONUMENT AT OLD CROWN POINT BURYING GROUNDS

In Memory of the Soldiers of the American Revolution and the Early Settlers of Springfield. Crown Point Was
Evacuated by the Americans in July, 1776, Against the Protest of Colonels Stark and Poor.

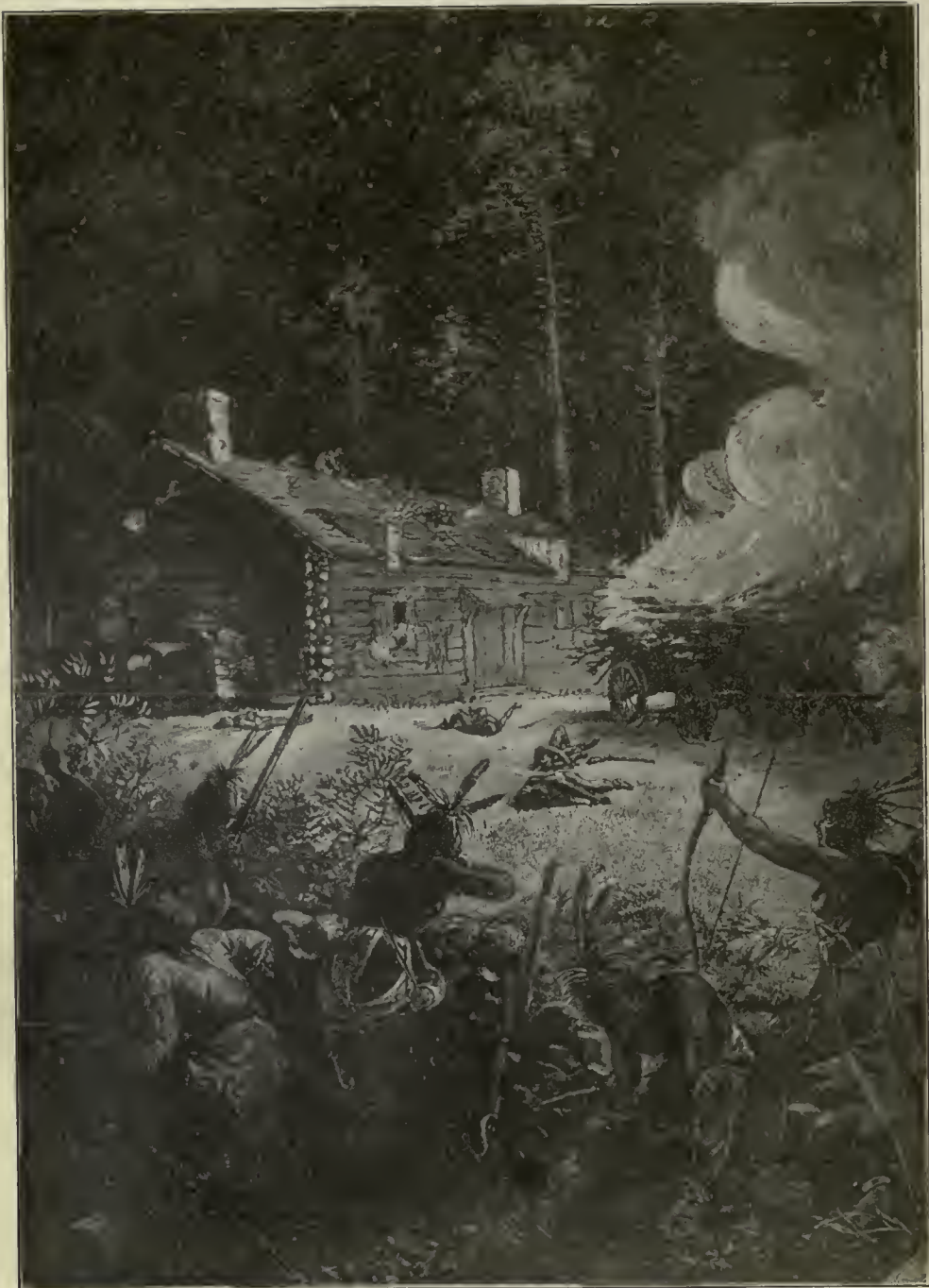


THE FIRST AMERICANS' GREETING TO THE WHITE MAN
An Engraving Taken From a Sculpture by Herman Atkins MacNeil.



TO THE MEMORY OF THE FIRST AMERICANS

Statue of the Indian Chief, Mahaska, by S. E. Fry, Sculptor. Designed to be Erected at Oskaloosa, Iowa, and Exhibited in the Salon at Paris in 1907.



THE FIRST AMERICANS' PROTEST AGAINST CIVILIZATION

Engraving Made From a Rare Old Print in the Possession of Judge Lyman E. Munson.

Our Indians

A Touching Story of the Subjection of the Indians of Rhode Island by
the White Men

Wamasutta and Philip, Indian Chieftains, Resist the Invasion of
Their Forests by Their Enemies, the Whites

BY

MRS. N. M. DAVOL



THESE are the same emerald hills and the same dancing
stretch of blue waters,
That laved the soft green of their feet and mirrored
the smooth gilding shadow
Of paddle and birchen canoe, in the days when the
forest shades sheltered
And echoed the call of the braves of the lithe and the skillful Pocassets.
Broad was the sweep of their lands, stretching far to the hills in the
distance.
And rich was the spoil of their traps of the bear and the mink and the
otter,
And Weetamoe, queen in her right of the land and the hearts of her
people,
Ruled with a power and success and a fame that was wide and far-
reaching.
Came then the bold Wamasutta, the son of the famed Massasoit,
Chief of the proud Wampanoags; and fearless and brave in his coming.
Laden with presents of fur and the right royal plumes of the eagle.
Saw, as his footsteps drew near, on the edge of the brush bordered
clearing,
The gray of the tents of the tribe 'gainst a background of birch and of
cedar,
'Broidered and stamped with rude signs, with trappings and fringes
of leather,
Saw in the gold of the maize, softly draping the hills and the valleys,
The prosperous state of the land of this thrifty industrial people.

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Keen was his eye and as searching as one who explores a new country,
And sees as its treasures unfold a new and remarkable beauty.
Byond the blue line of mist lay the homes and the tents of his people,
In valleys as fertile as this, the proud home of the prosperous
Pocassets.

As lingering he gazed, came the sound of the light wary step of the
hunter,

Chanting of victories won as homeward he came with his burden,
Of freshly slain deer. And as out from the forest advancing,
They meet and confronting each other with friendly and dignified
manner,

Greet with a signal of peace, and journey in converse together.

Weetamoe, queen of the tribe, in her wigwam surrounded forever,
With trophies of valor in war and handiwork curious and clever,
Hears in the distance the footsteps and straightway her trained ear
detecting,

Lifts the silk flap of her tent, and so standing a vision of beauty,
Wild in its untutored grace meets the bright piercing gaze of the
stranger.

Quickly the necklet of shells rudely clasped with a crescent of silver
Is drawn from his scant girdle folds; and down at her feet in the
shadow,

Flings he his arrows and bow in fair token of yielding submission.
Richly the trinkets of gold and the quaintly cut gems he has treasured
Gleam in a splendor untold; but she sees not the gems in her pleasure.
Upright and stalwart and bold, and with pride in his resolute bearing,
Waiting her welcome he stands; and straight from the portal
descending,

Weetamoe, queen of her tribe, bids him enter the door of her
wigwam,

Gathers the bow and the arrows scattered and strayed from their
quiver,

The gems and the trinkets of gold, and the necklet of shells and of
silver.

And the tent flap is loosened and falls and so the dusk forms are
hidden.

Thus was the son of a king, and a queen of the forest united.

OUR INDIANS

Prosperous and long was their reign in the land where together they
tarried,
Till the daring foot of the paleface had trespassed with confident
meaning,
And eager air of assurance, the land of their 'herited kingdoms.
Then Weetamoe jealous and proud resented their resolute coming,
And silyly with subtlest arts embittered the mind of the sachem.
Royal and kingly of mien when they sought for his generous friend-
ship,
With arrogant pride he refused, nor heeded the signals of warning.
Then was the great Wamsutta in the heart of the forest majestic,
Surprised, outnumbered and trapped and he journeyed perforce to the
council,
Afar where his enemies met in the lodge of the hated invaders.
And the feeling once roused in his heart of hatred burning and restless,
And sense of indignity fierce, made him bitterest foe of the white man.
Age had enfeebled his stature but his will was still unsubmissive.
Descended of kings and of queens he knew not the speech of the
people.
Then stricken and helpless he lay far away in the tents of his foemen.
And when in the fullness of time to the blest hunting grounds he had
hurried.
Philip, his brother, was king and his ruling was powerful and mighty.
Proud of the home of his sires, with a shrewdness and keenness un-
bounded,
Saw the mistrust and the doubt and suspicion that followed him ever;
Saw the broad lands that he loved by the hand of his white brother
taken,
His warriors scattered and slain; and the once mighty tribe of his
people,
Dwindling and shrinking away, and the sense of injustice grew
greater,
And fostered the furnace within of his grief and his anger enkindled.
And the savage nature that slept, awoke with its craft and its cunning;
And when from his wigwam away, the trail of the white man to
follow,
His wife and the son of his love, made captive and banished forever,
His rage and his reckless despair found vent in the merciless slaughter;

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Whose vengeance and undying hate loosed the flood that encrimsoned
the valleys.

And the doom of the white man seemed sealed in the havoc that
followed;

Till in the might of their wrath and made desperate, they fought with
a purpose.

To shield and protect the loved homes, the homes that their labors had
founded.

And Philip was hunted and tracked and the swamps were his desolate
shelter.

Unyielding and fierce in his pride he scorned the base thought of
surrender,

And led on his handful of braves with a bold and a fearless defiance.
But when in the wilderness screened, as he thought from their keen

observation,
Surrounded, all startled he fled toward a spot that he deemed undis-
covered,

But the star of his fortune was set. And Philip, the vengeful and
warlike,

By one of his own race was slain, by an Indian friend of the white man.
Shot through the heart and he fell, where the still stagnant pools of
the forest,

Mirrored the thickets and aisles of the dim shady depths of the
swamplands.

So perished the mightiest king of the mighty and great Wampanoags.
Philip of Indian fame—but the scene of his changeable fortunes,

Lies like a gem in the blue; as fair and as fresh and as smiling

As when his bold dusky crew, roamed the hills and the vales of New
England.

A monument green to his name—Mount Hope in the Bay Narragan-
sett.

The South in the War of 1812

The South Takes up Arms to Defend Her Country from the Assaults of the Enemy. The Stalwart Patriots Prove More Than a Match For the Best Disciplined Troops in the World.

BY

MRS. N. D. WHITE



T the first bugle call, the sons of the South, ever ready and willing to do their part, promptly responded. Nor lost they the prestige they had gained during the Revolution.

The North was violently opposed to, while the South was strongly in favor of war. The New Englanders vehemently advocated the secession of the New England States; Quincy, of Massachusetts, closed a speech in Congress denouncing the war in these words, "If the people of the Northern and Eastern States are destined to be hewers of wood and drawers of water to men who knew nothing about their interest and care nothing about them, I am clear of the transgression. If in common with their countrymen, my children are destined to be slaves, and to be yoked in with negroes, chained to the car of a Southern master, they at least shall have this sweet consciousness as the consolation of their condition; they shall be able to say, 'Our father is guiltless of these chains.'"

Clay, of Kentucky, replied to him, and his speech relegated him to private life. The army of Lake Chaplain was under Hampton, of South Carolina. The army of the West was under William Henry Harrison, of Virginia. At the battle of the Thames, Colonel Johnson of Kentucky, and his 3,600 Kentucky horsemen charged the British front. Dashing through the forest they broke the enemy's line, and, forming in their rear were preparing to pour forth a deadly fire when the British surrendered.

Johnson then pushed forward to attack the Indians and fired the shot that killed Tecumseh. On the Alabama river, a few miles above its junction with the Tombigbee river, was a little stronghold called Fort Mimms. Here the settlers along the river fled from the hostile

Creeks and Seminoles, but the Indians captured the fort and murdered 400 of the fugitives.

This terrible calamity brought into action a southerner without whose services and influence America would have had a different destiny—Andrew Jackson, of North Carolina.

He speedily collected an army from the adjoining States, marched rapidly until he met the savages and after several battles annihilated the Creek nation. During the bombardment of Fort McHenry, Francis Key, of Baltimore, who was a prisoner on one of the enemy's ships, witnessed the bombardment and wrote the "Star Spangled Banner," which at once became the national anthem. General Winfield Scott, of Virginia, led the attack on the British at Chippewa and gained a brilliant victory. One of the best changes of this period was that which made Monroe, of Virginia, Secretary of State. Some of the Naval commanders of Southern birth were Commodore Joseph Barney, of Maryland, who commanded the Chesapeake during the invasion of the British in 1812; Commodore Stephen Decatur, of Maryland, who, with the frigate *United States*, captured the British ship *Macedonia* after a sanguinary battle near the Maderia Islands and brought her as a prize to Newport.

In 1815, with a strong flotilla he broke the power of the Algerian pirates. Commodore Rodgers of Maryland, also won much distinction. January 8th, 1815, when the battle of New Orleans, the last of the war, was fought, the British having 12,000 men and Jackson 7,000, The British army was composed of the best of Wellington's Peninsular Veterans who had never known defeat.

Jackson's army was composed of militia and volunteers, 2,500 Kentuckians having arrived the day before the battle. Jackson had begun the fight long before the arrival of the enemy, he enlisted all able bodied citizens in preparing the defense and all caught his courage and confidence. "The Americans reserved their fire until the enemy came within 200 yards," then Tennessee and Kentucky riflemen poured forth a storm of bullets, while nine heavy guns sent grape shot and canister crashing through their ranks. The British veterans had never met such a fire from Napoleon's Grand Army. They were dismayed, they wavered, turned and fled. They made a second attack with like results. The Americans did not pursue, it was not necessary.

THE SOUTH IN THE WAR OF 1812

The defeat was absolute and Jackson marched into New Orleans in triumph.

Volunteers and backwoodsmen hastily mustered, proved themselves a match for the best disciplined troops of the world.

The time had indeed come for peace; the whole country was wearied and impoverished by the war. New England had become more and more dissatisfied until at last she declared she would make a separate treaty of peace for herself if hostilities continued.

Some of the other noted sons of the South at this period were William H. Crawford of Virginia who, in 1812, was President of the Senate, (in 1813 he was appointed Minister to France, was recalled in 1815 and was made secretary of the treasury), John Marshall, of Virginia, who was Chief Justice of the Supreme Court thirty years, John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, who assisted Clay in preventing a debate in Congress against the war and William Wirt, of Maryland, an eminent jurist and author. With such a noble and stainless record shall we hesitate or fear to perpetuate and honor the valor of the South in history? Nay, verily,

"Till the children of our foes
Shall be proud and glad to claim,
And to write upon one scroll
Every dear and deathless name
Of our Southern muster roll."



Mount Auburn Cemetery

Where Repose the Remains of Many Famous Americans

BY

CHARLES NEVERS HOLMES

Suns rise—suns set—this City doth not wake;
Within its chambers none is born or dies;
Its people have no aching hearts to break,
No secret sorrows, no unuttered sighs.

'Tis God's own Acre, beautiful and grand,
Whose friendly gates awake no lurking fear,
'Tis like a garden in some Promised Land,
Which sweetly soothes grief's sympathizing tear.

It is not just a City of the Dead:
'Tis like a pleasant home wherein there dwell,
When unto God their deathless souls have fled,
Fond memories of those whom we love well.

This City doth not wake—suns set—suns rise,
Its people sleep in earthly paradise.



CATTERED throughout the towns and cities of our Country, hidden and neglected upon innumerable farms, there are many more ancient burying-places than this Cemetery of Mount Auburn, near Boston. Indeed, the City of Boston itself possesses several burying grounds which are very old and contain the remains of celebrated men. Those of us who have visited the historic city of Boston will remember King's Chapel burying ground and the Old Granary burying ground, as well as that on Copp's Hill. We shall remember that within these famous graveyards there were interred the remains of such illustrious men as Governor Winthrop,

MOUNT AUBURN CEMETERY

John Cotton, John Hancock, Judge Sewall, Paul Revere, Peter Faneuil, Samuel Adams, and Increase, Cotton and Samuel Mather. But these burying grounds belong to the far past, their history is now ended. They will not become any more famous than they are today.

But the history of Mount Auburn Cemetery has not yet really begun. It has had already a famous past, and it will have an equally famous future. It is, of course, far larger and incomparably more beautiful than King's Chapel and the other burying grounds, and, although not nearly as ancient, it is by no means a new cemetery. Indeed, it is the oldest garden cemetery in the United States having been enclosed and consecrated in 1831. Mount Auburn Cemetery was formerly known as "Stone's Woods," a beautiful and picturesque tract of land, situated partly in Watertown and partly in Cambridge. It was first established by the Massachusetts Horticultural Association, from the suggestion of Dr. Jacob Bigelow, in connection with an experimental garden. It contained originally one hundred and ten acres, and its area has since been increased. It was enclosed with wooden pales, there being a lofty entrance-gate in the center. In 1843 this gate was removed, and was replaced by one constructed of Quincy granite. A year later, a massive iron fence, about ten feet in height and half-a-mile in length, was built along the whole front of the Cemetery. This fence was afterwards extended along its eastern side, and its southern and western sides were walled with timber and concrete.

The immediate approach to Mount Auburn Cemetery is not attractive. Despite its imposing and antique iron fence, one does not appreciate the beautiful picturesqueness of its interior until he has passed through the solemn portal of its Egyptian gate, over which there is engraved this well-known passage from "Ecclesiastes," "Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was; and the spirit shall return unto God who gave it." Near this gate there stands a small and well-designed chapel for funeral services, containing also the Cemetery's business office. The visitor may select one of several avenues, radiating from this chapel, and he may then wander over acres and acres of undulating land, which are laid out with a wonderful degree of landscape architecture. It is true that "Stone's Woods" were a beautiful and picturesque tract of land, but their beauty and picturesqueness have been much improved. More than thirty miles

of avenues and paths lie around the visitor, and it may prove difficult for him to return to the gate by which he entered. He will not tire of the stately view and vistas which surround him, and the longer he remains here the more beautiful it seems. He soon forgets that he is wandering within a burying ground, for there is little to suggest the proximity of death amidst such profusion of living trees, ornamental shrubs, gorgeous flower-beds, and innumerable, well-kept expanses of grass.

A diversified landscape is everywhere, and each view is a little different. There are wooded hills, quiet vales and ponds, and a fountain whose falling water is to be heard for quite a distance amid the solemn silence. The highest hill in the Cemetery presents an impressive appearance, and it is surmounted by a stone tower, which may be climbed, and this tower is visible, like a landmark, for miles around. Thousands and thousands of American dead have been buried here, and their memorial stones and monuments are, for the most part, noticeable or grand. Most of the monuments and sarcophagi are remarkable works of art, and the mingling of the older with the newer memorial stones increases the sombre dignity of this beautiful Cemetery. The names of many celebrated Americans are associated with Mount Auburn Cemetery. Among the illustrious dead whose remains lie here, are Longfellow, Lowell, Choate, Edwin Booth, Charlotte Cushman, Edward Everett, Agassiz, Sumner, Phillips Brooks, Channing, Motley, Sparks, Palfrey, and Quincy. Indeed, scores and scores of names thus associated with this famous Cemetery may be mentioned, each of which was possessed by some one who became celebrated during his lifetime.

Beautiful and grand, like a garden in some Promised Land, this Cemetery of Mount Auburn lies silent and stately. Soon it will be a century old, and it will still lie there, century after century, as generation after generation of American citizens is born and dies. What epochs of our Country's history have come and passed since it was consecrated! What epochs of our Nation's history will come and pass during its future existence! Suns will rise, suns will set, upon Mount Auburn Cemetery, but its people will not awaken. Inside its silent and solemn chambers they sleep undisturbed, at peace both with themselves and with the world outside.

Reminiscences of Colorado's First Schools

CHAPTER II

The Beginnings of Schools in Denver, Colorado.

BY

ABNER R. BROWN



BEFORE leaving the history of Boulder, Colorado, it may not be amiss to mention a few little spicy incidents which the pioneers there will remember. Captain Aikens, one of Boulder's earliest settlers, headed a party of prospectors from Missouri, and camped on the present site of Boulder, October 17, 1858, when he saw bands of Indian ponies peacefully grazing side by side with herds of antelope as he came up the valley of Boulder.

The Ute Indians did not like to have the miners stop here, and kept coming around, growling, and stealing whatever they could, and finally ran off a lot of stock in the night, besides shooting without the least provocation in broad daylight, while standing in his own doorway, a Mr. Barker, who was a resident of Gold Hill, and who was removed to Boulder to be better cared for. He resided there many years afterward, but was a cripple for life. A large party of citizens followed the Indians, and recovered a part of their stock, but no Indians were shot or captured.

A man by the name of Matt Clowser, who had a Ute squaw for his wife, by whom he had a number of children, and who resided in Boulder at the time, went and notified the tribe that it would "be unsafe for them to show themselves in Boulder for some time to come."

Where the University buildings now stand, bands of five hundred elk were feeding fearlessly then, and even as late as 1860, I witnessed, with hundreds of others, a splendid large elk trolling through the whole length of Pearl Street, in Boulder, with dozens of dogs chasing and barking at him, but so far in the rear that he heeded them not. Some

fifty men ran for guns to shoot him; but, before any of them could "draw a bead" on him, he was so far on his flight toward Valmont that all we could see of him was the faint streak he left behind him, and we had to look twice to see that. Some hunter with his dog had started him down the canyon, and the only course he could take was right through the town.

A large cinnamon bear for some time stole the provisions of the Gold Hill miners, who at last dug a pit ten feet deep and ten feet square, timbered up the sides with heavy logs set deep into the ground, covered the top with pine boughs, tied a piece of meat in the middle of it for bait, and old Bruin "took a tumble to himself." After the dogs and boys had teased him to their hearts' content, the miners had bear meat to eat and to give to their neighbors.

In Ward, just above Gold Hill, red raspberries are gathered every season in abundance by Boulderites and others, who go right up adjacent to the paths with their wagons, which are loaded with jars and sugar with which to put up the berries, and there they sometimes spend a week or so in camping out while engaged in caring for the fruit. One young lady of a party of that date had filled her bucket with berries, and was on her way through the brush to the wagon to empty them, when she heard something snuffing behind her, and, on looking around, saw an enormous cinnamon bear trying to get near enough to help himself to the tempting morsel embodied in the bucket of berries. She dropped her bucket, gave a scream, and started on a run for the wagon. But Bruin cared nothing for her. He desired only the berries. He squatted quietly down on his haunches, and proceeded to devour the fruit, after which he walked leisurely away, just before the men could get a shot at him.

But, when we come to talk about truly dangerous animals, it takes a biped to "fill the bill" to perfection, if I am any judge of ferocity.

In 1873, I was elected County Superintendent of Schools for Boulder County, and was boarding at the Colorado House, owned by A. A. Brookfield, whose wife was running the house, and Mr. B. and I had been intimate friends for a dozen years. From my boyhood I had prided myself on being a "high kicker." Mr. B. was six feet two, and I tried my athletic art on him by kicking his hat off some two or three times, when he told me—

"You better never do that again, or you might get yourself into trouble."

But he had such a jovial expression on his face, that I thought he was only joking. On my return from a week's trip among the schools, I walked into the hotel, and, finding him with his hat on, stepped up in front of him, and kicked his hat off, telling him it was impolite to wear it in the house. Before the words were fairly spoken, I was sitting down in the corner of the room to rest, and hunting for a piece of cuticle I had lost off from one of my cheek bones, and "first blood" was trickling down over my face. I was about to "turn the other cheek" (?) when he mistook the action for "a chip on my shoulder," and sprang at me like a tiger, and, had not half a dozen boarders grabbed him, I would not be here to tell this tale. My friends whispered to me to skip out of his sight quickly, for he had a fit on him and might kill me.

County superintendents were at a discount about that time, and a bright Yankee with but a small bank account might have made a "corner" on that article. I was just leaving the door, on the hunt for a new boarding house, when Mr. and Mrs. Brookfield stopped me, and both expressed sincere regrets and made most profuse apologies for the incident, and explained that Mr. B. had recently had epileptic fits, and was not responsible for his actions. And I made a resolve then—and I kept it too—that I would never again kick a man's hat off until I had ascertained whether he was six feet two, and received his assurance that he was not subject to "cat fits."

During the summer of 1860, we had a Boulder shoemaker who liked the place so well that he built himself a frame house twenty by thirty feet, set on blocks a foot high, and had engaged his passage on a freight wagon back to the States after his family, when, the night before he started, the wind got on a spree, and left of the house only a streak of kindling wood a quarter of a mile long, pointing toward the east. He came down in the morning, before his team started, to take a last look at his house, and it was the last look.

"I had intended," was his serio-comic remark, "to bring my family out here to grow up with the country, not to blow up with it; so I guess I'll go back East and stay with my family." And Boulder saw him no more.

In Golden, thirty houses, built in the same way, blew down; so Boulder in this respect was far behind her sister village.

The same summer we had a west wind so scorching hot that it burnt perfectly black and crisp all the leaves on the winward side of the aspen trees.

On reaching Denver in October, 1861, I opened a private school about a block east of the old Tremont House in West Denver, and in a few days had some forty pupils, which was all my room would accommodate. I taught here till the first of December, 1862, when the School Board of District No. 1, consisting of James H. Noteware, President, and former State Superintendent of Schools of Kansas; Fred J. Stanton, Secretary, then editor of some newspaper in Denver, and afterward State Geologist of Wyoming; and Captain Scudder, Treasurer, father in law of Captain John C. Anderson—bought my school furniture, and employed me to teach the first public free school in Colorado Territory, at a salary of eighty dollars a month. The school building was two stories high, fifty feet wide, and over a hundred feet deep. It was owned by Asa F. Midaugh, and the second story, which was used by the school, had been utilized by the Territorial Legislature here for one session after the capital had been removed from Golden to Denver. The building has been cut down to one story in height and half its original width; but its old front is exactly as of yore, except that it is from six to ten inches out of plumb. It is on the west side of Larimer Street, and is numbered 1013.

The first assistant I had was Miss Ada Simonton, the second was Miss Emma Slaughter, the third a Mrs. Fonia, and the fourth a Miss Glenn. Afterward others were employed, among whom was Miss Jennie A. Batchelder, whom I married in October, 1864, and who is still Mrs. Abner R. Brown.

My second Board of Directors, elected in May, 1863, was changed by choosing J. G. Vaughtner as President and Eli M. Ashley as Secretary, while Captain Scudder continued as Treasurer.

The latter part of December, 1862, District No. 2 was organized, and a school was opened with H. H. Lamb as Principal, and Miss Indiana Sopris (afterward Mrs. Cushman) as assistant. An eminent lawyer, Amos Steck, was President of the first Board, and I think Dr. O. D. Cass was the Secretary. I forget the name of the Treasurer.

COLORADO'S FIRST SCHOOLS

I may mention here that during 1859 O. J. Goldrick, Miss Indiana Sopris, and a Miss Miller taught private schools in Denver.

November 9, 1861, W. J. Curtice was appointed the first Territorial Superintendent of Schools.

December 9, 1861, O. J. Goldrick was elected County Superintendent of Schools for Arapahoe County.

December 14, 1861, there were four private schools being taught in Denver, the names of whose teachers I have been unable to learn.

February 8, 1862, private schools were being taught by Miss Ring, Mr. Arndt, and Mr. Steinberger, the latter a son of Dr. Steinberger.



SCHOOLHOUSE OF A GENERATION AGO

This Engraving is Typical of the School Houses of Former Generations, in the Days When Reading, Writing and Arithmetic Were Thought to be the Only Necessary Things for a Complete Education. In Those Days All the Classes Met in One Room and Each Class Recited in Rotation. The Crude Schoolhouses Were the Scenes of Many a Famous Spelling Bee and Corn Husking, at Which the Neighborhood for Miles Around Took Part.



AN INFANT SCHOOL IN NEW YORK IN 1825

The Infants Sat on a Flight of Wide Stairs on the Plan of the Ancient Amphitheatres. The Teacher Stood on the Floor Below and Taught by Word of Mouth. The Pupils Were Marched to and From the School Room in Lockstep with Much Formality and Rigid Discipline. These Schools Were Conducted by a Charitable Organization Which Was Known as the Infant School Society.



HUDSON'S ARRIVAL AT NEW YORK



OLD PRINT OF NEW AMSTERDAM, ABOUT 1650



OLD PRINT OF NEW YORK IN 1706

Now the Site of Maiden Lane, Near the Heart of America's Banking Center, the Scene of Many of the Great Financial Deals of the World.

A History of Banks and Banking and
of Banks and Banking in the City of
New York :: :: :: :: ::

BY

W. Harrison Bayles

and

Frank Allaben

FRANK ALLABEN, Editor-in-Chief

CHAPTER V

Banking in New York and Other English Colonies

Prosperity of the Colonies—New Amsterdam Begins to Attract Notice in the Financial World—The West India Company Controls Trade in New Amsterdam—Wampum Used as Money in Trading—The British Capture New Amsterdam—It Becomes New York—A Business Exchange is Established—Piracy Flourishes in the New World—Men of Property Issue Bills of Credit—Colonial Bills of Credit are Issued—Massachusetts Establishes a Mint—"Pine Tree Shillings" are Coined—The Mint is Discontinued—England Attempts to Set a Coinage Value for Her Colonies—The Colonies Resent and Disregard England's Action—Varied Valuation of Coinage Produces Distress in the Colonies—South Carolina Issues Bills of Credit—Other Colonies Follow the Same Course—The Colonies are Swamped with Paper Currency—England Passes the "Stamp Act"—It is Repealed—Money Becomes Scarce—Business is Depressed—The Colonies Declare Independence and Issue Continental Currency—The Colonies Become Independent—They Attempt to Redeem Continental Currency at Six Per Cent.—They Cannot Raise the Capital.

V

Banking in New York and Other English Colonies

HAVING traced the history of banking through the ancient and mediaeval periods, and having followed its rise and progress in Amsterdam and England, we are naturally led to the colonies planted in the New World by the English and the Dutch; and thus, in the progress of our work, we come to the Dutch Colony of New Netherlands, afterwards New York. We have noted the wonderful rise to prosperity and greatness of Venice and Amsterdam, and we now become interested in the great City of the New World, which has shown no less vitality and stands to-day, as did Venice and Amsterdam in their time, the wonder of the age; and this may be but the beginning of her greatness. New York acknowledges only one rival; but London dates from the commencement of the Christian era, whereas, when, a little more than three hundred years ago, the unpolluted waters of the bay dashed against the rocky shores of the lower part of Manhattan Island, no white man heard the sound.

Taking position on lower Broadway, or in some nearby location, and looking on the vast pile of architectural grandeur, if not of beauty, the most stolid cannot but be impressed. The view presented is far beyond what could possibly have been the most extravagant dreams of our ancestors of one hundred years ago, and even beyond anything in the wildest imaginations of Haroun Al-Raschid, the illustrious Caliph of Bagdad.

It is the symbol and the product of great combinations, and the concentration of vast business interests, which cover a world-wide field; and this has been made possible by two great inventions perfected during the last century, the steam engine and the telegraph.

The thousands of offices in these buildings of lower New York are occupied not alone by local firms and corporations, but by representatives from all parts of the world. In one office we might find the manager of a large corporate interest in phonographic communi-

cation with Kansas City, or some equally distant point, as is his daily custom; in another, the head of a large transportation company, having widely extended ramifications reaching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and, in either direction, to Europe and the Orient, dictating a telegram to be flashed half way round the world, to which an answer is expected before the setting of the sun. The extent of this consolidation and concentration may be but partially realized when we state that the average daily clearings of the banks of New York, for the year 1920, were \$830,060,031, and that the exchanges of the New York Clearing House, for the year 1920*, were fifty-five per cent. of the clearings in all the other cities in the United States combined. We think that we can safely say that within a circle inclosing twenty acres of land, of which the Subtreasury building is the center, more extensive business transactions are daily made than on any other equal surface of the globe, now or at any other time.

Let us take a retrospective view of the origin, growth, and development of this young giant of commerce.

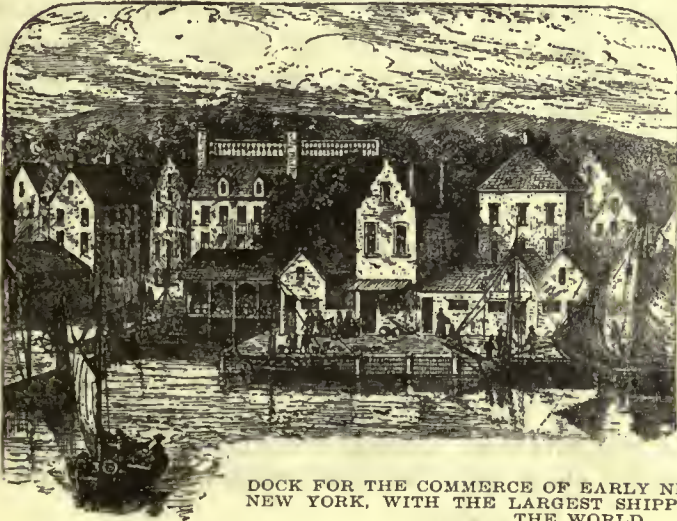
When the West India Company was organized, under whose protection and management Manhattan Island was settled, the trade in furs was considered to be the main source of profit. Although the company was liberal in grants of land, this trade in furs was allowed only under restrictions. No one was permitted to deal in peltries except at places where there was no officer of the company, and then traders had to bring their furs to Manhattan and deliver them to officers of the company for shipment or report the transactions for the assessment of duties, which were one florin for each otter or beaver skin. The trade in furs remained more or less a monopoly of the company during the whole of the Dutch era. Thus the first commercial company doing business on Manhattan Island was what we, of to-day, would call a trust, that is, it held a monopoly.

The first Dutchmen who came to Manhattan Island were not settlers; they were traders; and even those who first came as settlers were induced to do so not for political or religious liberty, but for financial betterment. They were lured by the prospect of gain, and the hope of establishing for themselves and for their children an extensive home, which it was almost impossible to do in the Old World. The

*\$252,338,249,000 in New York; \$210,682,001,000 in all other cities.



PURCHASE OF MANHATTAN ISLAND FROM THE INDIANS FOR
TRINKETS VALUED AT SIXTY DUTCH GUILDERS, ABOUT
TWENTY-FOUR DOLLARS



DOCK FOR THE COMMERCE OF EARLY NEW AMSTERDAM—NOW
NEW YORK, WITH THE LARGEST SHIPPING OF ANY PORT IN
THE WORLD

commercial spirit was predominant, and their descendants have retained it, proving themselves children worthy of their sires.

Among the first settlers, European coins of gold, silver, and copper were not abundant. In trading with the Indians, they were of little use. Something much less costly, such as brilliant beads and trinkets, would purchase from the natives what was desired by the Dutch, which was the skins of fur-bearing animals, especially the beaver. These were obtained in large quantities, and had a permanent and pretty well settled value, so that among the Dutch they became a medium of exchange or a sort of currency.

Wampum or sewant was the sole currency of the Indians, over a vast extent of country, long before the coming of the white man. As it would always purchase furs from the Indians, it became current among the whites. Wampum was of two kinds, the white, made from the conch or periwinkle shell, and the black, or rather purple, made from the shell of the clam. The proper parts of these shells were rubbed smooth on a stone and into the desired shape, and then pierced. These beads were about three-sixteenths of an inch long, and were used by the Indians for ornaments, and as currency in their commercial intercourse with each other. They were strung on thin strips of deer leather, or sinews of animals, and frequently made into belts.

Wampum was not only the Indian money, but was more highly prized among them than gold and silver by Europeans. It was used as the seal of a contract, the oath of fidelity. It was the tribute of the vanquished, and the bond of peace among friends. In Indian council and in treaty-making a string of wampum was formally delivered at the close of each distinct proposition, as a pledge of truth and sincerity. With important messages from one tribe to another was sent a belt of wampum, which was preserved as a record. An important message, sent without a belt, was considered unworthy of notice. If a belt, sent with a message, was returned, the offer was rejected. If retained, it strengthened friendship, effaced injuries, or bound in alliance. The confederation of the Five Nations was thus recorded.

Wampum also entered into religious ceremonies. Around the neck of the white dog, offered as a sacrifice to the God of the Five Nations, were tied strings of black and white wampum. Orders and regulations, made by the different colonial governments throughout the seventeenth century, show that this shell money also formed a

BANKS AND BANKING

considerable part of the currency among the settlers. The black wampum was more valuable than the white. Three black or purple beads, or six white, were equal to a stiver among the Dutch, or to a penny among the English, but varied in different periods.

In 1655 an attempt was made by ordinance to settle the value of wampum, and shortly after beaver skins were also made a current medium of exchange, and the money value was fixed at eight florins (\$3.20) each. Wampum continued to be used as a currency for a long while; but as its fabrication was free to all, each one who wished could become director of his own mint, which was a strong temptation for the production of false and imperfect kinds. From New England came wampum, unpolished, unperforated, made of stone, bone, glass, horn, and even wood. Thus was caused great trouble and dissatisfaction, with the result that wampum currency gradually went out of use. Beavers, however, continued to be used as currency much longer, for the very good reason that among the whites they were a valuable commodity, and always desirable.

During the Dutch era the West India Company controlled the entire shipping at the port of New Amsterdam, except on the river, and it was not until the capture of the city by the English that individual enterprise was stimulated in that department of trade. When Governor Nicolls took possession, New York, as it was rechristened, was a thriving city of fifteen hundred people, mostly Dutch, and it was some time after the change of rulers that trade began to flow with confidence and regularity. Soon after this shipyards were established, ships being built on the East River in the neighborhood of the present Peck Slip, and this continued to be an active industry throughout the whole colonial period. Coin was scarce, trading being carried on by means of barter, or exchange "in kind," principally beaver skins, which had become the standard of value, and wampum, which held its place as a currency till as late as the beginning of the eighteenth century.

When the British came into possession of New York the middle of Broad street was occupied by a canal, up which small boats came to discharge their cargoes. This canal would probably never have been there if New York had not been originally a Dutch town. Across the canal, near the river, between the present Stone and Bridge streets, was a bridge, which was the center of as much stir and activity as

any other place in the little city. Here the merchants had been accustomed to meet for trade and the transaction of business of various kinds.

This induced Governor Lovelace, March 24, 1669-70, to issue an order establishing a sort of business exchange. His order specified that the meetings of the merchants should be between the hours of eleven and twelve on Friday mornings, near the bridge, and the mayor was directed to take care that they should not be disturbed. The time of meeting and dispersing was to be announced by the ringing of a bell. This continued to be the meeting-place of the merchants, and near this spot a building, called the exchange, was subsequently built.

In 1678, Governor Andros reported to the Council of Plantations that New York exported yearly sixty thousand bushels of wheat, also peas, beef, pork, tobacco, furs from the Indians, timber, horses, and tar, and also imported all sorts of English manufactures, to the amount of £50,000 yearly. He says: "A merchant worth one thousand or five hundred pounds is accounted a good substantial merchant and a planter worth half that in moveables is accounted rich." In 1686, Governor Dongan, in his report, says: "New York and Albany live wholly upon trade with the Indians, England and the West Indies."

To England were sent peltries, whale oil, and tobacco, and to the West Indies flour, bread, pork, and sometimes horses, from whence came rum and molasses. At this time the shipping of New York, as reported, consisted of "about nine or ten three mast vessels of about eighty or one hundred tons burthen, two or three ketches or barks of about forty tons and about twenty sloops of twenty or five and twenty ton, all of which trade for England, Holland, and the West Indies, except six or seven sloops that use the river trade to Albany and that way." No product of Europe or the West Indies could be imported into the province, unless directly "from England, or such part of the West Indies where such commodities were produced, without paying as a custom to his majesty ten per cent."

Kieft and Stuyvesant had tried to create a stable currency, by fixing values by edict and ordinance, and Governor Andros attempted to do the same with equal lack of success. Articles used as medium of exchange in one colony were not recognized as such in another. Values fluctuated. There was no common standard, and thus much trouble and confusion arose in business transactions.

From a very early date the preparation of flour for export had been an important part of the industry of the colony of New York and of the city. In 1678 to a few leading citizens was granted a monopoly of bolting all the flour and baking all the bread for export, bread being at that time in demand in the West Indies. The other towns of the province protested against the privilege granted to New York, but Governor Fletcher, at the earnest request of the mayor and aldermen, succeeded in having the privilege continued. In 1694, however, it was terminated and abolished as "unlawful by law." During the time of this monopoly the city greatly benefited from it.

The first half of the seventeenth century was the period when buccaneers or freebooters flourished in the West Indies. The Spanish policy had been to prevent all other nationalities from establishing themselves in these islands. English and French settlers had been driven away as fast as they had obtained a footing. These, moved by revenge or hope of profit, had formed places or rendezvous in unfrequented islands, whence they sallied forth to hunt the cattle of the Spaniards on the islands they had settled. These marauders set up establishments for curing meat, and by the year 1630 had become so numerous that they not only hunted cattle, but attacked several Spanish towns, which they compelled to pay tribute. The English, Dutch, and French regarded the buccaneers as champions in the common cause, and either openly or by connivance gave constant encouragement to them. The Spaniards treated them as pirates.

In 1670 a treaty was concluded between Great Britain and Spain for terminating the buccaneers' war, and for settling all disputes between the two countries in America. From this time the countenance of the government was withdrawn, but it had been given for so many years that the spirit of freebooting had spread through all the American settlements, and the withdrawal of government favor was even severely criticized among the people as an innovation against established rights.

Near the close of the seventeenth century piracy had found a profitable field of operation on the east coast of Africa; and New York, at that time, was regarded by the maritime countries of Europe as a protecting port for these robbers of the sea. Respected merchants of New York sent out to the coast of Africa, for slaves, ships loaded with liquors, arms, ammunition, and other articles, just such

as would be desired by pirates, exchanging them, at tremendous advances in prices, for their plunder, and returning to New York with slaves and the valuable goods thus obtained. One successful voyage was often sufficient to make the owners of the vessel wealthy, and they claimed that they were doing nothing wrong, having a perfect right to buy goods of any kind wherever they could purchase them to the best advantage.

Pirates came into port, and not alone were received in a friendly manner, but were even honored by unusual attentions from the governor, who was apparently interested in their adventures. Peter de la Noy, a New York merchant, says, about the conduct of the Governor, June 13, 1695: "We have a parcell of pirates in these parts, which (people) call Red-Sea-Men, who often get great bootys of Arabian gold. His Excellency gives all due encouragement to these men, because they make all due acknowledgement to him." So much of this was going on all around, especially in American waters, that the sea captain in regular trade, when the opportunity offered, was strongly tempted to do a little such business on his own account. Some who went out with commissions as privateers became full-fledged pirates, and it is said that Governor Fletcher issued commissions to some whose avowed destination was the African coast.

The Earl of Bellomont, who succeeded Governor Fletcher, and who came out with special instructions to break up this illicit trade, met with the most strenuous opposition. Hostility was plainly manifested by the merchants, when it became obvious that he intended to interfere with their trade; and as it happened that some eight or nine pirate ships had arrived off the coast within a few months after his arrival, and were afraid to come into port, the excitement grew intense. It was asserted that Bellomont's rigorous policy had prevented goods valued at £100,000 from being brought into the city.

"The Indian Ocean swarmed with pirates," says Macaulay, "of whose rapacity and cruelty frightful stories were told. Many of these men, it was said, came from our North American colonies, and carried back to those colonies the spoils gained by crime. Adventurers who durst not show themselves in the Thames found a ready market for their ill-gotten spices and stuffs at New York. Even the Puritans of New England, who, in sanctimonious austerity, surpassed even their brethren of Scotland, were accused of conniving at the wicked-



NEW YORK BAY AND VICINITY, SHOWING THE TOWN OF NEW YORK, PROVINCIAL CAPITOL, AND ADJACENT TOWNS, DURING COLONIAL TIMES, WHEN BANKING IN NEW YORK WAS CARRIED ON PRIVATELY ON PRIMITIVE PRINCIPLES
 Into This Bay, in Colonial Days, Many a Pirate and Smuggler Sailed to Do Business With the Enterprising New York Merchants.

ness which enabled them to enjoy abundantly and cheaply the produce of Indian looms and Chinese tea plantations."

The Red Sea men and the merchants, who did business with them and with the ports of the East where they had carried their plunder, brought into the city much coin, but it was so varied in character that great difficulty was experienced in giving the different pieces a current value. Among them the "lion dollar" was the most generally used. It came to New York, from Holland where it was coined, by way of Constantinople, the Red Sea, and Madagascar, and was current in the city for many years, having been made a legal tender. After the year 1720, it was a scarce coin. By some, mistaking the figure of a lion on the coin for a dog, it was called the "dog dollar."

Colden, in 1723, reporting the state of trade, writes: "Whatever advantage we have with the West Indies, it is hard to make it even with England, so that the money imported from the West Indies seldom remains six months in the Province before it is exported to England, current cash here being wholly in current bills of this Province and a few Lyon Dollars."

A Spanish coin, containing eight reals, or 400 grains of pure silver, also came into the city in the course of trade. These "pieces of eight" were known in the English colonies as pillar dollars, or Spanish milled dollars. The two pillars of Hercules, and the scroll placed about or upon them in the form of the letter S, made the figure \$, and this became the written sign for these "pieces of eight," and afterwards for the United States dollar.

In the American Colonies the ideas of banking were derived from England and more remotely from continental Europe. In England, in the early period of the history of the Bank of England, the issue of bank-notes was considered the main feature of the banking business. The colonists carried this idea to America, and so, when in the course of their experience they became anxious for an increase of a current medium of exchange, they turned to the bank-note, or, in default of that, to bills of credit issued by the colony or by an association of men of property. An emission of bills of credit by a provincial government was called a public bank, an emission of notes by an association of private persons was a private bank. The experiment of a land bank was made in Massachusetts long before it was attempted in England.

Many years before the Bank of England was established, and while schemes were being brought forward in England for banks founded on various systems, the idea of a land bank found favor in America. As early as 1661 John Winthrop, the younger, governor of Connecticut, was in correspondence with members of the Royal Society of England on a "way of trade and banks without money." He appears to have had in view a paper currency based on property, especially land, which should circulate the same as specie. He and his correspondents did not suppose that it was necessary that the paper should be redeemable in gold or silver to make it current. There had not yet been much experience in the issue of notes or bills of credit. Theorists looked to the Bank of Amsterdam, which gave credit on its books for gold or silver deposited with it, which credit passed from hand to hand as a current medium of exchange, and, according to their views, it was difficult to explain why the deposit of other kinds of property would not serve the purpose as well. The conversion of land and merchandise into credit, and thus into an equivalent circulating medium, seemed easy.

A tract printed at Boston in 1682 shows that a "Fund of Land" was started in Massachusetts in 1671. It did not issue bills. Another private company or bank, called "The Fund at Boston in New England," was started in the colony in 1681 for the purpose of facilitating transfers of credit among its members by book-entries at the head office. These credits were based on mortgages of land. A few mortgages recorded in the Suffolk Registry of Deeds confirm the fact of its existence. This must have led to encouragement in a similar project, for President Dudley in 1686 granted to John Blackwell and others a virtual charter for "creating and maintaining a Bank of Credit Lombard and Exchange of Moneys by Persons of approved Integrity, prudence & estates in this Country, wherein such a foundation is layed for delivering out Bills or giving Credit, on such Real Estate of Lands, as also personal Estates," etc. The title indicates an ambitious undertaking, but we are not informed as to the results.

These private enterprises were followed, in 1690, by the first issue of colonial bills of credit. The occasion was the unexpected return of Sir William Phipps with his troops from an unsuccessful expedition against Canada. The soldiers were mutinous for want of pay and the public treasury was empty. It was utterly impossible to

raise in a short time the required amount. "The extreme difficulty to which the Government was reduced was the occasion," says Hutchinson, "of the first bills of credit ever issued in the Colonies as a substitute in the place of money." One of these bills, supposed to be the only one in existence, has been preserved. It is not engraved or printed, but is executed with a pen in imitation of a printed form. The seal of the province is also rudely drawn upon it. In anticipation of the collection of taxes these bills were issued to the soldiers; they were not payable at any particular time; they did not bear interest and they were not legal tender. Although it was stated on each bill that it should "be in value equal to money," they soon dropped to a discount of from thirty to forty per cent., and the soldiers thus lost two-fifths of what was their due. In 1692 an act of the General Court, making these bills legal tender, providing for their redemption, and allowing a bonus of five per cent. on them when paid into the treasury, brought them up to par.

The apparent success of this first issue of colonial bills induced the neighboring colonies to try the experiment. The desire for the emission of bills of credit spread like an epidemic. As a successful means of postponing taxes it became very popular; for the colonists all had a great aversion to being taxed, either by the mother country or by their own colonial governments. Soon Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire were issuing bills. Like those of Massachusetts, they were receivable for public dues, and were to be "equal in value to money;" but the taxes which should pay them were postponed, and the bills rapidly depreciated, owing, according to Cotton Mather, to the "idle suspicions of the ignorant."

Not only did the current value of coins differ in the various Colonies, but the value of silver was not the same, so that trade between them was difficult and very much obstructed. Quotations were made in pounds, shillings, and pence, but very little English money was to be seen. Its place was taken by the old Spanish piece of 8/8, or eight reals, which was current and more plentiful than any other coin in all the English Colonies.

These pieces of eight, or Spanish dollars, were brought in by trade with the West Indies. At their best they were not uniform in either weight or fineness, and many had been so sweated or clipped that they had lost about one-fourth of their original weight. The

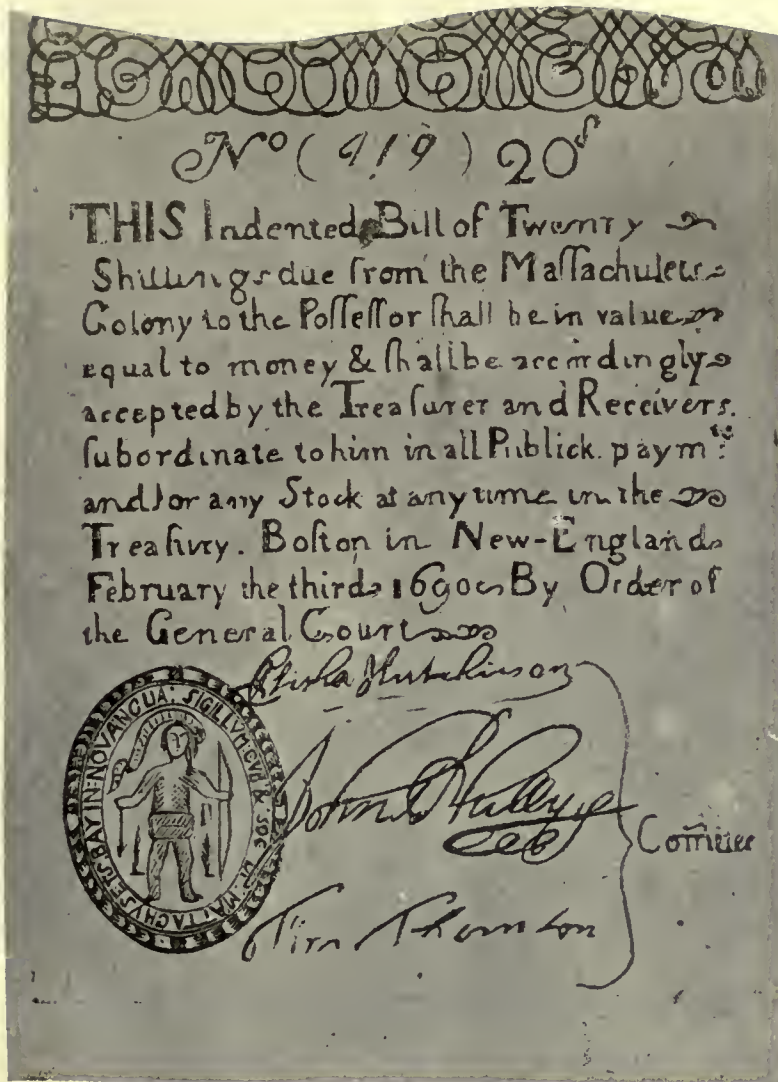
heaviest were collected for remittances abroad, where they were received only by weight.

To correct the defects of a depreciated currency and to fix a standard, the colony of Massachusetts, in 1652, established a mint for the coinage of shillings, sixpenny, and threepenny pieces. In these shillings the English standard of fineness was preserved, but to conform to the depreciation already existing the weight was reduced to 72 grains, or $22\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. less than the English shilling. They were known as Pine Tree Shillings. By making the shilling of less value than the English shilling the men of Boston supposed that it would stay in New England, and every effort was made to retain it, but it would not stay.

The Colony did not itself operate the mint, but made a contract with John Hull to do the work, requiring him to receive and coin all the silver offered to him and authorizing him to retain as his pay one shilling out of every twenty which he produced. The mint was closed by order of the home government in 1686.

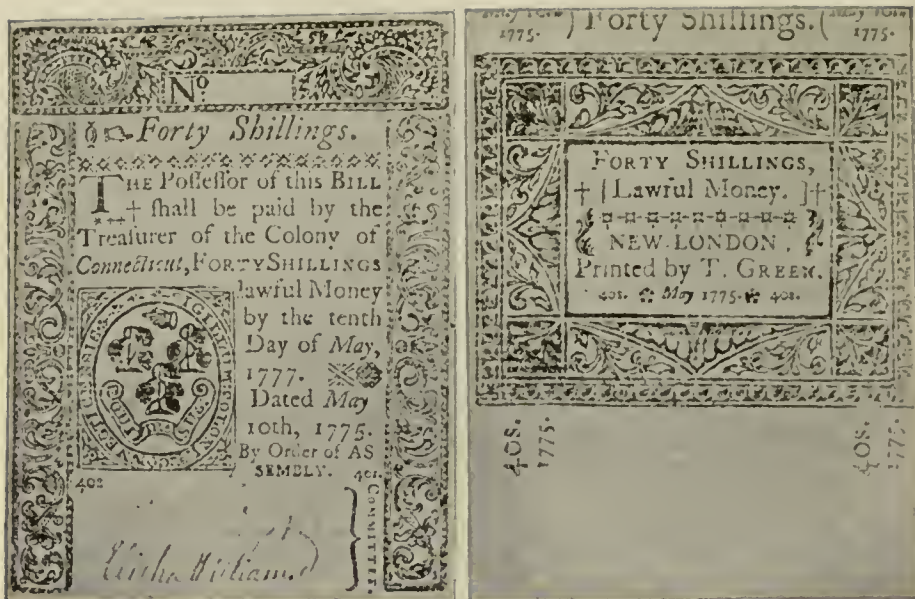
The diversity in value of the same coin in different localities was very detrimental to the trade of the Colonies, and New York was the greatest sufferer of them all. William Penn, in October, 1700, suggested the making of a standard for coin, and added that "it would be much for the despatch of trade and business, if a mint for small silver to the value of 6d. were allowed in the City of New York for prevention of clipping fileing." In 1703 Lord Cornbury urged upon the Board of Trade in England, as other governors had done, that a standard value should be established in all the colonies for the coins in circulation. He states that "a piece of eight weighing seventeen pennyweight goes for 6 sh. 9d. in this place (New York) but at Philadelphia it goes for 7 sh. 6d., so that no heavy money is to be found here."

These representations brought about the proclamation of Queen Anne, June 18, 1704, for settling the actual value of foreign coins in the English colonies of America. The proclamation said: "No Sevil, Pillar, or Mexican Pieces-of-Eight shall be accounted, received, taken, or paid within our Colonies or Plantations at above the rate of six shillings per piece, current money, for the discharge of money contracts or bargains to be made after the first day of January, 1705," and all foreign silver coins should after that time stand regulated



FIRST PAPER MONEY IN AMERICA IN 1690

This is a Facsimile of the First Paper Money in America, which eventually led to the founding of the American Banking System. The American Colonists of New England and New York sent an Expedition Against Canada in 1690, which was unsuccessful. On the return of the troops to Boston there was no money with which to pay them. The soldiers clamored for payment and were on the verge of mutiny when it was resolved to resort to paper money and a committee was empowered to issue £7,000 in bills, from five shillings to five pounds. Thus was paper money introduced by Massachusetts in 1690. Carolina followed in 1702, in consequence of an ill-advised expedition to St. Augustine, Florida, which entailed a debt of £6,000. In 1709, New York and Connecticut first issued bills of credit, and the other colonies followed in due course, Georgia being the last. Paper money, which had been first authorized to meet the necessities of colonial treasuries to wage war, soon became generally established in relieving commercial and financial embarrassment, and continued in use until the establishment of the United States Mint at Philadelphia in 1792-3.



PAPER CURRENCY OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD

This Specimen of Paper Currency Was Issued by the General Assembly of the State of Connecticut and Was Dated May 10, 1775. It Was Issued to Meet the Necessities of the Treasury to Wage War, and Became Due Two Years After the Date of Issue.



OLD PRINT OF EARLY DUTCH DWELLINGS IN NEW YORK

Broad Street, at Corner of Exchange Place in 1690. These Structures are Fine Types of Early Houses Built in New York from Bricks Brought from Holland.

according to their weight and fineness in proportion to the rate for Seville pieces. This valuation was considered a fair average and was everywhere known as Proclamation Money, or Proc. Money.

The receipt of the proclamation in New York, on February 5 following, produced a panic in the trade of the little city. Several merchants, acting under directions from their Boston correspondents, sent away as much coin by the mail-carrier, going east, as he could carry. For four or five days all trade was suspended, no market was held, and no money changed hands. The cure had proven to be worse than the disease. On the day after the proclamation was received in New York, the merchants presented a petition to Lord Cornbury against enforcing its execution, and members of the Council advised against it.

Lord Cornbury followed the advice of the Council, but had to defend his action against the Lords of Trade, who blamed him for allowing encroachments upon her majesty's prerogative. In defending his action he said: "The only effect of suspending execution of her majesty's proclamation relating to the coin is, that this colony has by that measure had money enough circulating in it to carry on the trade of this province, which otherwise would not have been."

In 1707 a law was passed by Parliament to enforce the terms of the proclamation, but both the proclamation and the act were disregarded in the colonies.

During the reign of George I., in 1722, William Wood, by bribing those who could influence the King, obtained the right to issue in Ireland and the American colonies coins made of an alloy of silver, brass, and spelter of the denominations of twopence, penny, and halfpenny. Those for America contained, on the reverse, the legend "Rosa Americana." Although the need of small coins was very great in the colonies, "Mr. Wood's copper money" was not well received. Complaint was made that "he had the conscience to make thirteen shillings out of a pound of brass." The latest issue bears the date of 1733.

Small coins were for some time very scarce in New York. Governor Hunter, in a letter to the Lords of Trade, November 12, 1715, says: "There is one hardship which I have observed ever since I came into this country, which falls chiefly upon the poorer sorts: that is, that there being no currency but of silver and bills of credit, the smallest of which is two shillings, they have not the same relief from the ordinary markets as in other places." Governor George Clark

states that it was not many years previous to 1738 that copper coins were first known in the colony. The necessity for change gave at first the halfpenny a currency at the value of a penny, colonial money. This induced the merchants to send to England for copper money, as the most profitable commodity they could import. The importation continued until the province became so filled with it that it became a burden and a grievance. A law was passed "to prevent the further importation of copper money," and Governor Clark had to defend his action in assenting to it, as it was considered an infringement of the royal prerogative.

The first issue of bills of credit was made to meet the expenses of government and to postpone the taxes necessary to cover them. For fifty years or more there was a constant contest between the governors, acting under instructions, and the legislatures of the different colonies on this subject. Legislatures, impatient under restraint, refused support to the governors and to the governments unless emissions of bills of credit were allowed. The home authorities insisted on a permanent instead of an annual support for the local governments. This the colonists persistently refused to provide.

In Massachusetts the colonial bills did the work of a currency as long as there was a fair prospect of redemption. One expedition after another, against the French on the border, demanded money which must be had from one source or another. In 1707 the collection of taxes, which was the only source for the redemption of the paper money, was postponed for three years; in 1709 for four years; in 1710 for five years; in 1711 for six years. The volume of bills grew larger and their credit grew less.

The depreciation of the colonial bills varied in the different colonies. In Massachusetts the maximum was 11 to 1, the standard being proclamation money; in Connecticut, 8 to 1; in New Hampshire they became worthless; in Rhode Island, 26 to 1; in North Carolina, 10 to 1; and in South Carolina, 7 to 1. In the middle colonies they were kept within reasonable bounds. The maximum depreciation in New York was only twenty-five per cent. in comparison with proclamation money.

South Carolina was the first to issue bills of credit, as loans to individuals on security of land, for the purpose of increasing trade, and this example was soon followed by other colonies.

BANKS AND BANKING

In 1714 Massachusetts issued a "bank" of £50,000. A bank was distinguished from an ordinary issue of bills for the expense of government in that it was intended for making loans to individuals on security of real estate. One-fifth of the principal and interest were payable each year, but the loans were extended, and some of them were unpaid for more than thirty years. This was no more nor less than a land-bank business, backed by the credit of the colony.

Rhode Island surpassed all the other colonies in the recklessness with which she issued bills of credit. She made small emissions in 1710 and 1711 for the current expenses of government, but in 1715, following the example of Massachusetts, she issued her first bank for loans to individuals of £40,000. Then banks followed each other in rapid succession until stopped, in 1750, by act of Parliament. Definite amounts were assigned to each town in the colony. Annual payment of interest was provided for, but was not regularly collected. A large part was lost. It has been claimed that throughout New England great favoritism was shown in making loans with these bills of credit. In a pamphlet of 1743 the writer states that Rhode Island had "defrauded more in a few years than any of the most wicked administrations in the several nations of Europe have done in several centuries."

News of the declaration of war between England and France was received in New York on the 8th of September, 1702, and was immediately communicated to the mayor for publication. In obedience to the call on the colony, the New York Assembly enacted a law "for the levying and collecting £18000 for the raising, paying, and maintaining 150 fizzleers for 5 months." Two weeks later Rip Van Dam, member of the Council and one of the committee appointed to collect the before-mentioned sum, reported that it was impossible to raise £1000 on the credit of the colony. However, he, with Thomas Wenham, Stephen de Lancey, and Samuel Bayard, offered to lend the government £200 each.

When a similar emergency arose, in 1709, and New York was again called upon to raise men for an expedition against Canada, the Assembly proposed, May 25, 1709, to raise 487 men as her quota for this purpose, and enacted a law for levying the sum of £6000 toward defraying the expenses. Realizing from previous experience that there was not coin enough in the province to make up the £6000 called

for, and as the funds were needed for immediate use, an act was passed, June 8, 1709, authorizing the issue of bills of credit for £5000, limited to May 31, 1711. This was the first issue of bills of credit in the province of New York. Five thousand four hundred bills of five, ten, twenty, and forty shillings, and of five pounds, were issued. They were signed by the commissioners, Lawrence Reade, Robert Walters, John De Peyster, and Robert Lurting, or any three of them. Before the end of the year two new issues of bills were found necessary and were accordingly authorized on November 1 and 12. The first of these issues, in form the same as the earliest issue, but only in 25 and 50 shillings and £5 notes, was for £4000, limited to November 30, 1712. The bills authorized by the act of November 12, for 10,000 ounces of plat or 14,545 lion dollars (£4000), differed somewhat from the previous issues. They were for "Ounces of Plate" or "Lyon-dollars," but the form and appearance was otherwise the same. They were for 4, 8, 16, and 20 lion dollars and were limited to February 28, 1713. Both of these issues were signed by Robert Walters, Robert Lurting, Johannes De Peyster, and Johannes Jansen, or any three of them. The value of the lion dollar was then 13 pennyweight, 8 grains, of silver.

Although the expedition against Canada was unsuccessful, New York was again called upon to assist in a renewed attack, which made another issue of bills necessary. On July 26, 1711, an act was passed to raise a force of 600 men, and a new issue of bills of credit was ordered to the amount of 25,000 ounces of plate, or £10,000, to defray the expenses. The denominational value in these bills was expressed as "Coyned Plate," and the 6,555 bills of this issue, with the arms of the City of New York in the right lower corner, were divided into $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$, 1, 2, $2\frac{1}{2}$, 5, 10 and 20 ounces of plate, and made current for eight years, subsequently extended to 1724.

Although the establishment of peace stopped the drain on the resources of the province, the condition of the finances did not improve. Debts had been contracted, warrants to pay them had been issued to the proper officers of government, but the sums called for had been misapplied and the debts remained unpaid. The governor, council, and assembly were at odds about the financial administration. An act was passed appointing commissioners to ascertain the claims against the province, and when this had been done, another act was

passed in 1713 laying an excise on all strong liquors retailed in the colony, to continue for twenty years, and appropriating the money from this source to the discharge of the public debts. Governor Hunter informed the assembly that he could pass no law until provision was made for the relief and support of government. Then the assembly passed an act, September 4, 1714, known as the "First Long Bill," for paying the debts of the colony and to enforce the currency of bills of credit to the value of £27,680, and to prevent the colony from being in debt for the future. The bills were to be legal tender, and any one refusing to accept them in satisfaction of a debt was punished by a perpetual bar against recovery of his claim. The bills were not issued until the act had been approved by Queen Anne, which was done July 17, 1715. They were limited to December 31, 1739. Of the £27,680 issued, £27,406, 8s., came back into the treasury and were cancelled; so that there was a gain to the province of £273, 12s.

The most pressing claims having been paid, for the purpose of repairing the fortifications and for other public necessities an act was passed, July 5, 1715, levying duties on certain articles and authorizing the issue of bills of credit to the amount of 15,000 ounces of plate, equal to about £6000. Although the bills were put in circulation, the act never received the royal assent.

The law of July 5, 1715, provided for a commission to adjust and state the debts still due by the colony, and upon their report a law was enacted, December 23, 1712, for issuing bills of credit to the amount of 41,517½ ounces of plate, equal to £16,607, for discharging the debts of the colony, known as the "Second Long Bill." For sinking these bills, a duty of one and one-half ounces of plate was laid on every tun of wine, and of two and one-half grains on every gallon of rum, brandy, etc., imported during the following seventeen years. Shortly before the passage of this act, Governor Hunter wrote to William Popple, secretary to the Lords of Trade: "Navigation and trade of this place have vastly increased of late, which in a great measure is owing to the currency of bills of credit upon so good and solid a fund as that of the excise, our bills being on the exchange of Boston 25 p. ct. better than their own." There appears to have been some opposition to the increase of bills of credit. In this letter transmitting the act for approval to the Lords of Trade, Governor Hunter says: "I do affirm that since the circulation of these bills the trade of this

place has increased at least above one-half of what it was. The truth of the matter is, the circulation enables the many to trade to some small loss to the few, who had monopolized it, and that is the true cause of the cry."

For twenty years, previous to 1737, no large amounts of bills of credit were issued by the province of New York. The largest was that of 1734, amounting to £12,000, for putting the colony in a better state of defence, there being indications of a rupture between England and France.

Trade had for some time been on the decline. Imports were considerably taxed, which provided almost the whole contribution to the support of government. The spring session of the assembly, in 1737, found the province in debt, which had arisen from an insufficiency of revenue. Lieutenant-Governor Clarke urged upon the assembly the necessity of providing for the expenses of government, and after waiting about a month for favorable action, dissolved them. When the new assembly, which met for only a few days in the spring of 1737, convened for the fall session, they acted on the lieutenant-governor's recommendation, and on December 16, 1737, passed an act "for emitting bills of credit for the payment of the debts and for the better support of the Government," etc., which, known as the "Loan Bill," authorized the issue of 32,000 bills of credit, amounting to the sum of £48,350, in denominations of from five shillings to ten pounds.

The issue of bills of credit had become a political question, and so, to cause the act to be received with favor by the people, the assembly made it appear as a benefit to the country in general, by issuing £40,000 of it, apportioned to the different counties, to be loaned on good mortgages, in amounts of from twenty-five to one hundred pounds, at five per cent per annum for twelve years. The currency of these bills was extended to the third Tuesday of April, 1754, but more than £5000 never came in for cancellation. The bills were extensively counterfeited; some of the counterfeits being printed in Ireland. Five-pound bills were made out of five shilling bills, by erasing the word "shillings" and pasting over the erasure the word "pounds" in a different type. Other alterations of the bills were made in the same clumsy way. During the war with Spain and France, a few years later, new issues were made, for defraying the expenses of the war; but after the peace an act was passed, April 8, 1748, "for the

more effectual cancelling of the bills of credit of this colony," and for some years no fresh emissions were made, and those that were outstanding were cancelled as they came in.

In the New England colonies bills of credit had been issued to a much greater extent than in New York. Proper provision had not been made for their redemption, and not so much care had been taken to prevent depreciation. Depreciation of one issue did not prevent a new one. Not only were excessive issues made by the different colonies, but private banks were formed for the issue of notes in Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and especially in Massachusetts, where several private banks were set up in the early part of the eighteenth century. The most important of these, called the "Land and Manufactures Bank," was formed in 1740, with a proposed capital stock of "£150,000 lawful money," but no provision was made for paying in any money except 2s. on each £100, to meet the expenses of organization. Each subscriber was to "make over an Estate in Lands to the Satisfaction of the Directors," and pay in three per cent. per annum on the same, either in the bills of the company or in various manufactures, the produce of the province, which were specified, at prices fixed by the directors.

The subscribers agreed, as stated in the bills, to receive them "as so much lawful money," in all payments, and at the expiration of twenty years to pay the possessor the value thereof in the manufactures of the province.

It is supposed that the bills issued were divided among the subscribers in proportion to their subscriptions. With these bills they were to buy goods, subject to the condition that they should accept them when offered in trade at the rate of 6s., 8d., per oz. in silver, as stated in the revised form of the bills.

If the business of this institution had been founded on a solid basis, and could have been run as proposed, it would have been quite profitable, for the notes were only payable at the end of twenty years. Many men of influence saw a prospect of gain and subscribed for shares in the "Land and Manufactory Scheme." These men acquired a majority in the House of Representatives, but Governor Belcher and the Council were bitterly opposed to the project and exerted all their influence and power to prevent the circulation of the bills. The Land Bank became the great issue of the day, and created much bit-

terness of feeling between those who favored and those who opposed it. Legislators were elected or defeated on this issue.

"The Land Bank and the Silver Scheme,
Was all last winter's noisy theme,
Till their debates at length were sent
For issue to the Parliament."

There were evidently many who believed that a bill based on actual property was more sound than a provincial promise to pay. In 1741 a commission reported that the Land Bank had issued £35,582 in notes. The operations of the bank were stopped in 1742 by an act of Parliament.

The Land Bank was not illegal, and it would soon have died a natural death, for the merchants of Boston had refused to touch its bills, and they were being presented to the treasurer of the company, and to individual members, to be exchanged for tangible property, lest they should fall in value. The act of Parliament, which put an end to its operations, cut off all the educative influence that might have followed from an undisturbed termination from natural causes, and, instead, created an unforgiving bitterness against the mother country.

In 1748 Massachusetts was so filled with inflated paper currency that the province had to resort to a lottery for raising £7500. All New England was in a similar condition. Thomas Hutchinson moved in the House of Representatives that the specie expected from the royal exchequer, in compensation for expenses in the capture of Louisburg, should be applied to the redemption of bills of credit. The House at first refused, but finally adopted the plan. On September 18, 1749, the Parliamentary remittance, consisting of £183,649 or 653,000 ounces of silver and ten tons of copper,—more coin than Massachusetts had ever possessed at one time before,—arrived in Massachusetts Bay. This had been sent out by England on condition that it be applied to redeem the outstanding bills of credit. This proviso was necessary, for although the people had talked about redemption, they but slightly believed in it. They dreaded a money famine, for they thought that the silver would not stay, and the poorest money is better than no money at all.

"To foreign lands they'll be conveyed,
Then what's our fate the—silver gone,
The paper burnt—and we undone."

BANKS AND BANKING

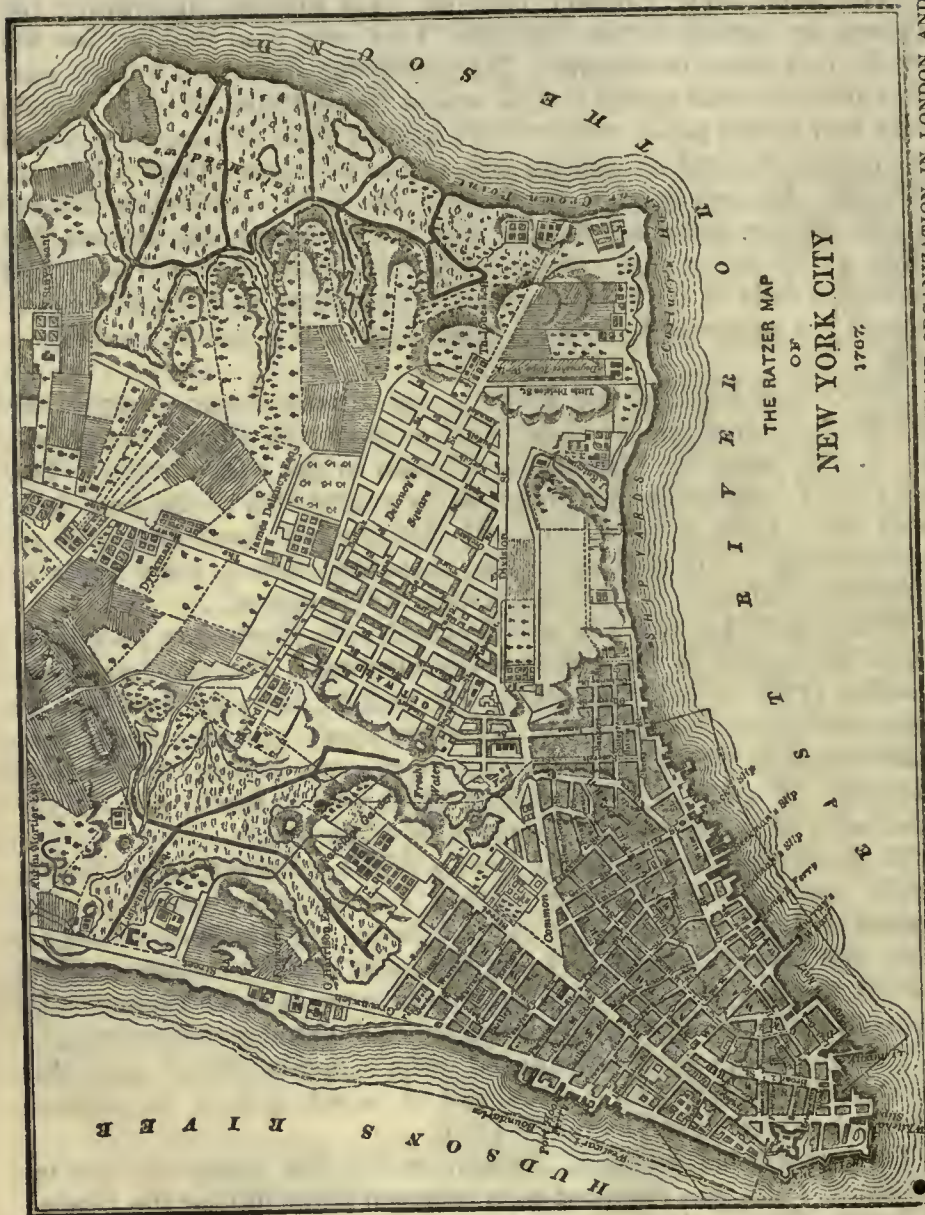
The other New England colonies were granted allowances for expenses, on similar terms, but New York was paid nothing for the part she had taken in the war. Massachusetts redeemed a large part of her bills of credit at the rate of one in specie to ten in bills. Rhode Island had issued paper money more heavily than Massachusetts and had received a smaller relative proportion of specie from England. With this she redeemed a portion of her bills. Although Massachusetts did not dispense entirely with paper money, she became for a time a "silver money colony," and was quite prosperous. She refused the bills of New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, and in 1772 prescribed those of New York, New Jersey, and Nova Scotia.

As soon as England had declared war against Spain, in 1739, the adventurous merchants of New York commenced fitting out privateers to prey upon the commerce of Spain in the West Indies. The vessels were commanded and manned by young men of the best families of New York, who left off cock-fighting and horse-racing to go a-privateering. The appeals to join these expeditions were made to "Gentlemen Sailors," or to "Gentlemen Adventurers."

When, in 1744, war was also declared with France, an additional impulse was given to the privateering business. For the five years preceding 1748, no less than thirty-one vessels, carrying from ten to twenty-four guns, are named in the newspapers, and mention is continually made of prizes being brought in, of cases before the Court of Admiralty, of sales of the captured ships and cargoes, and of the adjustments of disputes over the division of the spoils.

In September, 1745, Captain Bevan, of the privateer sloop *Clinton*, brought into the port of New York a French prize, which he had captured without the loss of a man. Her cargo consisted of sugar, indigo, and cotton, valued at forty thousand pounds. Each man of the crew received one hundred and sixty pounds prize money. As a reward for complying with his request not to plunder the passengers, officers, or sailors of the captured ship, Captain Bevan gave his crew a handsome treat of a hogshhead of punch and an ox, roasted whole in the fields near Dominie's Hook.

This profitable business, broken up by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, was resumed with renewed vigor during the French and Indian War, which resulted in the conquest of Canada. In



PLAN OF NEW YORK IN 1707, WHEN THE BANK OF ENGLAND WAS AN INFANT ORGANIZATION IN LONDON AND NEW YORK AND THE OTHER AMERICAN COLONIES WERE DOING A PROVINCIAL BANKING BUSINESS BY ISSUING BILLS OF CREDIT

1756 there were scouring the seas over twenty ships from the port of New York, carrying 246 guns, and manned by 1,900 men, and before January, 1758, they had brought into New York fifty-nine prizes, besides those taken into other ports for adjudication. So popular was this business that Governor DeLancey, in 1758, complained that "the country was drained of many able-bodied men by almost a madness to go a-privateering." Alexander McDougal and Isaac Sears, whose names became famous in the history of the city, were commanders of the *Tiger* and *Decoy*.

The French and Indian War, from 1755 to 1763, made large demands on the resources of the colony, and various issues of bills of credit were made to enable it to meet the burden of expenses, which were very heavy. When the Treaty of Paris terminated the war, February 10, 1763, there were current of the New York bills of credit £312,000, the life of which legally expired in November, 1768. Governor Moore, in a letter to the Earl of Hillsborough, dated at Fort George, May 14, 1768, writes: "After the first day of November next there will be none of the Bills formerly issued current: the Lyon Dollars are rarely now seen. These and Bills of credit issued before the Statute (passed December 16, 1737) are the only two kinds of money ever made a tender in this colony. After the first of November therefore we shall have nothing to make a tender with." He also says in the same letter: "The Colony had always kept up the Credit of their paper Currency and taken particular care it should not be depreciated."

In 1768 the scarcity of money was very great. The Crown, always jealous of its prerogative, had restrained the colony from issuing bills of credit except on certain conditions, and after the death of Sir Henry Moore, when the assembly passed an act for issuing £120,000 in bills of credit, which was signed by Lieutenant-Governor Colden by advice of his Council, it was disapproved by the King as contrary to an act of Parliament which restrained paper money from being issued as legal tender in payment of any debt.

To remedy this matter Parliament passed an act "to enable the governor, council, and assembly of his Majesty's colony of New York

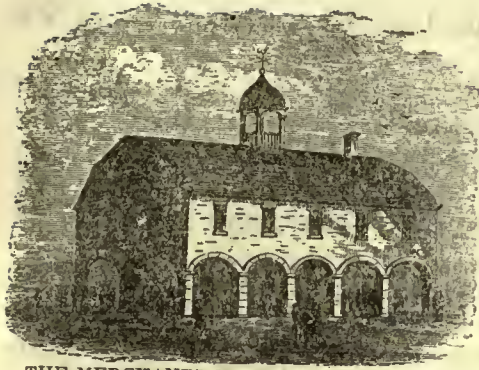


to pass an act of Assembly for creating and issuing upon loan, paper bills of credit to a certain amount, and to make the same legal tender in payment to the loan-officers and treasurer of the said colony." Accordingly, the assembly, on the 16th of February, 1771, passed the act for "emitting the sum of £120,000 in bills of credit, to be put out on loan and to appropriate the interest arising thereon to the payment of the debts of this colony, and to such public exigencies as the circumstances of this colony may from time to time render necessary."

After the issue of these bills, they were very soon and very extensively counterfeited, which occasioned great trouble and disturbance. A law was passed to remedy this evil, and Samuel Verplanck, Theophylact Bache, and Walter Franklin were appointed commissioners to cause plates to be engraved with proper designs, the impressions of which, printed on thin paper, were to be pasted on the back of the bills by the treasurer. This issue of bills was outstanding in circulation when the storm of revolution broke over the city. There were forty-four thousand bills, in denominations of from five shillings to ten pounds, printed by Hugh Gaine. The signers of this last colonial issue were Henry Holland, Walter Franklin, Theophylact Bache, and Samuel Verplanck, or any three of them.

In 1720 the Legislature of New York passed an act granting to Robert Lettice Hooper and his assigns a monopoly for refining sugar. A few years later we find him styled "sugar refiner," but he having failed to live up to the terms of the grant, it was repealed in November, 1727. It was only a few years after this that "Sugar baking and refining" was established and became one of the important industries of the city. The large sugar houses of the Bayards, the Livingstons, the Roosevelts, the Van Cortlandts, and the Cuylers, and later of the Rhinelanders, attest the fact that previous to the Revolution sugar refining was an extensive and probably a profitable business.

The growing importance of the trade and commerce of New York induced the building of a new exchange for merchants, in the



THE MERCHANTS OR ROYAL EXCHANGE,
BROAD STREET

middle of Broad street, near the East River, which was commenced in 1752, on or near the site of one which had stood there since about 1690, or, for more than sixty years. In June permission for erecting it was given by the city, and one hundred pounds appropriated towards its erection. The original intention was probably to build it like the old one, which was simply an open structure, with nothing but the roof

above the floor, but in August the corporation resolved that they would at their own expense build or cause to be built a room, twelve feet high, over the exchange, for which an appropriation was made of £1200. This long room, when completed, was used for public meetings, for concerts, and for dinners and entertainments given to persons of distinction. It was used by the common council for their regular meetings in 1763, while the City Hall was undergoing repairs. The building was known as the Royal Exchange.

After the peace of 1763 the merchants of New York looked forward to a period of prosperity and were full of hope for the future, when the Stamp Act brought a sudden halt to all their prospects.

The policy of England towards the colonies had always been to make them consumers of her manufactures, and to prohibit them from using goods carried in any other than English ships, for the benefit of British commerce. This was a sort of subtle tax, which was laid by the English people on the people of the colonies. It produced no resentment, for the simple reason that no development of manufacturing had been allowed or made in the colonies, but at the same time the English people received the benefit. England looked upon the colonies as a sort of property that would be of value to her, and Englishmen did not speak of Americans as fellow subjects, but as their colonists; and now, as the vigor and resources shown by the colonies in the war and the luxury displayed by the wealthy merchants of New York, who had entertained the British officers, were talked of in England, the

cupidity of King and Parliament could not be restrained. America must be taxed.

At the same time that England determined to tax the colonies, the colonists no longer needed her assistance to repel the enemies on their borders, and thus they were more disposed to resent encroachments on their rights as Englishmen; for the colonist claimed, and justly, that he was entitled to all the rights of an Englishman, born and living on the soil of Old England.

Pitt was in favor of making the colonies profitable to England to the fullest extent, but in a more statesmanly way. In his speech, advocating the repeal of the Stamp Act, he says: "I speak from accurate knowledge when I say that the profits of Great Britain from the trade of the colonies through all its branches is £2,000,000 per annum. This is the fund that carried you triumphantly through the war: this is the price America pays you for her protection: and shall a miserable financier come with a boast that he can fetch a peppercorn into the exchequer at the loss of millions to the Nation?"

The repeal of the Stamp Act was coupled with a declaration of the right of King and Parliament "to bind the colonies and his Majesty's subjects in them in all cases whatsoever," which the people, in their joy and gratitude, did not completely appreciate, but the significance of which they were soon made to realize. From this time until the Revolution were years of political contention and excitement; money was scarce, business was depressed, and foreign trade was unsettled and uncertain. In this situation, the merchants of New York, having seen the success of union in the non-importation agreements, met on April 8, 1768, and organized the New York Chamber of Commerce, which has been in continuous existence since that date, the oldest mercantile organization in America.

The first business to which they gave their attention was the condition of the currency. The legal tender bills of Pennsylvania and New Jersey were in circulation in the city, at a premium above the non-legal tender bills of New York, and it was necessary that the merchants should have some agreement among themselves as to the rates of this paper currency and the motley clipped and debased coinage of the day. The practice thus established among themselves became the custom of the town.

Flour continued to be the main article of export. Every means was employed to improve its manufacture, and the merchants took great pains to keep informed as to the quality of the various brands. At the request of the Chamber of Commerce, the Assembly, in 1771, ordered the name of the manufacturer branded on the cask. The Chamber for some years showed considerable activity, to the benefit of the trade and commerce of the city.

Not only did the province of New York issue bills, but the city also did the like. It was quite necessary for the health of the city that the wells and pumps should be kept in repair. Subsequent to 1753 the law directed the appointment of overseers of pumps and the purchase of fire-buckets, the expenses of which were provided for by a special tax. In 1774, Christopher Colles submitted to the Common Council proposals for the construction of a reservoir and a system of supplying and distributing water to the city through pipes. The minutes of the Common Council under date of August 25, 1774, state that "This Board having this day tried the Water of the New Well sunk in the Ground of Augustus and Frederick Van Cortlandt, and judging the same to be of a very good Quality agreed in their former Resolution of carrying the Proposal of Christopher Colles into Execution and also of issuing notes to the value of £2500." The notes were issued for sixpence, one, two, four and eight shillings. A committee was appointed to superintend the work, and on November 8th papers were ordered drawn for a contract "for 60,000 feet of pitch pine timber for the making of pipes for the Water Works," for which the contractors were to receive £1250.

A second issue of bills for the water works, amounting to £2000, was ordered January 6, 1776, and a third and last, of £2000, on March 5, 1776. The well was at the intersection of Broadway and Chambers street. The work of construction probably went on with vigor. On May 24, 1776, the Common Council ordered a payment of £12 to be made to Mr. Hornblower "in consideration of the trouble he was at in inspecting and examining the Water Works of this City and making a report on the state of the same." An American officer, who in 1776 visited the water works from curiosity, states: "The well is forty feet in diameter, and thirty feet down to the surface of the water. In this well is an engine which forces the water almost to the top, and from

thence through a wooden tube up to the top of the hill which is a distance of five rods. At the top of the hill is a pond covering one quarter of an acre from 8 to 11 feet deep."

The Revolutionary bills of credit were similar to the colonial bills which had preceded them, except that they were only for war purposes. The Continental Congress at Philadelphia voted, June 22, 1775, to issue bills to the amount of two million Spanish milled dollars. A second issue, amounting to one million dollars, was authorized in July, when an act was passed providing for the redemption of the currency in four successive years, beginning November 30, 1779, the taxes for the purpose to be levied by the separate colonies in proportion to their population.

Before these issues were made the New York Provincial Congress had been in correspondence with James Duane, member from New York in the Continental Congress, and the Committee of Ways and Means, finding the treasury bare of funds with which to discharge debts incurred, recommended that £15,000 should be raised by tax. This recommendation was not adopted, but instead it was ordered, September 2, to issue £45,000, or \$112,500, in bills of credit, and that thirty-five thousand bills in from one-half to ten dollar denominations should be printed by John Holt. A sinking fund for this issue was provided for by taxes.

The bills issued by order of the Continental Congress were known as "Continental" currency, to distinguish them from those issued by the separate States. The Continental Congress had no power to make these bills legal tender, but in January, 1777, recommended that the separate States should do so, which they did one after another.

Before the Declaration of Independence fifteen millions in Continental money had been issued. Up to this time there was little if any depreciation. Pelatiah Webster, a merchant of Philadelphia, who wrote on the subject while the experiment was going on, says in his first essay, October 5, 1776, that he cannot as yet discern any depreciation or any advance in the prices of goods beyond what would be expected in a state of war even if the currency were entirely of gold and silver. On the other hand, evidence has been produced to show that goods were sold at lower prices for silver, even before the Declaration of Independence, and there is evidence that committees

were at work, in the early part of the year 1776, attending to persons who discriminated against Continental money. The most common punishment for this was the seizure of the offender's goods, while publicly declaring him an enemy to his country; and it appears that this was no trifling penalty. New issues of bills were made, increasing in amounts, until in 1779 they amounted to two hundred and forty-two million dollars. Great suffering was caused by the depreciation of Continental currency. The bills, in 1781, were quoted at the ratio of 225 to 1 of coin, later 500 to 1, and Pelatiah Webster states that its circulation "was never more brisk" than at that time.

In defending the monetary system of the colonies Benjamin Franklin, while in England in 1763, wrote: "Their (the English bank-notes) being payable in cash, at sight by the drawer, is indeed a circumstance that cannot attend the Colony bills, for the reason that the cash is drawn from them by the British trade. But the legal tender being substituted in its place is rather a greater advantage to the possessor: since he need not be at the trouble of going to a particular bank or banker to redeem the money, finding (whenever he has occasion to lay out money in the Province) a person that is obliged to take the bills." He maintained that silver had greatly advanced because it was in excessive demand for export.

Although Franklin, as agent for the colonies, advanced such a theory, when the first issue of bills was proposed in the Continental Congress, in June, 1775, he urged that they should bear interest in order to prevent depreciation, and, when bills were issued bearing interest, that the interest be paid in hard money. These propositions were voted down, the latter as being impracticable.

The New York Committee of Safety, sitting during the adjournment of the Provincial Congress, recommended, January 6, 1776, an emission of paper money, to be gotten ready as quickly as possible, and on the 6th of March the Provincial Congress authorized an issue of £55,000, to be redeemed or sunk in three yearly installments, beginning March 1, 1779. It was not long before more was needed, and so on July 24, 1776, it was resolved that £200,000, or \$500,000, in bills of credit, should be immediately struck and issued to meet the exigencies of the State. Of all these three issues, amounting to £300,000, or \$750,000, only £133,477, 17s., 8d., or \$333,692.70, were cancelled.

Many of these bills were counterfeited, which made people careful in receiving them in payment, and consequently led to their greater depreciation.

By the end of the year 1777, bills of credit had fallen in value thirty-two per cent., and it was therefore resolved in the Continental Congress to ask the States to raise, in the course of the year 1778, five millions of dollars by taxes, and not to issue any more bills. Accordingly the State of New York, in 1778, passed a law "for raising monies to be applied towards the public exigencies of the State," and passed laws, in 1779 and in 1780, "to cancel defaced bills of credit in this State." The amount cancelled in pursuance of the two last-named laws was only £15,046, 9s., 4d.

Money was still needed. A tax was imposed by the State of New York, the third since the beginning of the war, but the returns were insufficient—one county (Dutchess) remaining in arrears, June 1, 1780, to the amount of £79,123. A plan to raise money by a loan was also unsuccessful. The financial situation had become most distressing. The purchasing agent of the State had to inform the Legislature, in March, 1780, that "to pay for such articles as required for the army, at the current price in bills of credit, would immediately tend to prejudice the State," and he was thereupon directed not to purchase any more flour, beef or pork for new emission bills, unless absolutely necessary.

In May, 1781, Congress recommended that the States should repeal their legal-tender laws. Some had already done so. All of the States adopted "scales of depreciation" for the settlement of debts, and issued tables showing how much the paper money was worth in specie at various times, and how disputed accounts should be settled. These were notoriously incorrect. New complications arose and it was impossible for the courts to act without causing distress to the innocent.

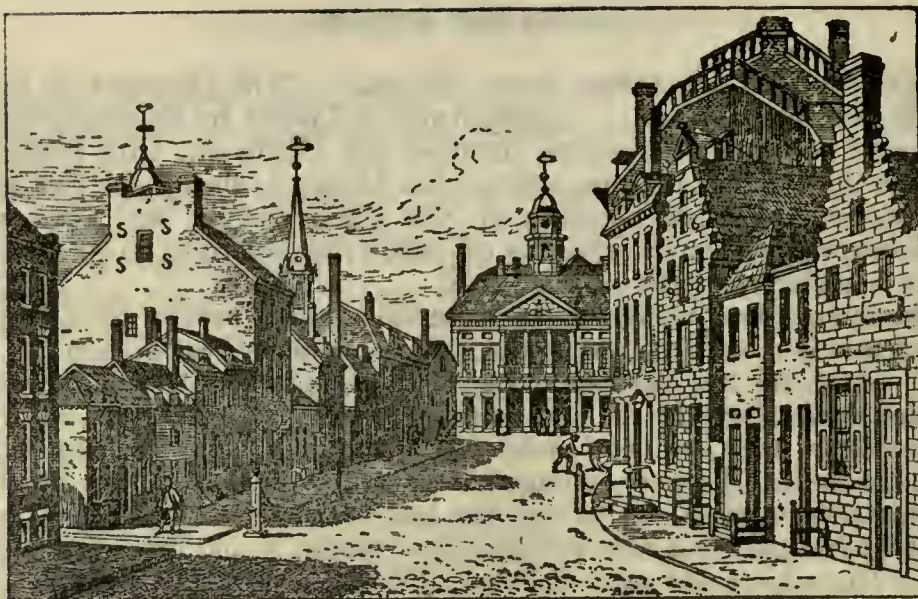
After much financial legislation the Legislature of New York was finally compelled, March 27, 1781, to provide for a new issue of paper money by an act "for emitting money upon the credit of this State." This was the first issue of bills since New York had adopted a constitution and become a State, and this issue was her proportion of the expenses of the war, amounting to £411,250, and remaining unissued in the Continental Loan Offices. The new currency was

different from any former issue, and read: "The Possessor of this Bill shall be paid..... Spanish milled Dollars by the thirty-first day of December, seventeen hundred and eighty-six, with interest from the 15th day of June, 1780, in like Money, at the rate of five per cent. per Annum, by the State of New York: and the first Payment of Interest to be on the 15th day of June, 1782, according to an Act of the Legislature of the said State, of.....Day of..... 1781." The interest-bearing feature of these bills did not prevent them from depreciation, but \$397,000 of the issue came in for cancellation.

After the war the men in control of the affairs of the nation consoled themselves with the idea that the depreciation to complete worthlessness of the Continental money operated as a tax. Franklin was one of these. However erroneous such a theory may be, it was clearly impossible to right the wrong that had been done. Redeeming the bills, after they had been considered worthless, would not accomplish it. The subject was much debated. Finally, in 1790, after the adoption of the Constitution, redemption was provided for by funding the bills in six per cent bonds, at the rate of one per cent, or one dollar in specie for one hundred in Continental currency, if presented prior to September 30, 1791. This time was extended by subsequent acts of Congress until December 31, 1797. Only \$7,000,000 turned up to take advantage of this provision.



SKY-LINE IN NEW YORK TWO HUNDRED YEARS AGO—SKETCH FROM AN ANCIENT MAP



BROAD STREET, BELOW WALL STREET, NEW YORK CITY, IN COLONIAL DAYS
 The Building in the Center of the Picture, at the End of Broad and the Corner of Wall and Nassau Streets, Was the Old City Hall and Legislative Chamber of the Colonial City. Its Site Now Being Occupied by the Sub-Treasury Building, Opposite the Offices of J. P. Morgan & Co. Broad Street, Here Shown, is Now the Meeting-Place of the Vociferous Curb-Brokers of New York.

THE FOURTH NUMBER OF THIS
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The Journal of American History

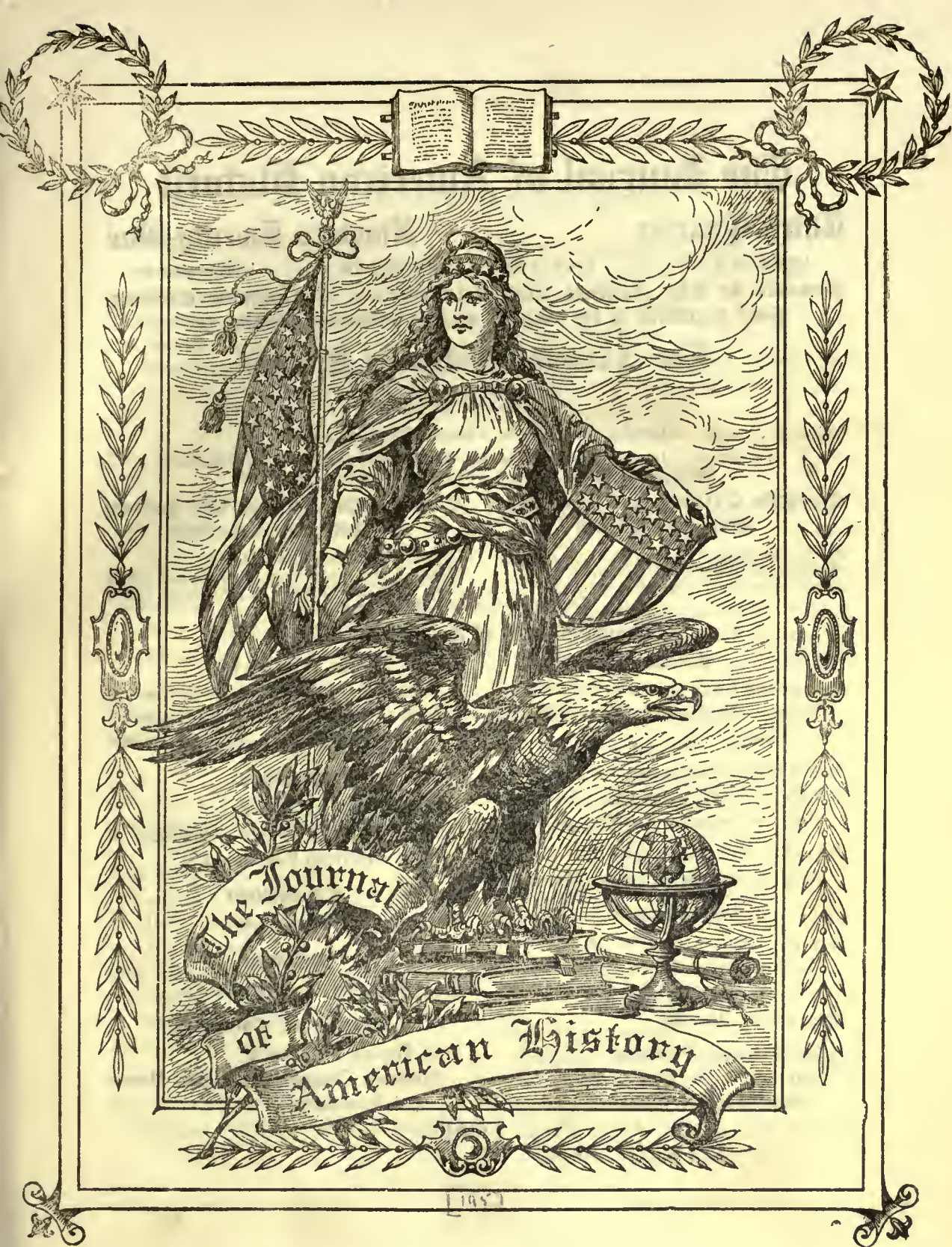
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THE NAME by which the Society is to be known is "The National Historical Society."

The Society is to continue in perpetuity.

The particular business and objects of the Society will be:

(a) To discover, procure, preserve, and perpetuate whatever relates to History, the History of the Western Hemisphere, the History of the United States of America and their possessions, and the History of families.

(b) To inculcate and bulwark patriotism, in no partisan, sectional, nor narrowly national sense, but in recognition of man's high obligation toward civic righteousness, believing that human governments are divinely ordained to bear the sword and exercise police duty for good against evil, and not for evil against good, and recognizing, as between peoples and peoples, that "God has made of one blood all nations of men."

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FIRST AMERICAN'S PROTEST AGAINST THE INVASION OF THE WHITE MAN
Historic Sculpture by Cyrus E. Dallin, of Arlington Heights, Massachusetts.



THE FIRST AMERICAN'S APPEAL TO HIS GOD

Sculpture Entitled, "The Appeal to the Great Spirit," by Cyrus E. Dallin,
of Arlington, Massachusetts.



SACAJAWEA

Statue of Sacajawea, Pilot of First White Men to Cross American Continent,
by Bruno Louis Zimm, Sculptor.



EARLY FRONTIER LIFE

Wagon Trains Crossing the Plains of the Mississippi Valley, Guarded From Sudden Surprise by Indian Marauders.



IN THE HEART OF THE INDIAN COUNTRY

Indian Hunters Killing Buffalo on the Great Plains of the Mississippi Valley, the Great Indian Hunting Grounds.

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Heroes of the Dustin Family

The Story of the Heroic Courage of Two of Massachusetts' Early
Settlers, Who Saved the Lives of Seven of Their Children.
How Hannah Dustin and Two Others Slew Their
Twelve Indian Captors and Escaped

BY
SADIE ADAMS SMITH



O record and perpetuate the annals of an ancestry is among the noblest achievements of life. To adorn and enliven such a history, there are no better examples in all the events of the world than are to be found in the lives and characters of the old New England mothers. Try them; measure their faith, as in the days of death and disappointment; measure them in the midst of conflagrations, war and blood; or in the tranquil years of peace and plenty; or try them in the appealing perils of an Indian raid upon their homes, their little ones and their lives. Stern in integrity, strong for endurance, firm in truth and fervent in valor forever, they never

faltered. God give us heroism like theirs; force like theirs; and faith like theirs, through all the events of advancing time.

In Haverhill, Massachusetts, a monument is erected to the memory of the heroic Hannah Dustin; also one on the Island Contoocook, in the Merrimac river, near Concord, New Hampshire, that the story of her sufferings, heroism and endurance may be carried down to future generations. Hannah Dustin was born in Haverhill, Massachusetts, December 23d, 1657, the daughter of Michael and Hannah (Webster) Emerson. She married Thomas Dustin, December 3d, 1677. Mr. Dustin was a man of considerable note and influence. He was constable and "keeper of the garrison" at his new brick house, his headquarters at the homestead having been destroyed by the savages, on that terrible day when his little child was killed and his wife carried away captive. He was also selectman and representative at the General Court.

On March 15th, 1697, at the massacre of Haverhill, Captain Dustin's bravery in protecting and saving the lives of his seven children made him a hero. The story of that dreadful day and subsequent events, as told by Cotton Mather in his "Magnalia Americana," as he heard it from Mrs. Dustin's own lips, is most interesting and trustworthy, and I quote from it. But the story so frequently told me by my grandfather, Dustin Rowell, who had learned it from the lips of his mother, Sarah Dustin, and his grandfather, Paul Dustin, is most deeply impressed upon my memory.

On the day of the massacre and burning of Haverhill, Mrs. Dustin, who was in bed with her infant, two weeks old, begged her husband to save the other seven children by escaping with them to a place of safety, with the hope that, possibly, their house might be spared and she and her babe, unfit to travel, saved. Captain Dustin gathered his children together, on horseback, and attempted to select from his flying family the child he was best able to spare, but unable to make the selection, followed in the rear of his little flock, facing the horde of Indians who pursued. Receiving and returning their fire, cheering and encouraging his little ones, he faced the enemy, and such was his determination and courage that the Indians feared his vengeance and skulked behind trees and fences, firing upon him and his little company. Captain Dustin dismounted from his horse and walked in the

rear of his children. In this manner he retreated for more than a mile, alternately encouraging his terrified charge and loading and firing his gun, until he succeeded in lodging his children in a forsaken house.

Meantime the Indians fired the Dustin home and drove the sick mother and the terrified nurse, Mary Neff, with the new born infant in her arms, from the burning dwelling. Shrieking and howling, displaying trophies of savage victory, and with all the cruelty and insolence of savage triumph, the savages started with their pioneers on their return trip towards Canada, where their captives, should they survive the rigors and horrors of the march, would be compelled to run the gauntlet and suffer other and worse savage indignities, according to the law and custom of the tribes.

Within a few hours the baby, fretting in its nurse's arms, was torn from her by a savage, who, before the eyes of its agonized mother, dashed its head against the trunk of a tree and threw it aside to become the food of less savage beasts. After traveling for fifteen days through the wilderness, foot-sore, hungry, tortured, on the night of March 30th, 1697, the party camped on an island, between the waters of the Contoocook and Merrimac Rivers. The Indians had secured and drank freely of "fire-water," and that night, when the band and their captives were lying circled around the camp fire, Mrs. Dustin, her nurse, Mary Neff, and a boy captive, Samuel Leonardson, waited and watched for their captors to sleep. Then cautiously, noiselessly obtaining the tomahawks and moving with concert of action, they struck a deadly blow. Of the twelve Indians, none escaped; all were slain. The captives took the scalps, an Indian gun and tomahawk, and, seeking to avoid pursuit, scuttled the canoes with the exception of one in which they floated down the Merrimac to the falls. Thence continuing the journey along the left bank of the river, Mrs. Dustin and her party reached Haverhill safely. There she found her husband and children. Who can tell the surprise, the joy of their meeting!

On the 21st of April, 1697, they visited Boston, and on the eighth of June, thereafter, the General Court awarded to Mrs. Dustin a gift of £23, and to Mary Neff and the boy, Leonardson, £12—10s each. Col. Nicholson, then Governor of Maryland, upon hearing of their sufferings and heroism, also sent complimentary presents to them, while many thanks and material gifts were received by them from others.

Captain Thomas and Hannah Dustin had thirteen children. She survived her husband some years, after his death, residing with her son, Jonathan, who lived on the southwest part of the original Thomas Dustin farm. The house stood where the Dustin Monument now stands.

The saying, that "the true heroes are not always those who receive the most applause," seems especially applicable in the case of Hannah and Thomas Dustin. In every version of the story Thomas Dustin has been made to occupy a position subordinate to that of his wife. Indeed, in many cases his name and his heroic defense of his children seem to have been introduced merely to identify the wife and mother and to add an accessory coloring to the picture of her exploit.

Hannah Dustin, to escape from a cruel captivity and avenge the death of her child, courageously planned, attacked and killed twelve sleeping Indians. It was not with her a question of life or death, but of liberty and revenge. Thomas Dustin, with the question of life or death for himself and a cruel captivity for his children distinctly before him, staked his life for his children. It was a father's love that nerved his arm, and not revenge. While, as Doctor Dwight in his time said, "we would not detract one jot or little from the full credit due the mother for her extraordinary feat, we claim for the pure and lofty heroism of the father a larger share of the world's applause than has been awarded him."



In British Hands in the War of 1812

Colonial Wit Probing More Than a Match for the British Privateers,
John Hyde, of Mystic, Connecticut, Saved from the British the
Money His Fellow-Countrymen Had Intrusted to Him

BY

E. L. HYDE



ON May 1st, 1814, John Hyde of Mystic, Connecticut, sailed from Mystic in the sloop "Hero" bound for New York City. He was in a business venture with his father-in-law, Enoch Burrows and a few other men of the village, which called for the payment in New York of \$5,000, a considerable sum of money in those days. It was only natural for the lot of carrying the money to fall to John Hyde, for he was one of the pluckiest and coolest men of that part of the State.

While the sloop was running up Long Island Sound under full canvas, in an attempt to evade the British fleet, she was dismasted, and had to put into Saybrook. Here our traveler left the vessel, and journeyed to New Haven by stage-coach. After a substantial meal at the old colonial tavern he was considering how he should continue his trip, when the captain of the packet ship "Mariah" came in, and declared that, as there seemed to be a fair wind for New York, he was of a mind to venture the perils of the British fleet. Taking passage in this vessel, Mr. Hyde went on board in the evening, and soon retired for the night.

He was awakened later by the mate, who said he heard the sound of oars, and believed they were being pursued by a British barge. Just as Mr. Hyde sprang from his berth, the sloop was boarded by the barge crew, who were from the armed schooner "Privateer," a Liverpool packet, Caleb Leeby, Captain. Hyde made for the companion-way, but was met at the deck by a boarding pistol in the hand of a sailor, who said, "Go below or I'll shoot you." The cabin doors were at once closed and barred, and as the sloop was full of men, the "Privateer" was hailed for reinforcements.

THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY

John Hyde prepared for the searching, which he knew was coming, by ripping a small opening in the waist-band of his trousers, and another in the lining of his vest, near an arm-hole. In these two places he secreted the \$5,000, which was in paper, leaving in his pockets a few bills and silver dollars, amounting to about \$40.00. His precautions were timely for, with the others, he was carefully searched. The large amount of money was not discovered, and as his captors had a rule to take no sum less than fifty dollars, he lost nothing.

He was, however, closely watched, placed in the charge of a midshipman, and sent on board the frigate "Nimrod," Captain Burdett, where, though treated with courtesy, he was held as a prisoner for a week. Some of the events of ship-life on this British man-of-war were typical of the times. Cattle, bought or plundered from the shore people, were slaughtered and skinned on the ship's deck and hoisted up by the sailors to the tune, played by the musicians, of "Yankee Doodle." The men who dressed the beef were most dexterous at their work. They came on deck in spotless white butchers' garb, which was just as spotless when their task was finished.

The captive, with two others, was released at the end of about a week, being put afloat in an old but fairly seaworthy boat taken by the British from the shore. They made for the first port on the mainland to which a friendly breeze could take them, and this turned out to be Saybrook, for the second time a haven of refuge for the traveler. Hyde decided to return home, leaving the trip to New York to be attempted under more favorable circumstances. Hiring an old white horse, the best he could get, Hyde rode to Mystic. As he came up to the large gambrel-roofed store, which his father-in-law owned on the dock, the latter ran out and exclaimed, "Why, John, where are you from?" "From the British fleet," said Hyde. "Then the money is gone?" "No, I have it all!" (This is the story, as told by my father to his children.)

A History of Fort Saint Joseph, Michigan

This Old Fort has Passed, in Its Very Interesting History, through the
Hands of the French, English and Spanish, and Now, with the
Surrounding Territory, is a Part of the Great
Republic, the United States

BY

DANIEL McCOY



FORT ST. JOSEPH, over which floated the flag of Spain in 1781, was located in the third ward of the present city of Niles, Michigan. It covered about two acres of ground, which is now under cultivation, no trace of its outline remaining. I visited the site in the fall of 1905, and through the kindness of Mr. Lewis H. Beeson, of Niles, whose family has long been of that region and owned the land adjacent to the site, saw innumerable evidences of its authenticity. Mr. Beeson has been a lifelong student of the valley of the St. Joseph, and a constant collector of relics of the ancient fort, comprising articles of an imperishable nature, such as flintlocks and flints, buttons of the French soldiers, indestructible portions of officers' epaulettes, nails made by hand, Scaribs, and tokens given by the priests to the Indians; all sorts of Indian relics, including a splendid collection of beads, from the smallest to the very largest, used for necklaces, etc., all in good state of preservation, but showing great age in their incrustations. He has been collecting since boyhood, and states that no relics ever were discovered outside of a certain area of about two acres, marking the limits of the enclosure.

The topography of the country in the vicinity is about the same as when the mission was begun, and when La Salle and Hennepin and Tonty and Marquette passed up and down the river, on their way to and from Kankakee portage, to the waters of the Mississippi. On a bluff to the east of the fort and overlooking it, when the first settlers came into this valley, about 1825, stood a large wooden cross, which

has been replaced by a new one as often as it fell from age or decay. At present it is down, leaning upon one arm, but I learn that arrangements are being made to erect a new one in its place, either of wood or of some more enduring materials. No accurate knowledge appears to exist as to why a large cross is raised at this spot, but legend had it that it marks the final resting place of one of the early Jesuit fathers, so many of whom sacrificed their lives in their efforts to carry the blessings and comforts of their religion to the Indians.

Writers who have touched upon this fort have not agreed as to its location,—Parkman locating it at the mouth of the river, and Hinsdale, in his "Old Northwest," page 172, falling into the same error, and confusing it with the fort built by La Salle in 1679. This fort was named by him Fort Miami, and was destroyed by deserters from Fort Crevecoeur, the year following—was rebuilt by La Forrest, one of La Salle's lieutenants, and maintained a few years only. Father Hennepin says it was a simple breastwork, made of hewn logs, enclosing an area of forty by eighty feet, which was surrounded by palisades, as additional protection. There is no record of any fort at the mouth of the river, except this built by La Salle, and, after his final departure from this region, the site was never used as a military or trading post.

The first white man known to have visited the vicinity of Fort St. Joseph was Father Claude Jean Allouez, who came in 1675, having an eye to the spiritual welfare of the Pottawatamies and Miamis of this section of the country. The St. Joseph valley was then, as now, a most attractive place. Game was abundant and fish plenty, making it the Indian's paradise, into which soon came the French fur-traders and bush-lopers. A mission was first established by Father Aveneau, of the Society of Jesus, in 1690, and on February 15, 1694, Governor Denonville granted to this society a concession of twenty arpents (twenty-eight arpents equal one mile) along the St. Joseph river, by twenty arpents deep, at such place as they might select, upon which to locate their chapel and other buildings, which were erected. This soon grew to be a post of sufficient importance to require the protection of a garrison. Sieur de Courtemauche, with a detachment of Canadian soldiers, was sent to this mission in 1695 to protect it from the Iroquois, but it was not until 1697 that a military post was established here, from which date it became known in history as Fort St. Joseph.

We know but little of its history for a number of years subsequent

to this. Father Marest informs us that the mission was in a thriving state as early as 1712, and Charlevoix wrote from it in 1721 to Madame la Duchesse de Lesdiguières as follows:

"River St. Joseph, August 16, 1721.

"Madam:

"It was eight days since I arrived at this post, where we have a mission, and where there is a commandant with a small garrison. The commandant's house, which is but a sorry one, is called the fort from its being surrounded with an indifferent palisado which is pretty near the case with all the rest, except the forts Chambly and Catarocouy, which are real fortresses. There are, however, in almost every one of them, some few cannons or pateraroes, which in case of necessity are sufficient to hinder a surprise and to keep the Indians in respect. We have here two villages of Indians, one of the Miamis and the other of the Pottawatamies, both of them mostly Christians, but they have been for a long time without any pastor. The missionary who has been lately sent to them will have no small difficulty in bringing them back to the exercise of their religion.

"The River St. Joseph comes from the south and discharges itself into Lake Michigan, (the eastern shore of which is a hundred leagues in length) and which you are obliged to sail along before you come to the entry of the river. You afterwards sail up twenty leagues in it before you reach the fort."

Charlevoix, in the above early letter, comes very near to the correct distance of Fort St. Joseph from the mouth of the river, which is a little less than sixty miles. Sr de Muy, an ensign in the French army, commanded at St. Joseph's River in 1736. He was afterwards commandant at Detroit.¹

The ensign, Belestre, commanded at River St. Joseph in 1746. In 1761, when the country came into the hands of the English through the fall of Quebec and the capitulation of Montreal, a detachment of the sixtieth British regiment, then called the Royal Americans, relieved the French troops and hoisted the British flag at Fort St. Joseph. * * * Pontiac, the great chief of the Ottawas, dissatisfied with the change from French to English rule, incited the Algonquin

¹See Cadillac papers, Vol. 34, p. 334.

tribes of the northwest to resistance, and sought by surprise to capture and destroy, on the same day, the various forts in the region of the Great Lakes, now occupied by the English. Detroit alone, under the control of Major Galdwin, successfully made resistance. Sandusky, Michilimackinac, Onatonan on the Wabash, Fort Miami on the Maumee, Presque Isle and St. Joseph all were taken, and but few defenders lived to describe the horrors through which they passed.

It will be noticed that where Frenchmen were found in any of these posts they were unmolested, the Indians having no grievance against the French. Seventeen Pottawatamies came into Ensign Schlosser's quarters at Fort St. Joseph, on May 25, 1763, on pretense of holding a council. A Frenchman, having knowledge of the treacherous nature of their errand, endeavored to give the alarm, when at once Schlosser was seized, ten of the garrison killed, and three together with the commandant, taken prisoners and brought to Detroit, where they were exchanged for Indian prisoners in the possession of Major Galdwin. Richard Winston, a trader at Fort St. Joseph, writes of this event:

"June 19, 1763.

"I have only to inform you that by the blessing of God and the help of M. Louison Chevalier I escaped being killed when the unfortunate garrison was massacred. Mr. Hambough and me being hid in the house of same Chevalier for four days and nights."

We read in "Historic Illinois," page 155, that in October, 1777, this insignificant stockade on the St. Joseph river was surprised and captured by sixteen Illinois patriots under Tom Brady, a Kaskaskia Irishman, and a Canadian half-breed named Hamelin, then residing at Cahokia. They surprised at night the garrison of twenty-one British regulars, whom they paroled, seized the merchandise, destroying what they could not carry away, and, upon leaving, set fire to the buildings and stockade. Rendered careless from the easy success of their lawless venture, they were overtaken on the Calumet river, not far from the present South Chicago, by the same regulars they had paroled, together, with a number of Indians, and several were killed. the remainder being taken prisoners.

We also read that in the summer of 1778 Paulette Meillet, then

HISTORY OF FORT SAINT JOSEPH

residing near Peoria, led a force of three hundred French, Indians and half-breeds along the water courses of the Illinois and Kankakee to Fort St. Joseph. An assault was made which was successful, and once more the flag of England came down at a run. The garrison was paroled, and the fort once more looted and set on fire.

Notwithstanding these vicissitudes the post of St. Joseph was maintained, and, in 1780, contained eight houses and seven shanties, the population consisting of forty-five French and four Pawnee slaves, according to information furnished by the Haldimand papers. The last and most memorable attack was made by the Spaniards, in 1781, at the close of the Revolutionary war. Spain then occupied the territory west of the Mississippi river, and had a fort of some consequence, at St. Louis. Galvez, the governor of Louisiana, had captured the British posts on the gulf of the Mississippi river, Pensacola, Mobile, Natchez, and Baton Rouge, and the extension of Spanish claims north to the Great Lakes seemed possible.

That a knowledge of Spain's desires in this direction were known to the English is evident from the fact that, in 1766, Major Robert Rogers, a native of New Hampshire, who commanded a body of provincial rangers, and who had been assigned the task of taking over the French outposts which had become English by the terms of the Montreal capitulation of 1760, was tried by a court-martial for having meditated an act of treason in the surrender of Fort Michilimackinac into the hands of the Spaniards. With this desire for the extension of their territory northward to the lakes still strong, and to give stability to such claims as they might make to the region, an expedition left St. Louis, January 2, 1781, consisting of sixty-five militiamen and sixty Indians, under the command of Captain Don Eugenio Puree, accompanied by Don Carlos Tayon, a sub-lieutenant of militia, by Don Luis Chevalier, a man versed in the Indian language, and by the great chiefs, Electurno and Nagingan.

They traversed the State of Illinois, and, leaving the present boundaries near Danville, advanced northerly through the swamp-country, directly towards the old Kankakee portage to the River St. Joseph, about the present location of South Bend, Indiana. With presents they bought a safe passage through the Indian tribes, allies of the English, and suddenly appeared before the fort, having traveled some two hundred and twenty leagues in the dead of winter, across a

trackless country, each man on foot, and carrying his provisions and equipments. But few soldiers comprised the garrison at this time, and an easy conquest was made, the English soldiers and traders being made prisoners of war, and the flag of his most Catholic majesty, the King of Spain, taking the place of the English standard. They remained but a short time, when, having divided the provisions and stores among their own Indians and those living near; they destroyed the post, and returned to St. Louis, carrying the British flag with them. After this the fort was never rebuilt.

It is strange that no history of Michigan, down to this time, has related this possession of Michigan territory by the Spaniards, but its truth is unquestionable. Many writers on the subject of the northwest territory mention the event. It may be found in "Hinsdale's Old Northwest," in Charles Moore's "Northwest Under Three Flags," in William H. English's "Conquest of the Northwest," in Mason's "Chapters from Illinois History," in Parrish's "Historic Illinois," in Windsor's "Narrative and Critical History of the United States," Vol. VI., p. 743, and Wharton's "Revolutionary Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States," Vol. V., p. 363.

John Jay, writing from Madrid, April 28, 1782, to Robert R. Livingston, secretary for foreign affairs at Philadelphia, says: "The Madrid Gazette of 12th of March contained a paragraph of which you ought not to be ignorant. I shall therefore copy it verbatim and add a translation as literal as I can make it." He gives the paragraph as follows:

"By a letter from the commandant general of the army operations at Havana and Governor of Louisiana, His Majesty has advices that a detachment of sixty-five militia men and sixty Indians of the nations of Otagnos, Sotu, and Putnami under the command of Don Eugenio Puree * * * who marched the 2nd of January, 1781, from the town of St. Louis of the Illinois, had possessed themselves of the post of St. Joseph which the English occupied at two hundred and twenty leagues distance from that of the above mentioned St. Louis." * * *

Benjamin Franklin, writing from Passy, France, April 12, 1782, to Robert R. Livingston, secretary for foreign affairs, says: "I see by the newspapers that the Spaniards having taken a little post called St. Joseph, pretend to have made a conquest of the Illinois country. In what light does this proceeding appear to Congress."

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In the Canadian Archives, series B., Vol. 101, p. 1, a letter from DePeyster, commander at Detroit, dated January 8, 1781, to Brigadier-General Powell, shows a knowledge of the contemplated expedition. An extract from it is as follows: "The rebels having long since quit all that country, Brady, who says he had no longer a desire of remaining in the Rebel Service therefore did not follow them, informed me that Colonel Clarke was gone down to Williamsburgh to solicit a detachment to join with a Spanish colonel in an expedition against the place. When the heavy cannon and ammunition arrives, I shall be ready to give them a warm reception should they be rash enough to attempt it, our works are however yet in a shattered state."

In the Canadian Archives, same volume, page 62, Patt Sinclair, lieutenant governor, writing from Michilimackinac Island, May 1, 1781, to Brigadier General Powell, mentions the fall of fort St. Joseph as follows: "The disasters at St. Josephs, and what threaten any traders permitted to go there in future, or towards the Mississippi, oblige me to entreat the honor of your directions respecting that matter."

In locating this little fort in the wilderness, which had such a stormy existence, one is greatly helped to a conclusion by consulting the early maps of the territory, some of which I name. In the congressional library at Washington there are:

John Mitchell's map of North America, 1755, which locates the fort more than thirty miles from the mouth of the St. Joseph river. This is an authoritative map, and is used in the settlement of boundary disputes.

D'Anville's map, 1755, indicates about the same location. The Pottowatomies and Miamis are shown to have villages near by. This French map is also authoritative.

In the Michigan State Library are five maps showing Fort St. Joseph up stream:

"Carte des Possessions Angloises & Françaises due Continent de l'Amérique Septentrionale. Tho. Kitchin, sculpt. 1755."

*"Partie Occidentale de la Nouvelle France ou du Canada, par Mr. Bellin * * * cummuniquée au Public par les Heritiers de Homan, en l'an 1755."*

"Carte Des Etats-Unis de l'Amérique Septentrionole, dresse

*d'après des cartes Anglaises; par M. Brion de la Tour * * * Paris, 1780?"*

*"Mappa geographica Americae Septentrionalis * * * edita jussu Acad. reg. scient. et eleg. litt. discripta. (n. d.)."*

*"Theatrum Belli in America Septentrionali 11. foliis comprehensum jussu Acad. reg. scient. et eleg. litt. * * * Berger sculpsit."*

In the Ryerson library, at Grand Rapids, I find "Map of Sr. Robert de Vangondy Geographica Ordinaire de Roy, 1755," showing the fort, as above, with the Miami villages on the north side of the stream and the Pottowatomies on the south.

Map of William Faden, Geographer to the King, London, 1796—same location.

Map of John Cary, London, 1805, shows same location with a road from Detroit to Fort St. Joseph, thence south to Fort Wayne, Indiana. John Cary's maps of 1806 and 1807 confirm above, and in no way, that I have examined has the location materially varied.

In Vol. X, p. 248 of the publications of Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, a reprint of the Haldimand papers from the Canadian archives, shows the route taken and the distance in going from Detroit to the Mississippi in 1770 as follows:

"The road from Detroit to Fort St. Josephs by land and from thence to the Junction of the Illinois river with the Mississippi by water.

| | Miles. | Miles. |
|---|--------|--------|
| <i>From Detroit to the River Huron or Nandewine Sippy...</i> | 40 | |
| N. B. There is a village of Puttawateamees of six large cabans. The river at this place is about Fifty feet wide and the water is generally from one and a half to two feet deep, when there are Floods Travelers are obliged to make Rafts to cross it, the road in this place is bad. | | |
| <i>To the Salt River or Wanadagon Sippy.....</i> | 12 | |
| N. B. There is another village of Pittawattamees of five Cabans. This river is never so high as to prevent people passing it. | | |
| <i>To one of the Branches of Grand River or Washtanon that falls into Lake Michigan</i> | 60 | |

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| | Miles. | Miles. |
|---|--------|--------|
| There is another village of Pottawattamees of eight large Cabans. | | |
| <i>To Reccanamazoo River or Pusawpaco Sippy, otherwise the Iron Mine River</i> | 75 | |
| N. B. There is another village of Pottawattamees of eight large Cabans, this river cannot be passed in Freshes on Rafts; at other time 1 or 2 feet deep. | | |
| <i>To the Prairieroude</i> | 30 | |
| N. B. There is a small lake of about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile wide and 11 miles long, abounding with several sorts of Fish, such as Maskenongi, Whitefish, &ca. | | |
| <i>To the Fort St. Joseph</i> | 75 | |
| | | 292 |
| N. B. There is a few Puttawattamees near the fort. The road after you pass the River Huron is very good being mostly on a small height of land & little wood till you come to St. Joseph's where you pass through about a mile long and another about six miles long. | | |
| <i>From Fort St. Joseph's you ascend that River to a carrying place (LaSalles portage)</i> | 12 | |
| <i>From carrying place to Recankeekee</i> | 4 | |
| <i>To the Juncture of this river with the Iroquis River</i> | 150 | |
| N. B. In this fork is a village of 14 large Cabans of Mascontains. | | |
| <i>To the Junction of this river with the Chicangoni River which forms the Illinois River</i> | 45 | |
| N. B. At this fork there is a village of Puttawattamees of 12 large Cabans. | | |
| <i>To the Rocks or old French Fort called Pumetewee</i> | 90 | |
| <i>To the Mississippi</i> | 240 | |
| | | 541 |
| From Detroit to the Mississippi by way of the Illinois | | |
| River | | 833" |

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In view of the facts here narrated, there can be no reasonable doubt of the location of old Fort St. Joseph within the limits of the city of Niles. Neither can it be doubted that the final destruction of the fort was by the Spaniards, in 1781. So have the flags of four nations waved over the State of Michigan; the French, English, Spanish and our own Stars and Stripes.



OLD MAP OF SPAIN'S CONQUESTS IN AMERICA



INTERIOR OF BLANDFORD CHURCH IN PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA

Blandford Church Was Erected in 1732, and Was Supported First by Grants From the Legislature and Afterward by Tithes.



SAINT PAUL'S CHURCH

Ancient Church in Norfolk, Virginia, Built Fifty-Seven Years After Norfolk Was First Settled.



CHURCH OF SAINT JOHN

This Historic Old Church Was Built at Hampton, Virginia, in 1660. In 1610 Hampton Was the Indian Village, Kiquotan.



TRIBUTE TO ART, MUSIC AND INDUSTRY, AS EXEMPLIFIED IN AMERICAN LIFE
This Work of Art, by James Finn, is a Decoration in the Astor Residence, New York City.



TRIBUTE TO DUTY, HONOR AND COUNTRY

Memorial Window Erected in 1910 in the Memorial Chapel of the United States Military Academy at West Point, New York



HOME OF THE MOTHER OF WASHINGTON

Engraving From a Photograph, Taken at Fredericksburg, Virginia, Where the Mother of the First President of the United States Lived. In 1743 She Was Left a Widow With Six Children. Mrs. Washington Lived to See Her Son Take the Chair as First President of the New Republic, the United States, and Died in the First Year of His Presidency, in 1789.



"WASHINGTON'S LAST INTERVIEW WITH HIS MOTHER"

This Old Engraving Was Dedicated to the Memory of George Washington's Mother, Mary Ball Washington, on the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of the Mother of Washington. The Original of This Engraving is in the Possession of John M. Crampton.



PORTRAIT OF MARY BALL

An Engraving From the Original Painting, Which is Attributed to A. N. Wertmuller, 1784.
This Painting is Now in the Possession of Mr. Lanier Washington, of New York.

The Life of Mary Ball

Mary Ball, the Mother of George Washington, the first President of the United States—Of his Mother, Washington Said, "To My Mother I Owe all My Moral, Intellectual, and Physical Training"

BY

ELIZABETH GADSBY



JOSEPH BALL, son of William, of "Millenbeck," Lancaster County, Virginia, was born in England, May 24, 1649, and was brought to America in his infancy. He lived to be a useful, honorable man, serving his country in military and colonial affairs of both Church and State, dying at his estate, "Millenbeck," in June, 1711. His will is dated June 25, and probated at Lancaster county, July 11, 1711. In said will occurs this item:

"I give and bequeath to my daughter Mary, four hundred acres of land lying in Richmond County, Virginia, in ye freshes of Rapin river being part of patten for 1600 acres of land. To her the said Mary and the heirs of her body Lawfully to be begotten for ever."

Mary was the only child of the second wife of Joseph Ball; the widow Johnson.

Her father died when she was but six years old, and she was left to the care of her mother and step-brothers.

Thus began the life of the child who was to be the mother of the greatest man our country has ever produced:

The immortal Washington!

She grew up to be a noble and useful woman, surrounded by the aristocratic society of the old Virginia Capital, the refinement of home influence, and such advantages as the times afforded, Williamsburg being the centre of all that was exclusive in those colonial days, when people drove far and continued their stay for days and weeks when invited to a dance, a wedding, or feast of any kind.

Unfortunately we are told little of her mother, who must have

been a fine character to have instilled the noble traits which formed the foundation of all that was excellent in her of whom Washington wrote:

"To my mother I owe all my moral, intellectual and physical training."

One almost always associates the mother of Washington as she is pictured meeting Lafayette in the old box-bordered garden at the Fredericksburg cottage, in white cap and apron. But there are many other pictures of Mary Ball—"the rose of Epping Forest."

The letter of a young companion who was devoted to her, when on a visit to the Ball's, writes to a friend:

"You must not be jealous of sweet Polly Ball, for I love her; Polly is so sweet, and her golden hair so pretty, but Madame is austere and dignified."

This letter is in possession of the Wylie Jones family.

A fragment of another letter Marian Harland tells us of, which was found in an old trunk in the garret of the ancient mansion on York River, gives the following broken sentences:

"Understand Polly Ball is going home with her brother who lives in England. Her mother is dead three months, and her sister——."

Alas! what history is lost to us in this moth-eaten, incomplete letter of bygone days.

Her eldest brother, Joseph, was a barrister in England, and visited his ancestral home in Virginia. What more natural than he would come home at this time to settle the estate on the death of his step-mother, and take his young sister home with him on a visit.

It is supposed it was at that time the portrait was painted of Mary Ball which was afterwards purchased at the Ball sale in England. She was about 22 when she married Augustine Washington, probably after her return to America, at Epping Forest, March 6, 1730. They had probably always known each other, as the families had lived in adjacent counties for over fifty years.

She was said to be a beautiful girl and was called "the belle of Northern Neck."

Her first son, George, was born in the old homestead of the Washingtons, in Westmoreland County, Virginia, on Bridge's Creek, overlooking the broad waters of the Potomac.

This property had been in the Washington family since 1657, and here Augustine was born. It was one of the primitive houses of Virginia.

Mary Ball Washington was left a widow with six children in 1743, when George was only 11 years of age.

Augustine Washington left large possessions to his two sons by his first wife, Lawrence and Augustine, the estate on the Potomac, now Mt. Vernon, and the Westmoreland place, Wakefield. The other children were left to the guardianship of their mother, to whom was intrusted all the proceeds of their estate until they each came of age.

She proved herself worthy of the trust. With good common sense she directed and ruled her family, strictly but kindly, exacting deference while she inspired affection.

They moved to Stafford County, Virginia, on the Rappahannock, opposite Fredericksburg.

Tradition gives us an interesting picture of the widow with her little flock gathered around her day by day instructing and reading to them. Her favorite volume was Sir Matthew Hale's *Contemplations*. This manual of his mother's, her name inscribed by herself, was treasured by George Washington through life, and can now be found in the library at Mt. Vernon.

His filial devotion to his mother only proves what a mother she was! When but a boy he gave up his first chance, his first ambition, to please her. After consenting to his entering the Navy, her mother's heart failed her, and she implored him to give it up and remain at home. One can imagine the youthful disappointment! He gave up his midshipman's warrant and returned to school, being reserved for a greater patriotic service!

Mary Ball Washington lived her peaceful life in her Virginia home, bringing up her children to love and honor their King and Country.

There are occasional glimpses of visits paid, which must have varied the monotony somewhat in later years. Washington tells us of a trip to Annapolis:

"In those parts the country where the roads were too rough for carriages, the ladies used to ride on ponies followed by black servants on horseback. In that way my mother travelled in a scarlet riding habit she had procured in England."

She lived to see her eldest son rise to the zenith of his glory, dying at Fredericksburg ten years before his death, October 23, 1789.

After years of neglect, honor has at last been done to the memory of this illustrious woman by the women of this country, chiefly the Daughters of the American Revolution, in erecting the monument to her memory at Fredericksburg, on the favorite spot where Mary, the widow, loved to sit and muse in the evening twilight.

The portrait of Mary Ball, from which photographs have been printed for the Continental Hall Fund of the Daughters of the American Revolution, was purchased in England at the Ball sale by a Mr. Field, an English miniature painter. He painted several miniatures of General Washington.*

Mr. Field brought the Mary Ball portrait to New York, and disposed of it to a Mr. Harvey, who in turn sold it to Prof. Morse. Mr. Morse left it to his son, Mr. Edwin Lind Morse, of 1606 New Hampshire Avenue, Washington, D. C., who gave the privilege of having it photographed for the Continental Hall Fund.

The painter is not known. The portrait is 175 years old, quite dim, and difficult to photograph.

It was photographed in its antique frame, showing the inscription underneath:

Mary, the mother of Gen. Washington.

*Original portraits of Washington by Miss E. B. Johnston.



Washington's
Boyhood Home
On the Rapahannock

Only a Weather Vane

A Historical Poem, Giving Some Incidents in the Early History of
Portland, Maine, as Related by the Old Weather Vane

BY

S. MARION WATSON



I was some years ago, although I do not remember
how many,
Yet I was not up to my teens, was what you might
call a small shaver;
I came into Portland, it was summer, with a team,
with my father;

The day was a warm one, the jaded horses plodded slowly along,
Making our jaunt a dull and tiresome one on the road through the
country.

I, like any small boy, weary with sight-seeing soon became sleepy;
But my father, to interest me, and rouse the mind of my boyship,
Continued to call my attention to different objects of interest;
And, among all the rest, I can see now, as it were, in a vision,
Standing upon a cross street, an old wooden building with a belfrey,
A short distance up to the right, near by where we entered the city.
The small spire stood midway, and appeared to be astride of the ridge-
pole,

And on the top of the whole, said my father, "Observe that old rooster,
Head to the wind, where for years, turning this way and that, he has
faced it.

Although his position is a high one, 'tis humble, for the building
Is used by a chandler in which to make up his soaps and his candles.
But," continued my father, "he has seen better days, the old fellow."
Has seen better days! this reminds us that even we have been younger,
And had not then lost our uprightness, much of our gilding and
burnish;

So like all else that is earthy, a weather-vane too may be aged.
"That was an old vane when I was a boy, I remember," said father,
"It was made in the last century, seventeen hundred and something."

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Here we consult William Willis, to verify part of the story ;
An Englishman made him, carved him from a block of substantial
oak-wood,
In the year seventeen hundred and eighty-six, so say the records,
To adorn the new court house, which then Cumberland county was
building ;
For prior to this (except one that was burned before it was finished,
Burned by that contemptible Mowatt, in his destruction of Portland,)
No house, built for the purpose, in this part of the Province existed.
These meetings of justice ere this had been held in churches and
taverns,
And wherever circumstance called, sometimes at the house of a neigh-
bor.
The court house of wood was completed; at least was completed
outside.
But, alas, the interior saw few decorations at that time,
Unless it be stocks, stowed away, whipping-post, pillory, and gallows,
Kept there for use as occasion required, twenty years or more after.
Compared with such buildings to-day, this court house was plain, and
was simple ;
Yet in that room much skill was displayed, of the great men and the
noble,
Who labored to defend their good fellows from the cheats and the
lawless.
'Twas there, with unsurpassed dignity, Chief Justice Dana presided.
It was there, too, that Parsons, his successor, pronounced learned
opinions,
Which established the unsettled principles of our jurisprudence.
And it was there that Parsons' successor, the modest and wise Sewall,
Calmly heard able arguments and uttered his well-weighed decisions.
In this plain old room the eloquence of James Sullivan resounded ;
He was followed by Isaac Parker, and, as advocates and judges,
They gave new lustre to the history of the legal profession.
In that unadorned room, Sedgewick, Paine, Bradbury, Thatcher,
Strong and Jackson,
All able judges, have sat and heard the arguments of the graceful
Solicitor Davis, of Symmes and Chase, of Mellen and of Whitman,

Of Orr, Hopkins, Longfellow and Emery, and, last but not least
followed
In that brilliant train, a Greenleaf, the elder Fessenden and Davies,
Wielding their swords of youthful talent, flashing with wit, and with
logic.
These names, I have mentioned, still glow on our best historical pages;
But their voices are still, and the toilers have joined the great pro-
cession,
And passed beyond our ken, perhaps to a great and higher tribunal.
Now the eighteenth century has gone, passed to the ocean of ages,
And the nineteenth has followed to the year 'sixteen, when the old
court house
Must be removed to make place for a building more showy and better.
A society of worshippers bought and removed the old landmark
To Court, now Exchange street, and on its site was erected a brick one,
And this in its turn, in the year 'fifty-eight, gave way to another;
Pushed out by the march of modern improvements, wanted a hand-
somer.
Now a beautiful structure adorns the spot where once stood the old
ones.
But what has become of the rooster? He was removed with the court
house,
Which, with its belfrey and weather-vane, serves a turn now for the
clergy;
And here twelve years they stood, for the forum an appropriate sequel;
While good father Rand continued to sing and to talk to his people,
Or till that prosperous sect demanded more extensive dimensions.
Then the old court—or rather meeting house—became once more
deserted,
And regardless of all associations, secular or sacred,
It is sold in the year 'twenty-seven to one Robert Hull, a chandler,
Who, that it serve his trade the better, removed it this time to Green
street;
And here it was standing when father asked me to notice the rooster.
And here till the year 'sixty-nine it remained, and then was demolished.
Now to descend, our hero, like Zaccheus of old, was commanded;
Having presided for twenty-nine years over lawyers and judges;

Twelve years beneath him rose the earnest prayers and songs of the devoted,

And forty-two years proudly he moved above the head of the chandler.
The weather-vane now disappears, is taking perhaps a vacation;
Gone, no one appears to know where, and supposed he had gone forever.

Till, a few years later in Portland, the hens appeared in convention;
When behold, at the head of the hall, stood old chanticleer in earnest,
Introduced by William G. Twombly, to preside there at the hen-show.
"Uncle Twombly" had borrowed our hero of John T. Hull, his owner,
Into whose hands he had fallen at the death of his uncle, the chandler.
All who had previously known chanticleer hailed him now with wonder,

And declared, at the close of the hen-show, he must be re-instated.
So accordingly, when they adjourned, various projects were mentioned,

Whereby they could place him again before the admiring public.
Finally, half way down Exchange street, an elegant block was building;

When William E. Gould was consulted, what do you think the result was?

He carefully examined the rooster, had him fixed up and gilded,
And in eighteen hundred and eighty-four, when the new bank was finished,

A weather-vane seemed to be lacking: Oh Fate! our hero was ready,
And on the First National Bank has taken the highest position,
Where, in eighteen hundred and eighty-six, he is aged one hundred.
One hundred eventful years, a weather-vane perched above Portland.
Could he but speak to the people, and recall events long ago past,
What historical legends he'd tell us, of our fathers and mothers,
And even generations before them, but our hero is silent:
He is so like many mortals, regardless of all but the wind-blow,
I fancy he never will mention even a Peter's denial.

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Head Quarters Armies of the United States,

City Point, April 2. 7⁴⁵ 1865

Mrs A. Lincoln,

Washington, D.C.

Last night Gen. Grant tele-

graphed that Sheridan with his Cavalry and the 5th Corps have captured three brigades of Infantry, a train of wagons, and several batteries, prisoners amounting to several thousands. This morning Gen. Grant, having ordered an attack along the whole line, telegraphs as follows:

"Both Wright and Parks got through the enemy's line. The battle now rages furiously. Sheridan with his Cavalry, the 5th Corps, & Miles Durbin of the 2nd Corps which was sent to him since 1. this A.M. is now sweeping down from the West. All now looks highly favorable. Over is engaged, but I have not yet heard the result on his front."

Robert yesterday wrote a little ^{change} note to Capt. Parson, which is all I have heard of him since you left. Copy to Secretary of War
A. Lincoln

Reminiscences of Colorado's First Schools

The Secretary of the School Board Interferes with the Discipline of the
School. The Superintendent Chases Him off the Premises.
Perfect Discipline is Established

CHAPTER III

BY

ABNER R. BROWN



MY first day's brood of young wild Arabs, many of whom had never been inside of a school-room before, hatched out two hundred and sixty in number, "all living" and apparently healthy. In side of ten days, I found either a mistake in the first count, or else that the herd had increased to five hundred. More rooms had to be fitted up, more teachers employed, more patience had to be summoned to last through each day's duties, and there was more noise on the playground.

But amid all the perplexities of some two years' teaching, I never raised the rod over one of the pupils, or allowed one of my teachers to do so, all being directed to send any wayward pupil to my desk. My motto was ever this, "Better rule by love than fear." Some of my readers may call it egotism, but I care not for criticism if I can be of any service in driving the cruel monster of Tyranny outside of the sacred precincts of the school-rooms of this beloved land of ours, so as to inaugurate in its place the unalloyed, holy bond of love and harmony between the teacher and pupil. I flatter myself that the patrons of my schools in Denver and elsewhere will bear me out in the assertion that, for strict discipline, good behavior in the school-room, on the playground, and even while on the way to and from school, advance in study, confiding attachment between the principal and his entire school, my work has not been excelled in any school of five hundred pupils in the State during the past forty years. Many will doubtless

ask, "What is the secret?" I answer in three short words, "In the Board."

To explain this requires a little history. When the Board engaged me, I accepted their proposition upon the express condition that I should have the sole control of the school and all its arrangements for two weeks, and that not a member of the Board should enter the school-rooms or have a word to say about the management of the pupils. Messrs. Noteware and Stanton both agreed to this, but Captain Scudder objected. But I had just had two years' experience with border life in school work, and foresaw naturally the difficulties of my coming task.

On the third day of school a difficulty between two girls, fifteen years old, arose on the play-ground; and when I went out to restore peace, I found the mother of one of them assisting her daughter in "laying out" the other girl, by gently parting her hair, tearing off her clothing, and otherwise preparing her for burial. So I decided that it was "none of my funeral," and stood in the doorway, witnessing the "cat fight," when a big boy whispered to the mother, saying,

"Look at Brown! See him laugh!"

She came up to me, and asked if I was the principal of the school.

"No, madam," I replied. "I used to be till you came, but I see you are running things now."

She said she wanted to see me, and I replied,

"My office is up-stairs, and you can see me any time."

So we went up-stairs, with some three hundred children following. I tapped the bell for silence, and heard her story, when I advised her to go home, and, the next time there was any trouble, to apply to the principal, as it was my business to keep order, but, when parents meddled with school matters, I would not even inquire where the blame lay.

Just at this point, in came Secretary Stanton, pale and excited, and ordered me to settle this matter at once, for all time to come, by thrashing the other girl severely; for this was his daughter, and she had been abused for a year past by the said girl, who had been in the habit of throwing hot water and hot potatoes at her over and through the fence. He was heavier by fifty pounds than I was; but I threw the door open, grabbed a chair, and sprang at him with the threat that, if he didn't leave the house and grounds, I would break his head for

him. He went down-stairs and out into the street in double-quick time. He immediately applied to Captain Scudder to help him turn me out of the school.

"No," said the Captain. "If you were such a fool as to go there and interfere with his government before the two weeks were up, he ought to give you a sore head."

The result was that I received, within half an hour, a very gentlemanly letter of apology from Mr. Stanton for his hasty action, and I replied at once, with all the grace and brotherly affection my heart could command, and we were friends. I found that from that moment my authority over that school was complete, for over three hundred pupils were on hand on that occasion to witness the episode, and came to the conclusion that if I could drive one of the directors out of the house, the big boys would stand a poor show if they made any trouble.

I then laid down the law to the pupils of every department, that "any pupil who did not come to school to learn, and who made any teacher trouble by either idleness or misbehavior, would be expelled from school unless he or she showed a respectful penitence and immediate reformation." I had this signed by the board, printed, and sent to every parent whose children came to my school. This plan relieved the teachers from inflicting punishment, and gave them all their time for the instruction of pupils, which is all they are employed for. There should be a State law to that effect, for scolding or any other kind of punishment, except gentle, loving reproof and suitable advice, tends to ruffle the good disposition of both teacher and pupil, and sets the bad example before the pupil of displaying the worst elements of our natures instead of their most pleasing attributes—which will be indelibly impressed upon the untaught youthful mind and remain there, for good or evil, while memory holds her seat supreme.

The next interesting event occurred when I presented my order on the district treasurer, Captain Scudder, for my first month's salary, eighty dollars, which he refused to pay, on the ground that a month was thirty days, and that until I had taught thirty days, he would not pay it, although it was signed by the president, and countersigned by the secretary.

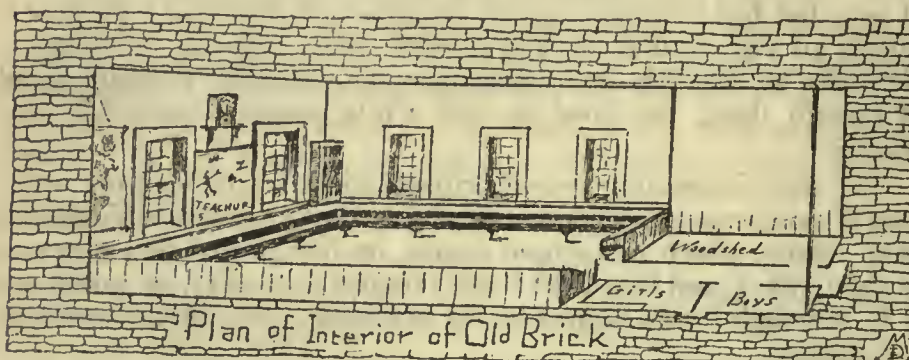
"You can consider the matter one hour, Captain Scudder," I told

him, "and if, at the end of that time, you still refuse, I will bring you into court, and make you pay it."

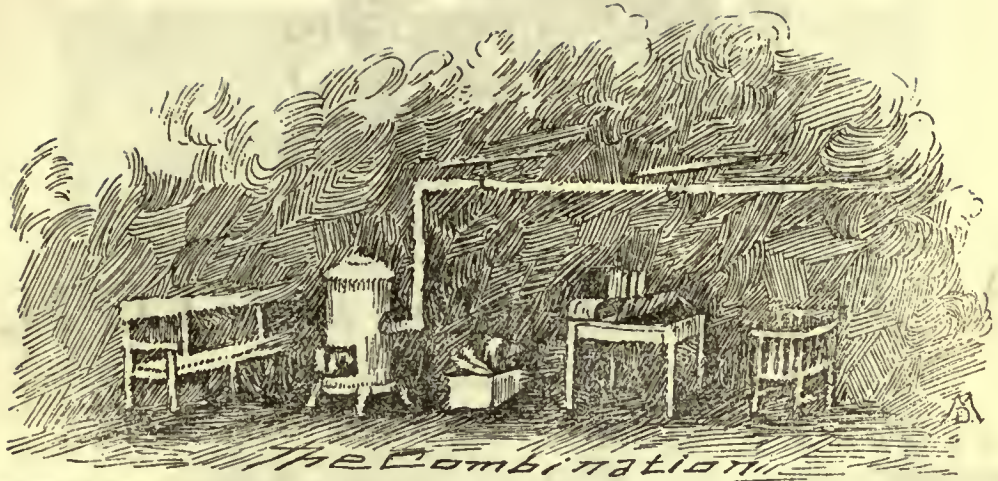
His partner, Mr. Crocker, paid me when I called at the end of the hour.

In the summer of 1864 the school fund ran low, and I opened a private school with Miss Batchelder as my assistant, in the same building, with sixty pupils. My terms were "Tuition payable monthly, in advance." Some of my patrons came to me, saying they desired their children to be received in my school, but did not have the money to pay in advance, though they would try and pay it during the month. I accepted their promises, and the result was (the same old story). I hold the bills today, two hundred and fifty dollars, on my school accounts against those persons for that three months' term. I paid my assistant her sixty dollars a month, which amounted to more than I got from all that was paid in.

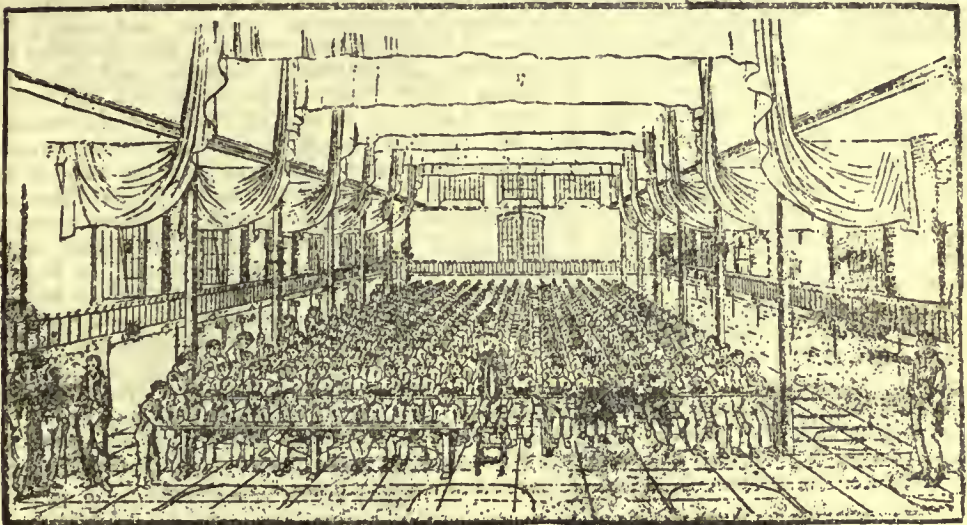
I would meet these delinquent patrons occasionally, and they invariably dunned themselves. But from that day to this they have simply "passed by on the other side." The peculiar part of it is that quite a number of these unprofitable patrons have since become worth up into the hundreds of thousands, and, when I see them, they hold their heads so high that they cannot see me. But I can say that I never dunned one of them.



SCHOOLROOM IN THE MIDDLE OF THE LAST CENTURY



INTERIOR OF A SCHOOLROOM OF A GENERATION AGO



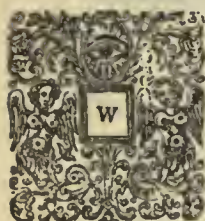
A SCHOOL IN NEW YORK CITY

An Educational Idea Imported From England, in Which a Thousand Pupils Sat in One Great Room Under the Control of One Teacher, Assisted by Monitors Who Passed Up and Down the Aisles to Maintain Order. There Was No Public School System, Supported by Taxation, in America's Greatest Metropolis, New York, Until 1844. As Early as 1805 a System of Non-Sectarian Schools Was Established, and Amalgamated With the Public School System in 1853.



By the KING,
A PROCLAMATION,
For suppressing Rebellion and Sedition.

GEORGE R.



WHEREAS many of Our Subjects in divers Parts of Our Colonies and Plantations in *North America*, misled by dangerous and ill-designing Men, and forgetting the Allegiance which they owe to the Power that has protected and sustained them, after various disorderly Acts committed in Disturbance of the Publick Peace, to the Obstruction of lawful Commerce, and to the Oppression of Our loyal Subjects carrying on the same, have at length proceeded to an open and avowed Rebellion, by arraying themselves in hostile Manner to withstand the Execution of the Law, and traitorously preparing, ordering, and levying War against Us; And whereas there is Reason to apprehend that such Rebellion hath been much promoted and encouraged by the traitorous Correspondence, Counsels, and Comfort of divers wicked and desperate Persons within this Realm: To the End therefore that none of Our Subjects may neglect or violate their Duty through Ignorance thereof, or through any Doubt of the Protection which the Law will afford to their Loyalty and Zeal; We have thought fit, by and with the Advice of Our Privy Council, to issue this Our Royal Proclamation, hereby declaring that not only all Our Officers Civil and Military are obliged to exert their utmost Endeavours to suppress such Rebellion, and to bring the Traitors to Justice; but that all Our Subjects of this Realm and the Dominions thereunto belonging are bound by Law to be aiding and assisting in the Suppression of such Rebellion, and to disclose and make known all traitorous Conspiracies and Attempts against Us, Our Crown and Dignity; And We do accordingly strictly charge and command all Our Officers as well Civil as Military, and all other Our obedient and loyal Subjects, to use their utmost Endeavours to withstand and suppress such Rebellion, and to disclose and make known all Treasons and traitorous Conspiracies which they shall know to be against Us, Our Crown and Dignity; and for that Purpose, that they transmit to One of Our Principal Secretaries of State, or other proper Officer, due and full Information of all Persons who shall be found carrying on Correspondence with, or in any Manner or Degree aiding or abetting the Persons now in open Arms and Rebellion against Our Government within any of Our Colonies and Plantations in *North America*, in order to bring to condign Punishment the Authors, Perpetrators, and Abettors of such traitorous Designs.

Given at Our Court at *St. James's*, the Twenty-third Day of *August*, One thousand seven hundred and seventy-five, in the Fifteenth Year of Our Reign.

God save the King.

L O N D O N .

Printed by *Charles Eyre* and *William Strahan*, Printers to the King's most Excellent Majesty. 1775.

BROADSIDE OF GEORGE III OF ENGLAND, PROCLAIMING THE NORTH AMERICAN COLONIES TO BE IN A STATE OF REBELLION, IN AUGUST, 1775

FIRST SCHOOL TEACHER, SCHOOL HOUSE AND GOVERNOR'S HOUSE IN MONTANA.





OLD SWORDS AND CANNON BALLS OF THE WAR OF 1812

Buried Beneath the Waters of Lake Erie for Many Years, But Brought to the Surface With the Raised "Niagara" in 1913.



AVENUE OF PALMS, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA.



TRIUMPHAL ENTRY OF THE AMERICAN TROOPS INTO NEW YORK

When the Treaty of Peace Between England and the American Patriots Was Signed, September 3, 1783, and Was Formally Announced to the Army, Carlton Sent Word to Washington That at Noon on November 25 He Would Evacuate New York. A Little After Noon on the 25th, When a British Officer Rode Up to Day's Tavern, Where Washington Was Stationed on the West Side of Manhattan Island, the American Troops Began Their March Into New York City, From Which They Had Been Driven Seven Years Before. Washington, Governor Clinton and Other Prominent Generals Took Up Their Quarters at Cape's Tavern, on the Corner of Cedar Street.



JOHN HANCOCK'S MONEY TRUNK

Original in State House at Boston, Massachusetts.

A History of Banks and Banking and
of Banks and Banking in the City of
New York :: :: :: :: ::

BY

W. Harrison Bayles

and

Frank Allaben

FRANK ALLABEN, Editor-in-Chief

CHAPTER VI

The First Bank in New York City

The Entry of the British Army into New York—The American Patriots are Victorious—They Regain Possession of New York—The Great Increase in Population—France Establishes Commercial Relations with the Independent Colonies—England Also Reestablishes Her Trade with Her Former Colonies—The Chamber of Commerce Reestablished—The City Flourishes Financially—The Bank of North America in Philadelphia is Very Successful—Robert Morris the Great Financier—The Work of the Bank of Philadelphia Wins the Approval of Congress During the War—The Establishment of the Bank of New York—The Constitution of the Bank of New York—General Alexander McDougal, the First President of the New Bank—The New Banking Rules—Gold and Silver Is Very Plentiful—On July 6, 1785, Congress Passes a Bill Making the Dollar the Unit of Value—Clipping and Sweating of Gold and Silver Coinage Everywhere Prevalent—Jeremiah Wadsworth Elected President of the Bank of New York on May 9, 1785—Opposition to the Bank of North America—Its Difficulties at Last Overcome—The Bank of New York also Experiences Bitter Opposition—The Banking Business Steadily Increases—Issue of Bills of Credit—The Federal Government Forbids the Issue of Paper Money by the States—The Bank of New York Again Renews Its Efforts to Secure a Charter.

CHAPTER VI

The First Bank in New York City



WHEN the victorious army of Great Britain entered New York, in 1776, the city had been abandoned by more than three-quarters of its inhabitants. During the war the population was largely increased by loyalists or refugees, who had voluntarily entered the city or been driven into the British lines. In this way the population was restored, probably, to its former numbers. These refugees were sent away by the British government at the close of the war. When the American army entered, in November, 1783, and for six months after, the city did not have a population of over twelve thousand. In three years this had doubled, and in 1789, six years after, it had risen to thirty thousand.

The increase was derived largely from the Hudson River counties, from Connecticut, from New Jersey, and other neighboring places. It was an American element, composed of enterprising spirits of the American army, whose observations during the long struggle for independence had taught them the great natural advantages of New York as a commercial city. They were eager to take advantage of these inducements, and infused into the city a new life.

Released from the restrictions which had been placed upon her trade by the British government, the city entered on a new career, with a zeal and energy which promised good results. France, which had entered into a commercial treaty with the United States in 1778, was the first to take advantage of the opening of the port of New York, where a vessel arrived from France about a week before the city was evacuated by the British troops, and notice was at once given of the establishment of a first class line of packet ships. England, not willing to lose entirely the trade of her old colonies, quickly reestablished the Falmouth line.

It was claimed by some that the Chamber of Commerce, the guardian and promoter of the commercial interests of the city before

nify the members of this patriotic association. The Board of Treasury was directed to deliver to them bills of exchange, drawn in their favor on the envoys in Europe, for a sum not exceeding one hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling, as a guarantee of payment within six months. Notice was given by the bank that "All persons who have already lent money are desired to apply for bank-notes, and the directors request the favor of those who may hereafter lodge their cash in the bank, that they would tie it up in bundles of bills of one denomination, with labels, their name endorsed, as the business will thereby be done with less trouble and greater despatch." The bank began operations on July 17, 1780, and remained open for about a year and a half, or until the more regular plan of the Bank of North America was adopted.

Robert Morris, on the 20th of February, 1781, was unanimously elected to the newly-created office of Superintendent of Finance, and soon after formed a plan for the establishment of a bank on a large scale, to be of a national character.

He conceived that a bank with a paid-up capital of specie and in good credit "would have the interest of a stock two or three times larger than that which it really possessed," that is, it could lend its credit to an amount two or three times larger than its cash on hand, and thus it would be able to give solid assistance to the government.

His struggles and his final success in founding and establishing this bank make a very interesting episode in the financial history of this country, and of the war. Shortly after his appointment to the office of Superintendent of Finance, Morris received a letter from Alexander Hamilton recommending the measure as one calculated to be useful to the common cause. Morris, in reply, expressed his satisfaction to find their views coincident on the subject, and assured him that he would soon see a proposition for a bank, differing from the plan proposed by Hamilton, principally in that it did not include real estate as part of the capital, which he thought inexpedient. The plan to establish the Bank of North America was transmitted to Congress, May 17, 1781, and was approved by resolution, May 26, although some doubted the authority of Congress to charter such an institution. Among these was James Madison.

Morris scoured the country for subscriptions. One great difficulty consisted in the fact that they had to be paid in hard money,

THE FIRST BANK OF NEW YORK CITY

which was very scarce. He even sent an agent to the camp of the army. Washington declared his inability to subscribe. Only a few personal friends in Philadelphia came to the assistance of Morris, but he perserved in his chosen policy, convinced Congress of the necessity of the bank, and began to look abroad for the money which he could not find at home. The first attempt was made through John Jay, the American Ambassador to Spain, who was requested to lay the matter before the governments of Spain and Portugal. He hoped to secure the money by way of Cuba.

Robert Smith was the Continental agent in Havana, and in July, 1781, the Superintendent of Finance dispatched the frigate *Trumbull*, under command of Captain Nicholson, laden with flour consigned to Smith, who was to negotiate its sale at the risk and on the account of the United States government. With the flour was also sent bills for 500,000 livres tournois, drawn at sixty days sight on French bankers, and about \$120,000 in old bills, drawn on John Jay in Madrid. These were to be sold on the best possible terms to the Governor of Havana, or to private individuals. If they were not honored when they arrived in Madrid, Morris pledged himself to send the Governor flour to remunerate him in full for his advances. "I hope, sir," Morris wrote to the Governor, "you will find it agreeable to your inclinations and perfectly consistent with the duty of your station to gratify my desires. They are very moderate, considering the necessities of this country and your ability to minister to its relief."

Word was given out that the frigate would carry flour to the French fleet in Rhode Island, but she sailed with sealed orders, her true destination not being known even to her officers, until she had cleared the port. The sole object of the voyage was to secure the silver, and while every precaution was taken, she had not been long out when she was overtaken and captured by British cruisers. Her papers were sunk.

The plan of obtaining money by way of Cuba having failed, Morris was obliged to look elsewhere for the cash to start his bank. The importation of a considerable amount of specie from France, which had been negotiated by Col. Henry Laurens, offered Morris the opportunity of partially realizing his favorite financial project. The French frigate, *La Résolue*, commanded by Captain DeLangle, which the King of France had assigned to this dangerous service,

with Col. Laurens and the specie on board, was expected to arrive in Philadelphia. Her safety had almost been despaired of, and Morris had written to Franklin that she was sixty-two days out from Brest, when Col. Laurens came into the city announcing his safe arrival in Boston.

There were many demands upon the money the *La Résolue* had borne to the United States. Some of these were very urgent. Morris guarded the cargo with a jealous eye. It was necessary that it should be transported overland, through a country that might at any time be occupied by the enemy, and Morris himself planned every detail of the journey, selecting for this important mission Tench Francis, a trusted business friend.

With him went Major Samuel Nicholas, and they carried letters to General Heath, who was in command in New England, to John Hancock, and to Captain DeLangle. Francis was instructed to purchase a sufficient number of oxen, six years old, and horses, from seven to ten years old, on the best possible terms. The animals, said Mr. Morris, can be sold in Philadelphia for more than they cost in Boston. A considerable part of the money was to be invested in good bills of exchange, and the coin which remained was to be carefully boxed and loaded. It was in bad shape, and Mr. Morris directed that it should be weighed. So much of the coin as was to be transported was to be packed in small square boxes, made of strong oak boards, each box to contain 1,500 or 2,000 crowns; these boxes, to the number of about twenty, were to be placed together in a great chest, constructed of thick oak plank. The lid of the chest was to be well nailed down, and it was then to be set upon the axle and tongue of an ox-cart, from which the body had been detached. Heavy iron straps were next to be fixed round the chest, crossing each other, to fasten it to the cart, and be welded by a blacksmith, so that it would be impossible to open it or take it from the carriage until it reached its journey's end. Each chest was to weigh about a ton, and to the cart which held it Francis was directed to attach four oxen led by one horse. The axles and wheels were to be of unusual strength, as the roads over which they were to go were very rough.

Every movement was shrouded in the darkest secrecy. Francis was instructed to publish his route, as he crossed the Hudson, and while near it, different from that which he actually was taking, and to



ALEXANDER HAMILTON, FIRST SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY
OF THE UNITED STATES

The Illustrious Friend and Founder of The Bank of New York, the First Bank in New York City, of Which He Was an Original Director, Having Drawn Up the Constitution of the Bank.



ROBERT MORRIS

Financier of the Revolution and Secretary of Finance, Being One of the Three Secretaries, John Jay and General Knox Being the Other Two, Who Conducted the Affairs of the Thirteen Colonies Between the End of the Revolution, 1783, and Washington's Inauguration as First President of the United States, in 1789. From Phillabrowne's Engraving of Chappel's Painting.



THE FIRST CAPITOL OF THE UNITED STATES, ON WALL STREET,
FACING BROAD STREET, NEW YORK

This Building Was Formerly the City Hall of New York, But It Was Altered and Repaired in 1789 for the Use of the First United States Congress Under the Constitution. The First Bank of New York, Established in 1784, Began Business While Washington Was Here and New York City Was the Capital of the Union. After the Removal of the Capital to Philadelphia, the Building Was Used by the Government as a Custom House, But Was Torn Down in 1834. The New Building, on the Same Site, Now Known as the Sub-Treasury Building, Was Completed in 1841. At the Entrance of the Sub-Treasury Building, on a Pedestal, is a Colossal Bronze Statue of Washington by J. Q. A. Ward, and on the Pedestal is the Original Piece of Red Sandstone on Which Washington Took the Oath of Office, on April 30, 1789.



TABLET ON THE BANK OF NEW YORK

Placed on the Present Building, Corner of Wall and William Streets, of the Bank of New York, the First Bank Organized in the City of New York.

THE FIRST BANK OF NEW YORK CITY

inform General Heath, so that the army could cover his movements. Francis left Philadelphia on September 11, with Morris's parting wish that, when he came back, he would ask no "extravagant recompense." "The pleasure of serving your country," said the Superintendent of Finance, "and the confidence which is placed in you will be a more agreeable part of your reward, and I hope the event will justify that confidence, and give joy to every friend of the United States." The task of transporting the coin occupied nearly two months, but it was successfully executed, for on November 6 Major Nicholas came into Mr. Morris's office and announced that Tench Francis and his ox-train were, when he left them, sixteen miles from the city. In a few hours the treasure arrived in Philadelphia and was delivered to the Treasurer of the United States.

Francis sold his cattle, horses and wagons, settled his accounts with the Superintendent of Finance, and then immediately employed his time in assisting Morris in the great work of establishing the Bank of North America.

In June, 1781, Morris reported to Congress that the non-payment of the sums due to the Pennsylvania Bank by Congress hindered subscriptions to the new bank. Congress, not being willing to sell the bills lodged as security, Morris proposed that they be put at his disposal, being of opinion that he could pay the debt, cause the money to be subscribed to the national bank, and at the same time use the bills so that they would not be presented for a long time, if at all. In July, Morris met the directors of the Pennsylvania Bank and proposed that they should transfer their subscriptions from the Pennsylvania to the new bank, delivering to him the bills of exchange which they held as security, while he would pay to the commissioners of the national bank what remained due to the old bank from Congress, to which they all agreed.

A few subscriptions were obtained from other citizens of Philadelphia, and from persons in other parts of the country, and by October or November about \$70,000 had been paid in cash. With the Boston money under his control, Morris subscribed for 633 shares of the stock of the bank, or about \$254,000, which, with the utmost care, he retained from the money brought from Boston.

The members of the Pennsylvania Bank and nine others met, on November 1st, to organize the new bank. They chose as directors,

Thomas Willing, Thomas Fitzsimons, John Maxwell Nesbitt, James Wilson, Henry Hill, Samuel Osgood, Cadwalader Morris, Andrew Caldwell, Samuel Ingles, Samuel Meredith, William Bingham, and Timothy Matlock, and at a meeting on the following day elected Thomas Willing, Morris's partner in business, as president. A few days later Tench Francis was elected cashier.

Congress, in May, had declared its readiness to charter the bank, when properly organized, and accordingly, on December 31, 1781, despite some opposition, the act incorporating the "President, Directors and Corporation of the Bank of North America" was passed. The bank commenced business January 7, 1782, just one week from the date of its incorporation, in a building belonging to its cashier, Tench Francis, on the north side of Chestnut street, a short distance above Third, which had been leased and fitted up for its accommodation. The number of employees was six, and the salary of the cashier was one thousand dollars per annum. The accounts were all kept in Mexican dollars and ninetieth parts thereof. The Spanish or Mexican dollar was equivalent to 7s., 6d., or 90d., in Pennsylvania currency. The day the bank went into operation, Morris noted in his diary that he paid to it \$200,000 on account of subscription of the United States. This brought it financial support from private sources and gave it immediate credit.

Morris's anticipations were fully realized. The aid afforded to the government by the bank, considering its limited amount of capital, was very considerable. In the first six months of its existence it loaned to the United States a sum equal to its whole capital. The troops were more regularly fed and clothed. The bank's notes supplied a circulating medium and were redeemed in specie on demand.

The authority of Congress to charter a bank was considered so doubtful that a charter was obtained from the State of Pennsylvania; April 11, 1782. Other States granted charters. The Legislature of New York, on the 11th of April, 1782, enacted that the Bank of North America should be a body politic and corporate in New York State, and prohibited the establishment of other banks during the war.

When the Bank of North America was established, New York was in possession of the British army, and remained so for more than a year longer. At the close of the war Philadelphia had a population of forty thousand. New York had not half of this, and, besides, had

THE FIRST BANK OF NEW YORK CITY

suffered greatly from the fires of 1776 and 1778. Not only was a large part of the city in ruins, but the buildings that remained had, many of them, been used by the army, and were unfit for their former uses in the condition they were in; but, once rid of the blasting icubus which had stifled and oppressed her for seven long years, the indomitable spirit of her people and the irrepressible energy of her merchants revived, and, noting the success of the Bank of North America, New York set on foot a movement for the establishment of a bank. Just before the war a scheme had been suggested to found a bank; but it had never, in the political excitement of that time, taken form.

The New York Packet of February 12, 1784, contained an article proposing the establishment of a bank with a capital of \$750,000, in shares of \$1,000 each, to be called the Bank of the State of New York, the subscribers to pay in one-third of their subscriptions in cash, while for the other two-thirds landed security was to be given by mortgages or deeds of trust. No lands out of New York and New Jersey were to be accepted, and all lands were to be appraised at not more than two-thirds of their value. The directors could borrow to the extent of one-third of the value of the lands, in case they found it necessary to increase the cash resources of the bank, but no further.

The subject was thoroughly discussed in all its bearings by the newspapers and by the public. It was pointed out that land security was too slow an asset for a bank of deposit, that the public would not deposit their money in a bank which circulated paper out of proportion to specie actually held, and that in time of trouble such a bank could not be depended on to furnish assistance to either individuals or to the State.

Alexander Hamilton, although in correspondence with Robert Morris some years before he had advocated a bank based on land security, now joined in the opposition to the scheme. In a letter on this subject to J. B. Church, dated March 10, 1784, he writes:

"In my last to you I informed you that a project for a land bank had been set on foot by Mr. Sayre, as the ostensible parent; but that I had reason to suspect the Chancellor (Livingston) was the true father. The fact has turned out as I supposed; and the Chancellor, with a number of others, have since petitioned the Legislature for an exclusive charter for the proposed bank. I thought it necessary, not only

with a view to your project, but for the sake of the commercial interests of the State, to start an opposition to this scheme; and took occasion to point out its absurdity and inconvenience to some of the most intelligent merchants, who presently saw the matter in a proper light, and began to take measures to defeat the plan.

"The Chancellor had taken so much pains with the country members, that they all began to be persuaded that the land bank was the true Philosopher's stone that was to turn all their rocks and trees into gold; and there was great reason to apprehend a majority of the Legislature would have adopted his views. It became necessary to convince the projectors themselves of the impracticability of their scheme; and to counteract the impressions they had made by a direct application to the Legislature."

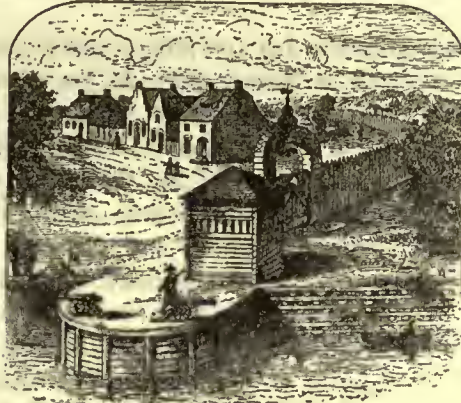
After much agitation and discussion a project was put on foot for establishing a bank on sound principles, and for this purpose the following notice appeared in the New York Packet of February 23rd, 1784:

"BANK

"It appearing to be the disposition of the gentlemen in this city to establish a bank on liberal principles, the stock to consist of specie only, they are therefore hereby invited to meet tomorrow evening at six o'clock at the Merchants' Coffee House, when a plan will be submitted to their consideration."

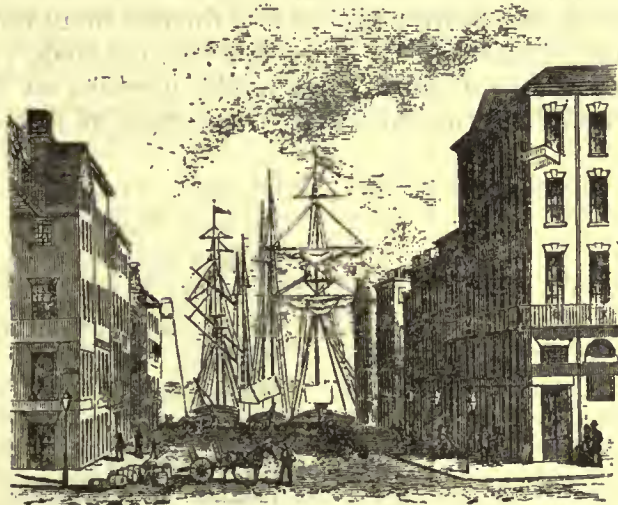
Accordingly, as a result of this notice, the principal merchants and citizens met at the Merchants' Coffee House on the 24th, and again on the 26th, when General Alexander McDougal, being made chairman, a series of proposals for the establishment of a bank were read and unanimously agreed to. They provided that the bank should have a capital stock of five hundred thousand dollars in gold or silver, divided into one thousand shares of five hundred dollars each; that as soon as five hundred shares should be subscribed, a meeting of the subscribers should be held to choose a president, twelve directors, and a cashier, and to invest them with proper authority; that at all meetings of subscribers or stockholders, every subscriber or stockholder having one or more shares, to the number of four, should have one vote for each share, a subscriber for six shares should have five votes, one for

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WALL STREET, AT THE EAST RIVER, WHEN
PETRUS STYVESANT WAS GOVERNOR OF
NEW AMSTERDAM

The Cut Below Shows the East End of Wall
Street More Than a Century Later, When the Bank
of New York Was Organized



COFFEE HOUSE SLIP AND MERCHANTS COFFEE HOUSE,
WHERE THE FIRST BANK OF NEW YORK CITY WAS
ORGANIZED

This Coffee House Stood on the South-East Corner of Wall and
Queen (Now Water) Streets. Cornelius Bradford Was the Landlord
When the Bank of New York Was Organized Here, and in His
Tavern the New York Chamber of Commerce and The Marine
Society Met Regularly.

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eight shares six votes, and one for ten shares seven votes, but no stockholder should have more than seven votes, be the number of his shares ever so great. A dividend should be made at the end of twelve months, and every six months afterward, and no subscriber or stockholder should be answerable for the debts of the bank beyond the amount of his stock. The following gentlemen were unanimously appointed a committee to receive subscriptions:

Samuel Franklin,
Henry Remsen,
William Maxwell,
Comfort Sands,
Thomas B. Stoughton,
Alderman Neilson.

Subscription books were also placed at the business places of John Alsop, Broadway; Robert Bowne, No. 39 Queen Street, and Nicholas Low, No. 27 Water Street. Stock in the newly-proposed bank was evidently considered a fairly good investment, for scarcely had two weeks passed before one-half of the one thousand shares had been taken, and a call made for a meeting of stockholders at the Merchants' Coffee House at ten o'clock in the morning of March 15th, for the purpose of electing officers. The result of this election was as follows:

General Alexander McDougal, President.

Samuel Franklin,
Robert Bowne,
Comfort Sands,
Alexander Hamilton,
William Maxwell,
Nicholas Low,
Daniel McCormick,
Isaac Roosevelt,
Joshua Waddington,
Thomas Randall,
John Vanderbilt,
Thomas B. Stoughton,

Directors.

William Seton, Cashier.

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Alexander Hamilton became interested in the establishment of the bank shortly after it was proposed, but not at its first conception. In the letter already quoted from he says:

"The stockholders have since thought proper to appoint me one of their directors. I shall hold it till Wadsworth and you come out, and, if you choose to become parties to this bank, I shall make a vacancy for one of you. I enclose you the constitution, and the names of the President, Directors, and Cashier.

"An application for a charter has been made to the Legislature, with a petition against granting an exclusive one to the land bank. The measures which have been taken appear to have had the effect upon the minds of the partisans of the land bank."

Wadsworth and Church were partners in business, and, when the bank was organized, were both in Europe for the purpose of settling their accounts with the French government. Hamilton and Church married sisters—the daughters of General Schuyler.

Although this letter was written some days before the constitution was adopted and the officers of the bank were elected, Hamilton seems to have been confident as to what would be done. He was the author of the constitution, and on that account, and as the constitution of the first incorporated bank in the State of New York, we think it worthy of reproduction here in full:

"Constitution of the Bank of New York.

"ARTICLE 1.—That the Bank shall be called by the name and title of the Bank of New York.

"ARTICLE 2.—That the capital stock shall consist of five hundred thousand dollars in gold or silver, divided into one thousand shares of five hundred dollars each share; and that a majority of all directors may, at their discretion, open new subscriptions for increasing the capital stock, where they shall judge it for the interest of the Bank so to do, provided the said new subscriptions do not exceed the sum of five hundred thousand dollars.

"ARTICLE 3.—That thirteen directors be annually chosen by a majority of votes, who are to have the sole conduct and management of the Bank. At the first general election, the president and cashier

are to be elected by the subscribers to the Bank, but for ever afterwards the thirteen directors are to choose a president from among themselves; and the cashier, as well as every other person employed in the Bank, is to be appointed and paid by them, and be under their immediate control.

"ARTICLE 4.—That the first election be on the 15th day of March, 1784; that the next general election for thirteen directors shall be on the second Monday in May, 1785; and so continued yearly, and every year; but in case of any vacancy in the direction by death, resignation or otherwise, public notice shall be given within one week after such an event, that the vacancy may be filled; the election to be within fourteen days after such notice.

"ARTICLE 5.—That every holder of one or more shares to the number of four, shall have one vote for each share. A subscriber of six shares shall have five votes; eight shares, six votes; and ten shares, seven votes; and one vote for every five shares above ten.

"ARTICLE 6.—That no stockholder, after the first election, shall be entitled to vote, unless such person has possessed the stock three months previous to the day fixed for an election of directors, or any other purpose. And if any stockholder (who shall have been a resident in this State at least twelve months immediately preceding such election), should be absent, he shall be entitled to vote by proxy, properly appointed; but in no other case shall any vote be admitted by proxy.

"ARTICLE 7.—That no person shall be eligible to serve in the office of director unless he be a stockholder.

"ARTICLE 8.—That the Board of Directors determine the manner of doing business, and the rules and forms to be pursued, appoint and employ the various clerks and servants which they may find necessary, and dispose of the money and credit of the Bank for the interest and benefit of the proprietors; but they are not to employ the money or credit of the Bank in the drawing or negotiating of any foreign bill, or bills of exchange, or advance a loan to any foreign power whatever.

"ARTICLE 9.—That if at any time it shall be the opinion of a majority of the directors that any of their body are guilty of neglect of duty, or any mal-practice, whereby the interest of the Bank is or

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may be affected, such majority of the directors, with or without the consent of the president, may advertise for a general meeting of the stockholders, to lay before them a complaint of such neglect of duty, or breach of trust; and if it appears to the stockholders to be well founded, such director or directors may be removed by a majority of votes.

"ARTICLE 10.—That if any of the directors shall convert any of the money or property of the Bank to his own particular use, or be guilty of fraud or embezzlement, he shall forfeit his whole share of stock to the company, and be expelled the direction by a majority of all the directors, and thereby rendered incapable of ever serving again in that office.

"ARTICLE 11.—That no president or director shall receive any other emolument for his attendance on the duties of the office than such as shall be fixed and agreed to by a majority of votes at a general election.

"ARTICLE 12.—That there shall be a meeting of the directors quarterly, for the purpose of regulating the affairs of the Bank, and not less than seven shall constitute a board who may adjourn from time to time, and the president if necessary may call a meeting of the directors at any intermediate time; at every meeting of the directors all questions are to be decided by a majority of votes.

"ARTICLE 13.—That the President or a majority of the directors shall have power to call a general meeting of the stockholders by an advertisement in the public papers, whenever it appears to them there is urgent occasion.

"ARTICLE 14.—That the Cashier and every principal clerk do give a security for their trust to such an amount as a majority of all the directors shall require.

"ARTICLE 15.—That all notes issued by the Bank shall be signed by the President for the time being, or any director who may be fixed upon for that purpose, and countersigned by the Cashier, or in his absence by a clerk to be appointed by the directors.

"ARTICLE 16.—That no stockholder shall be accountable to any individual or the public for money lodged in the Bank for a greater sum than the amount of his stock.

"ARTICLE 17.—That such a dividend or the profits of the Bank

as a majority of all the directors shall determine to make, shall be declared at least fourteen days previous to the general election in May, 1785; and that all subsequent dividends shall be made half yearly.

"ARTICLE 18.—That all shares shall be transferable, such transfer to be made by the proprietor or proprietors, or his, her, or their lawful attorney, in books kept at the Bank for that purpose, which books shall be always kept open at the usual office hours, except on particular days previous to the declaring a dividend, of which due notice shall be given.

"ARTICLE 19.—That the President and directors shall petition the Legislature to incorporate the subscribers or stockholders under the name and title of the President, directors, and company of the Bank of New York, and to pass laws for inflicting the most exemplary punishment on those who may commit fraud or embezzlement; and also to punish the counterfeiters of bank notes and checks in the like exemplary manner, with such other clauses in the act as they shall judge necessary and proper for the security of the stockholders and the public.

"ARTICLE 20.—That this constitution shall be fairly transcribed upon parchment and remain at the Bank; the President and directors when chosen, and prior to the opening of the Bank, shall severally sign and seal the same, and take an oath or affirmation before a magistrate that he will to the best of his knowledge and abilities conduct the business of the Bank, for the interest and benefit of its proprietors and agreeable to the true intent and meaning of this constitution, which oath or affirmation shall also be taken by every future director when chosen, and before he enters upon the execution of his trust."

The newly-elected officers of the bank being, of course, inexperienced in the methods of banking business, it was arranged that William Seton, the cashier, with letters of introduction from Alexander Hamilton, should visit the Bank of North America in Philadelphia for the purpose of obtaining the desired information.

On his arrival in Philadelphia, Seton was requested to postpone his visit to the Bank of North America until they should be well informed that the Bank of New York had, or was likely to obtain, a charter. Seton, in a letter to Alexander Hamilton, states that he was of opinion that the real reason of their not wishing to see him at the

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bank was the confusion in which they had been thrown by a project to establish a new bank. The opposition to the old Philadelphia bank by the projectors of the new institution who had applied for a charter, had caused such a reduction in its stock of specie that no discounting had been done for a fortnight. The bank had received such a shock that it became absolutely necessary, for the safety and welfare of the community, that those interested should join hands to relieve the embarrassment of the situation. An arrangement was made by which the investors in the new bank were allowed to take stock in the Bank of North America, its capital being enlarged so that the serious results which had been feared were fortunately avoided.

General Alexander McDougall, the first president of the Bank of New York, was born in Scotland in 1731 and came to New York with his father when a boy. In his younger days he followed the sea and became master of a small coasting sloop. In 1758 he commanded a privateer called the *Tiger*. Before the Revolution he was one of the most prominent of the "Sons of Liberty." He served through the war, being commissioned Major-General in 1777, and was a man of considerable influence in the community.

William Seton, the first cashier, was also born in Scotland, in 1746, and came to America when quite young. In 1768 he became a member of the Chamber of Commerce, and shortly before the Revolution, in which he seems not to have taken any active part, he was of the firm of Seton, Maitland & Co. His sympathies were evidently with the royal side, and he remained in the city while it was occupied by the British army.

On the 1st of May, 1784, public notice was given to the subscribers of the Bank of New York to pay the first installment of their subscriptions, on the 1st of June, to William Seton, Cashier, at No. 67 St. George's Square, also known as 156 Queen street, at which location, in the well-known Walton House, the bank first opened its doors for business. This was a handsome building, fifty feet wide and three stories high, of yellow, Holland brick, with brown-stone lintels and massive walls, built by William Walton in 1752 for a private residence,—one of the elegant mansions of colonial times. On the 22nd of May the president and directors qualified before His Worship, James Duane, the Mayor, as required by the constitution.

The bank had not obtained a charter. A subscriber to the stock

MONDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 4, 1797.

[NUMBER 3.]

the day Landing.

A few beams of very fine underlaid yard w
 Cumbsticks, and Love Lo one
 Dispers, and Table Cloths.
 Red Tetz, and Brown twill'd Baggi
 A few Crises offered for linen an
 under

Bird and Pale Jerkins back
 A few casts of Madder, and
 9 Balls of Woolens.

A L 30.
 Just received per the Dublin Packet, from
 DE GRACE, a consignment of
 Looking Glasses, Umbrellas, Wom-
 en's and Children's

October 3. 47. 1000W
 Landing this day
 At Murray's wharf, from Ship Phoenix
 CHARLESTON.
 120 casks RICE.
 For Sale by Wm. G. S.
 October 2. 2. 1000W

| | | | |
|------------|-----------|----|---|
| Dr. 1000. | October 2 | 18 | LEAH BOW No. 211 W |
| any, 1000. | | | Scotch Barley. |
| | | | 23 casks of a good quality, will be in store on board ship Penny, 10 for sold return by |
| 1000. | | | P. & C. STEWART |
| 1000. | October 2 | | of No. 23 |

STEVENS, HOSIERY, and SILK
which they will sell on reasonable com-
modations and low prices.

0000,
for 1999

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states, in the Journal and State Gazette, that for this reason he does not consider himself under any obligation to pay in his subscription, for it was stipulated that no subscriber should be liable for more than his stock, which cannot be the case without a charter. But so desirous was the mercantile community to obtain the facilities of a bank, and so encouraging was the prospect of ample returns offered by the enterprise, that it was thought inexpedient to wait for legislation. Accordingly, on the 7th of June, the subscriptions having been paid in, notice was given that the bank would open for business on Wednesday, June 9, 1784, and the application for discount would be received on the following Wednesday.

The following rules to be observed at the bank were published:

The bank will be open every day in the year, except Sundays, Christmas Day, New Year's Day, Good Friday, the Fourth of July, and general holidays appointed by legal authority.

The hours of business will be from ten to one o'clock in the forenoon, and from three to five o'clock in the afternoon.

Discounts will be done on Thursday in every week, and bills and notes brought for discount must be left at the bank on Wednesday morning under a sealed cover, directed to William Seton, Cashier. The rate of discount is at present fixed at six per cent. per annum; but no discount will be made for longer than thirty days, nor will any note or bill be discounted to pay a former one. Payment must be made in bank notes or specie. Three days of grace being allowed upon all bills, the discount will be taken for the same.

Money lodged at the bank may be redrawn at pleasure, free of expense; but no draft will be paid beyond the balance of the account.

Bills or notes left with the bank will be presented for acceptance, and the money collected free of expense; in case of non-payment and protest, the charge of protest must be borne by the party lodging the bill.

Payments made at the bank must be examined at the time, as no deficiency suggested afterward will be admitted.

Gold coin is received and paid at the Bank of New York at the following rates:

| | | |
|------------------|------------------|---------|
| A Johannes, | weighing 18 dwt. | \$16.00 |
| A half Johannes, | weighing 9 dwt. | 8.00 |

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| | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------|-------|
| A Spanish doubloon, | weighing 17 dwt. | 15.00 |
| A dble. Spanish Pistole, | weighing 8 dwt. 12 gr. | 7.50 |
| A Spanish Pistole, | weighing 4 dwt. 6 gr. | 3.72 |
| A British Guinea, | weighing 5 dwt. 6 gr. | 4.64 |
| A British half Guinea, | weighing 2 dwt. 15 gr. | 2.32 |
| A French Guinea, | weighing 5 dwt. 4 gr. | 4.52 |
| A Moidore, | weighing 6 dwt. 18 gr. | 6.00 |
| A Caroline, | weighing 6 dwt. 8 gr. | 4.72 |
| A Chequin, | weighing 2 dwt. 4 gr. | 1.78 |

An allowance is made on all gold exceeding the above standard at the rate of three pence per grain; on all gold short of the above weight four pence per grain is deducted.

By order of the Board of Directors,

Alexander McDougall, Pres't.

Immediately after the war there was a great deal of gold and silver in circulation. The large payments made by the British army at New York, the remittances of gold and silver from France, and considerable importations from Havana and elsewhere, made coin abundant. The money of account was pounds, shillings, and pence, but the Spanish milled dollar, long before the Revolution, had become as much a unit of value as the pound.

From before the close of the war, Congress had made attempts to settle on a uniform unit of value for the colonies in order to overcome the great difficulties of trade between them. Each colony had reduced the pound in value, so that in few was it the same. The dollar was suggested as an excellent unit, because it was a coin more familiar to the people than any other, and because it might almost be considered as already adopted. The public debt, the bills of credit and requisition, were expressed in dollars. The subject having been postponed from year to year, finally, on the 6th of July, 1785, a resolution was passed by Congress making the dollar the unit. The plan of Morris, as amended by Jefferson, thus became the basis of our national coinage.

For many years after this, however, the money of account continued to be expressed in pounds, shillings, and pence. In 1784, the entire gold and silver coin of the land was the product of foreign mints. Of this the Spanish milled dollar, and parts of a dollar, were the best known and most abundant. The eighth of a Spanish dollar, or twelve

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and a half cents, which was a silver coin much in circulation, was just a shilling of the old colonial money of account in New York, and for fifty years or more after the opening of the nineteenth century, prices continued to be quoted in shillings, and there are many men now living who can well remember it. The dollar, as the unit of value, was adopted in New York by an act of the Legislature, January 25, 1797, which provided that a dollar should be equivalent to "four tenths of a pound," and fractions thereof in proportion.

In New York, as in other places, it was impossible to prevent the clipping and sweating of the gold coin in circulation. The Chamber of Commerce, as early as 1770, had stigmatized it as an evil and scandalous practice, and had passed a resolution agreeing not to take the light coins except at a discount of four pence for each deficient grain. The bank experienced a great deal of trouble from this source in the commencement of its business, and Hamilton was occupied for some time in devising a method of receiving and paying out gold. The practice of weighing it was attended with many difficulties, but it was not easy to find a substitute.

At the annual meeting, held May 9, 1785, Jeremiah Wadsworth was elected president of the Bank of New York, to succeed General McDougal, who retired. Wadsworth's connection with the bank was made at the solicitation of Alexander Hamilton and terminated with the official year.

Colonel Wadsworth was born in Hartford, Connecticut, July 12, 1743. He led a seafaring life, when a young man, and became master of a vessel trading principally with the West Indies. At the age of thirty he settled down in his native town as a merchant. During the war he was commissary-general for the State and afterwards for the general Government. On the arrival of Rochambeau he was appointed commissary for the French troops, which position he filled until the close of the war. He was the largest subscriber to the stock of the Bank of North America, when it was organized in Philadelphia, in 1781, taking one hundred and four shares.

The first dividend paid by the Bank of New York, of which we have any record, was one of three per cent., declared April 25, 1786, payable on the 1st of May. This was for the preceding six months,

and it is very probable that dividends had been paid previous to that time.

The total prostration of trade, during the period of the Revolutionary War, was followed, on the conclusion of peace, by an excess of importations from Europe, drawing specie from the American market. As a result money became scarce and usury common. The people of Pennsylvania imagined that they had found the cause of all their trouble in the establishment of the bank, regarded by many as the chief opponent of the State issue of bills. In March, 1785, petition after petition was sent in to the Assembly asking for the repeal of its charter. The petitioners ascribed to the baleful influences of the bank all the evils, both real and imaginary, from which the country was suffering. It was charged with usury, extortion, favoritism, harshness to debtors, and the possession of undue and dangerous political and commercial influence.

A committee was appointed "to inquire whether the bank established at Philadelphia was compatible with the public safety and that equality which ought ever to prevail between the individuals of a republic," and on March 28th reported that in their opinion the bank, as then managed, was in every way inconsistent with the public safety and they therefore recommended that a bill should at once be brought in to repeal the act of incorporation. Notwithstanding the protests and representations made by the directors of the bank, the Legislature was so convinced of the improper influence of banks, and the public prejudice was so great, that it repealed the charter of the Bank of North America on September 13, 1785, within three years of the time when it had rendered such inestimable services to the cause of independence.

The directors of the bank claimed that Congress had not exceeded its powers in granting a charter to the bank, and that the repeal of the State charter was nugatory. The bank continued as usual, but business fell off to a considerable amount on account of lack of confidence.

Sensible of the grave doubts entertained by the community as to the validity of the charter granted by Congress, the directors made application to the Legislature of Delaware, and obtained a charter from that State, February 2, 1786. This was followed by a change of sentiment in the community, and petitions were sent to the Legislature

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by friends of the bank, in March, 1786, praying for an immediate repeal of the act rescinding the charter of the bank. After much opposition a new charter was granted, March 17, 1787, for fourteen years, limiting the wealth of the bank to two millions of dollars. The bank accepted this charter and thus became entirely a State bank.

The prejudice against banks was not confined to Pennsylvania. It also prevailed in New York. The Bank of New York had not been able to get a charter from the State, and, although doing business in all respects as a corporation, it was really an association, or company, and continued so for nearly seven years from the time it commenced business. The bank expected, of course, that a discounted note should be paid on the day it fell due, and, for requiring punctual payment, it was contended that the bank had destroyed that confidence, forbearance, and compassion formerly shown by creditors to their debtors. The directors were charged with working in the interest of British capitalists and traders, and with refusing discounts a few days before the sailing of the European packet, that they might personally profit by it. The direst results to the country were predicted from the establishment of the bank. Among the terrible consequences to follow, it was said that "if their number is not restricted, should banks be permitted in America after the profits they yield are known, we may not alone have one in every State, but also in every county of the different States."

In spite of the opposition to the bank its business increased. Regular semi-annual dividends of three per cent. were paid, until November, 1788, when the dividend was increased to three and a half per cent., for the previous six months. It continued at this rate until the charter was obtained in 1791.

In May, 1786, Isaac Roosevelt was elected president, and William Maxwell, vice-president. Mr. Roosevelt's business was that of a sugar refiner, and his store was originally in Wall street. He was one of the noted Whigs of the time and had been honored by many important offices of responsibility and trust. His sugar refinery was just opposite the bank, at 159 Queen street, where he had resumed business, in partnership with his son, after the war.

The bank continued to occupy a part of the Walton House until 1787, when it removed to No. 11 Hanover Square, where the Cotton

Exchange stood some years ago. This property was bought for five thousand pounds, New York currency. The cashier, Mr. Seton, lived for a time in the building.

A party in favor of paper money had been growing in New York, for a year or two, and strong pressure had been brought upon the Legislature in favor of an emission of bills of credit. A hot discussion of the subject was carried on in the newspapers. The merchants of the city, as a body, were opposed to it. On the 13th of February, 1786, the Chamber of Commerce passed resolutions stating that "emission of a paper currency at this crisis would promote the interests of this State. That if the Legislature authorize such emission they ought not to be made a legal tender." They also sent to the Legislature a petition against the passage of any such act, pointing out its evil effects.

Petitions and remonstrances were in vain. The law, passed April 18, 1786, provided for the issue of £200,000 in bills of credit, in denominations of five and ten shillings, one, two, three, four, five and ten dollars, their currency being limited to June, 1800, "for the purpose of increasing the currency." Of this amount £150,000 was to be loaned at five per cent. on land for a term of years. A fund for sinking this emission was provided by import dues, vendue fees, the interest on loans, and the sum of £40,000, to be raised by taxes payable in gold and silver. Of this issue, £185,165, 10s., came in and were cancelled. It was the last issue of paper money made by the State of New York, for the Federal constitution provides that "no State shall coin money, emit bills of credit, or make anything but gold or silver coin a tender in payment of debts." The act of February 20, 1789, "directing the treasurer of this State to cancel certain bills of credit and certificates therein mentioned, and for the further direction of the Loan officers," closed the financial legislation of New York on currency.

The popularity of the State issue of bills is indicated by the newspapers. On July 28th, 1786, we find the following: "Our emission of Paper Money has at length made its much wished for appearance, to the universal satisfaction of the citizens: and in all parts of the city bears the sterling mark, and is received by all ranks with the greatest readiness and alacrity."

In June, 1787, the paper money issued by the State, having

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obtained a considerable circulation, the directors of the Bank of New York decided to open accounts and make discounts and payments in this currency, distinct from those in specie, so that the business of the bank was divided into two parts, a specie bank and a paper bank, the accounts of the former being kept in dollars and that of the latter in pounds. This was continued for several years, and to facilitate the arrangement, discounts were made in paper on Tuesdays, and in specie on Thursdays. The bank issued some notes redeemable in paper of the State, and others redeemable in specie.

When the bank was first organized, a petition had been presented to the Legislature asking for a charter, but without success, and another effort was made soon after the bank went into operation; with like result. On November 13, 1784, a petition from the president, directors, and stockholders was presented to the Senate, praying for an act of incorporation. Alexander McDougal prepared and brought in a bill which passed a first and second reading and was committed to the committee of the whole. This committee reported unfavorably, and on April 9, 1785, the bill was rejected.

On the 15th of July, 1789, another petition to the Senate from the president, directors, and stockholders of the bank, asking for its incorporation was referred to a committee consisting of James Duane, Peter Van Ness, and Philip Livingston, who reported favorably. Mr. Duane, in behalf of the petitioners, brought in a bill which was read the first time and ordered to a second reading. A copy of the petition and also of the bill was ordered to be published in one of the public newspapers of New York and Albany, previous to the next meeting of the Legislature.

The petition, setting forth the reasons for asking for an act of incorporation, appeared in the New York "Packet" of October 1, 1789: "To the Honorable the Legislature of the State of New York:

"The PETITION of the President, Directors, and Company of the Bank of New York respectfully sheweth: That your Petitioners in the year 1784 became subscribers to a bank, which was then instituted in this city, and has been carried on since that period, to the great accommodation of its inhabitants, and to the advancement of the commerce of the State at large.

"That they flatter themselves (whatever doubts may have been

heretofore entertained in regard to the point), their own experience, confirming the experience of other nations, has evinced the utility of institutions of this kind, and has shown that they are worthy the patronage of the government.

“That standing on the footing of a private Company, in which each member is supposed to be personally responsible for all the engagements entered into, it has been found that many persons who would otherwise be desirous of becoming subscribers, are deterred by that circumstance, from doing it; whereby the increase of the stock is obstructed and its operations proportionately confined.

“That one essential object of Banks, is to afford aid to the Government in particular exigencies; which object in the present situation of the Bank of New York, from the cause assigned, must either not be answered at all, or not in the degree which is requisite to the due accommodation of the Federal Government.

“That while your petitioners are fully persuaded that the Honorable the Legislature will be disposed to promote every proper measure which may conduce to that end, they forbear to do more than to remark, that there are obvious reasons which shew that it is peculiarly the interest of the State, at the present juncture, to facilitate the means by which that accommodation may be afforded.

“That the incorporation of the Bank of New York, is an indispensable step toward enabling it to give any material aid to the government of the United States.

“Wherefore, and from the tried utility of the institution in other respects, your petitioners cannot but flatter themselves that the wisdom of the Legislature will discern the expediency of passing an act for that purpose: And they humbly crave leave to present a bill accordingly.



PLAN OF NEW YORK AS IT WAS IN THE DAYS WHEN THE BANK OF NEW YORK WAS AN INFANT INSTITUTION

THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY

"For which, as in duty bound, they will ever pray, etc.

"Isaac Roosevelt,
Wm. Maxwell,
John Murray,
Samuel Franklin,
Daniel McCormick,
William Edgar,
Comfort Sands,
Robert Bowne,
Thomas Randall,
Joshua Waddington,
Nicholas Low,
Thomas Stoughton,
Wm. Constable.

Wm. Constable.

"New York, 3d July, 1789."

When the Senate met, in January, 1790, the petition was renewed, and Mr. Livingston, having obtained the consent of the Senate, brought in a bill to incorporate the bank, which, being referred to the committee of the whole, was rejected by the casting vote of the chairman. In this rejection the Senate concurred.

Another year elapsed when, on January 19, 1791, a petition was presented to the Assembly and was referred to a committee, who reported favorably. A bill was accordingly introduced to incorporate the bank and was passed by the Assembly, March 8, 1791. The bill, as amended by the Senate, was finally passed by both houses, and by the signature of the Governor became a law, March 21, 1791, creating a corporation under the name of the President, Directors and Company of the Bank of New York. This charter was substantially the model upon which all the bank charters of the State of New York were framed prior to 1825.

The charter was granted for twenty years. It provided that the whole amount of stock, estate, and property of the bank should never exceed in value one million dollars; that the debts of the bank, "over and above the monies then actually deposited in the bank," should not exceed three times the amount of the capital actually paid in; that it should not hold real estate, except such as should be necessary for

THE FIRST BANK OF NEW YORK CITY

the accommodation of its own business, or such as should have been taken as security for debts previously contracted; that it should not deal nor trade in any goods, wares, merchandise or commodities, or in the stocks of the United States or of any State, except to sell the same when pledged as security for debts due the corporation.

It was enacted that "it shall not be lawful for the corporation to emit any notes, or contract debts, which shall be payable in the bills of credit emitted by the laws of this State." This prevented special accounts, and the further issue of notes payable, in the paper of the State.

It also enacted "that this State shall have a right to subscribe any number of shares of the bank, not exceeding one hundred," and to increase the shares and stock of the corporation, if the number of shares, herein before limited, should be previously subscribed.

In 1786 New York City was the seat of Government and the United States Congress was in session there. A newspaper declares that "The members of Congress, foreign ministers and others drawn here by this city's being the seat of empire, create an extraordinary expenditure, it is said, of not less than One Thousand Milled Dollars per Day."

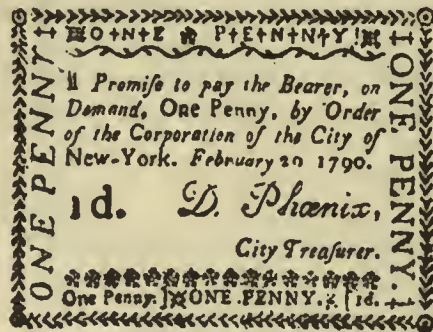
Notwithstanding the benefits thus derived, New York in that year experienced what was probably its first financial crisis, and such was the stringency of money that cash practically disappeared from circulation. A writer in the press says: "Cash! O Cash! why hast thou deserted the standard of Liberty and made poverty and dissipation our distinguishing characteristics?"

This condition of affairs extended over the whole country, and the conflicting laws of the various States discouraged business enterprise, and caused a very serious disturbance of trade. Small change became very scarce. In some sections silver dollars were cut in quarters, which were called "sharp shins." Until the summer of 1789 the pennies in circulation bore the impresses of various mints and had different values in different States and in different towns of the same State.

When Washington was inaugurated, in 1789, and the new Government established, in all the large cities men began to refuse the State coins and depreciation was rapid. Before the summer of that

year, pennies almost ceased to circulate in New York. Small change, consisting principally of these pennies, continued to grow scarcer and scarcer, and the distress of the poor became so great that in the spring of 1790 the Common Council of New York City authorized the issue of tickets, of the value of one, two and three pence, which the city treasurer gave out to such as wished them, in exchange for silver coins, and which he offered to redeem at any time in sums of more than five shillings.

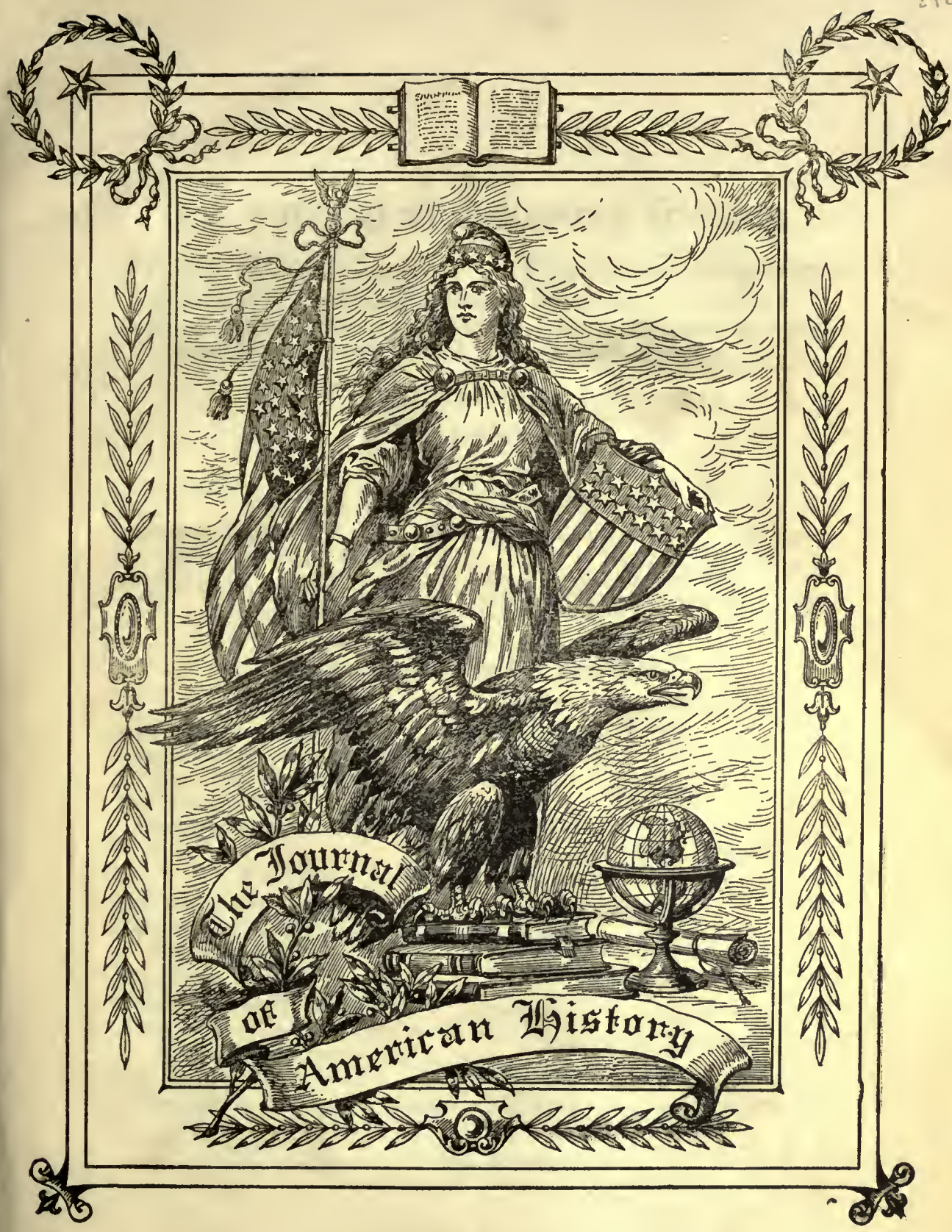
The city treasurer or chamberlain at that time was Daniel Phoenix, an eminent New York merchant, who continued to hold the position for twenty years.



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Articles of Incorporation of The National Historical Society

Incorporated under the Laws of the District of Columbia at Washington, on the Twenty-Sixth Day of April, in the Year of Our Lord, Nineteen Hundred and Fifteen, "for the Purpose of Promoting Historical Knowledge and Patriotism, and the Peace of Righteousness among Nations"



THE NAME by which the Society is to be known is "The National Historical Society."

The Society is to continue in perpetuity.

The particular business and objects of the Society will be:

(a) To discover, procure, preserve, and perpetuate whatever relates to History, the History of the Western Hemisphere, the History of the United States of America and their possessions, and the History of families.

(b) To inculcate and bulwark patriotism, in no partisan, sectional, nor narrowly national sense, but in recognition of man's high obligation toward civic righteousness, believing that human governments are divinely ordained to bear the sword and exercise police duty for good against evil, and not for evil against good, and recognizing, as between peoples and peoples, that "God has made of one blood all nations of men."

(c) To provide a national and international patriotic clearing-house and historical exchange, promoting by suitable means helpful forms of communication and co-operation between all historical organizations, patriotic orders, and kindred societies, local, state, national, and international, that the usefulness of all may be increased and their benefits extended toward education and patriotism.

(d) To promote the work of preserving historic landmarks and marking historic sites.

(e) To encourage the use of historical themes and the expression of patriotism in the arts.

(f) In the furtherance of the objects and purposes of the Society, and not as a commercial business, to acquire The Journal of American History, and to publish the same as the official organ of the Society, and to publish or promote the publication of whatever else may seem advisable in furtherance of the objects of the Society.

(g) To authorize the organization of members of the Society, resident in given localities, into associated branch societies, or chapters of the parent Society, and to promote by all other suitable means the purpose, objects, and work of the Society.

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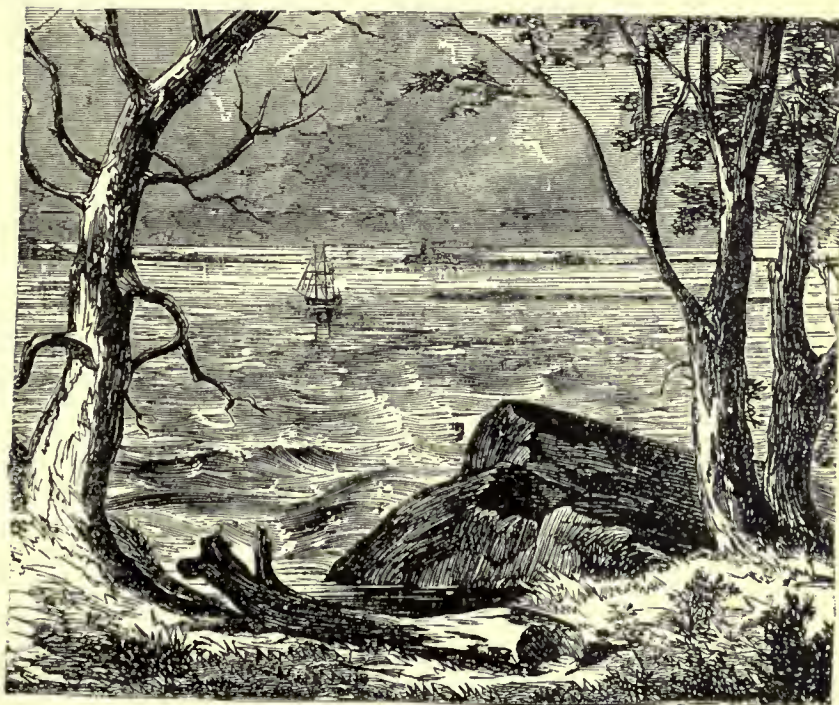
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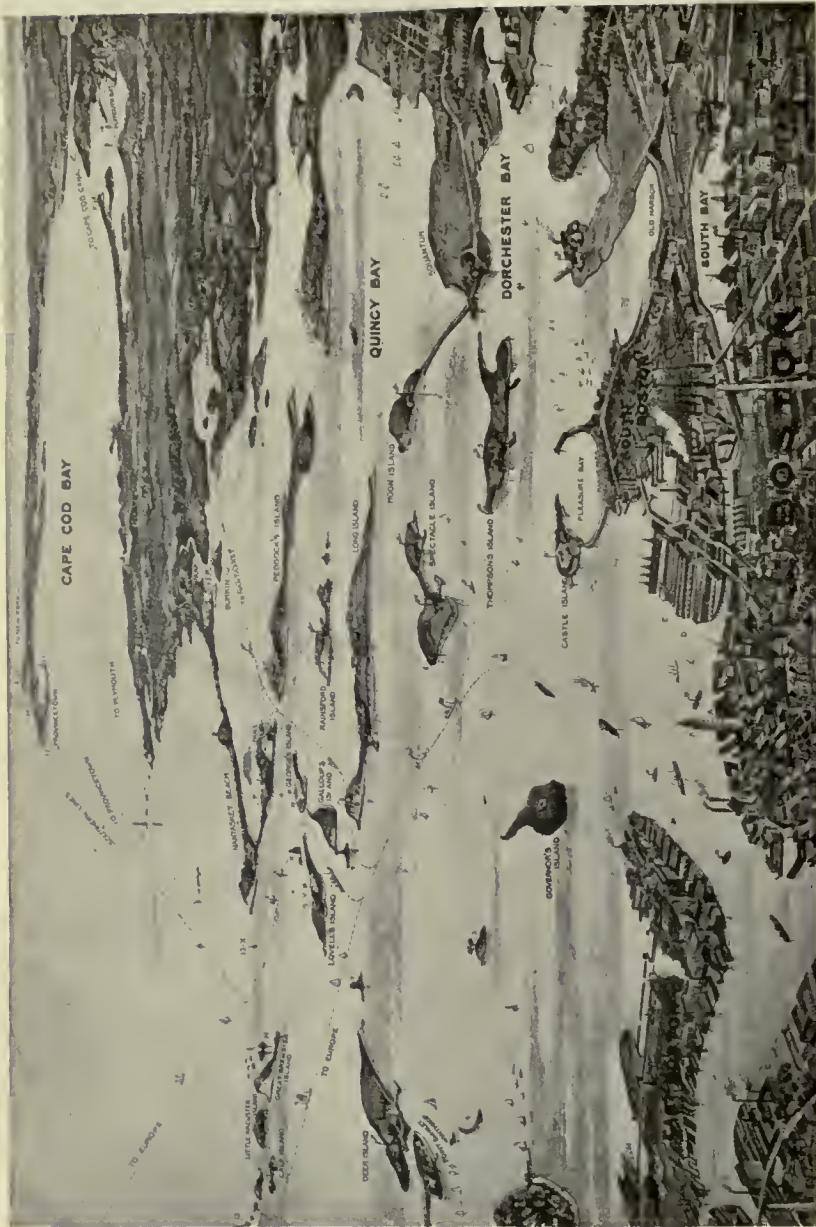


THANET.



PLYMOUTH.

TEN CENTURIES SEPARATE THESE TWO STEPPING-STONES TO FREEDOM OF
THOUGHT AND ACTION.



Published by courtesy of the Union News Company of Boston, Mass.
FROM THE "COW YARD" IN PLYMOUTH HARBOR TO THOMSON ISLAND IN BOSTON HARBOR.

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The Pilgrim Number of The Journal of American History



HIS year, 1921, which has been devoted to celebrations of the Tercentenary anniversary of the coming of the Pilgrims to Massachusetts, is also notable for the publication of Joseph Dillaway Sawyer's remarkable work, "History of the Pilgrims and Puritans: Their Ancestry and Descendants," in three volumes, with over fifteen hundred illustrations. The author has spent much money and years of time in research and travel to secure for his narrative its picturesque details, anecdotes, legends and stories, that save history from dryness and make it as interesting as fiction, and to obtain its wealth of illustrations here brought together for the first time.

While this monumental work is going through the press, through the courtesy of its author and publishers we are permitted to select from the proof sheets for publication in this number of The Journal of American History, the new light on the Pilgrims which appears in the following pages, together with the accompanying illustrations.

THE EDITOR.

Spiritual Antecedents and Character of the Pilgrims



JOHN WYCLIF led the Lollards (Babblers) and translated the Latin text of the Bible into English. He thus inadvertently sponsored the drawing and quartering of many of his followers, for men could not then understand anything done against the hierarchy. In a large sense, it may be said, Wyclif's work inspired Huss, Erasmus, Luther, Calvin, Zwingli, Beza, Farel, and other reformers in France, Germany, and Switzerland. In the British Isles, John Knox, Latimer, Ridley, Cranmer, Coverdale, Tyndale, Barrow, Greenwood, and Penry, all forerunners of the Pilgrim and Puritan, felt the unspent force of Wyclif. In Holland, in the early years of their exile, even the English Separatists were popularly spoken of as the "poor Hussites."

One of the first clear voices uttered in behalf of religious liberty and freedom of conscience was heard in England through Robert Browne of Tolthorpe, Rutlandshire, who had sat under Richard Fitz's teaching in London and preached with Robert Harrison in Norwich. In 1579 Browne took his congregation to Middelburg, Zeeland, and in that city wrote and printed the first Separatist or Congregationalist tracts, in conjunction with his old-time Cambridge comrade, Robert Harrison. To Browne's honor, as the initial founder of Separatism, and that of William the Silent, Americans in 1913 reared in grateful appreciation a bronze memorial tablet in the English church edifice in Middelburg.

In 1602 the Clyfton and Robinson church was founded at Gainsborough, Robinson having been previously pastor at Norwich. This first church of the North overflowed to the Manor House in Scrooby in 1606. The attempt of these Scrooby Separatists, made at Boston, in Lincolnshire, to flee from England to Holland, their betrayal and imprisonment; their partial and second departure from Mollie Brown's Cove in the north; their second arrest, their scattered jour-

SPIRITUAL ANTECEDENTS OF THE PILGRIMS

neys across channel to Middelburg and Amsterdam—many Separatists voyaging in open boats—portray the steady advance of the Faith. Despite poverty and hunger, with relief from the Dutch churches and many escapes and arrivals “at sundry times and in divers manners” they reached safety in the Republic.

For a year the Pilgrims, known popularly as the “poor Hussites,” lived in Amsterdam, camping on the vacant lots and in the narrow alleys with refugees from other lands. Then, avoiding disruptive tendencies among their fellow countrymen, Robinson’s flock, numbering about one hundred, journeyed by boat over Haarlem Lake to Leyden. Here, during eleven years, many of them were housed in twenty-one cottages close to their church home (the minister’s house). From first to last throughout their continuous history, which covers nearly a century, the family idea ruled. It was a basic principle that every detached male or female in the Pilgrim congregation must be in a home and member of a household, and so registered.

In July, 1620, a comparatively small number of the company (all young people, only one being over thirty-six years old and most of them in the twenties) left Delfshaven—now rich in memorials to the Pilgrims—for England in the overcrowded *Speedwell*.

At Southampton they were joined by somewhat over sixty people in the *Mayflower* bound for the New World. The sister ships sailed together to beautiful Dartmouth, where the alleged unseaworthiness of the *Speedwell* and probably the scoundrelism of the ship’s captain were made the pretext for disappointment, delay, and loss, which impoverished these hardy adventurers without capital. After sailing from Dartmouth and on a voyage of three hundred miles out on the sea beyond Land’s End the alleged leaking of the *Speedwell* forced their return to England, landing at Plymouth.

Then the very mixed company from London, that had started on the *Mayflower*, and a select number of Leyden church members from the *Speedwell* were put on board the larger ship and governors and rules of order agreed upon.

The start was made from Plymouth of a company without the ship which they had hoped to use for trade and fishing. With all their cheese and butter and most of their resources already depleted, they

began a nine weeks' voyage, to be virtually marooned in mid-winter on a barren coast on the edge of a wild forest.

A tangled skein of events this, reaching from the Isle of Thanet edging the County of Kent and stretching across the Atlantic to Plymouth Rock, on the Cape-of-Endless Naming, and from that revered stony step of progress to the Revolution, thence onward to the great Republic-Empire! As the roots of some monarch tree enclasp soil and stone and stretch to tap spring and rivulet at a long distance from its leafy crown, so the marrow-history of the Pilgrims of Plymouth and of the Puritans of Salem and Boston, their varied settlements, descendants, and the New World to which they came, cannot even be discerned in outline unless one stands—whether in the flesh, or in imagination—both on the Isle of Thanet and on Forefathers' Rock. He must roam the ridged plateaus of Armenia, see the homes in the Netherlands, stumble through the stubbly corn, tread the beaches of Patuxet, and there live with the Pilgrims, besides looking into the first dwelling erected by an Englishman in Boston—that Englishman not William Blaxton, the clergyman recluse, but the Pilgrim in his fishing hut on Governor's (Conant's) Island.

One must enter the Gothic-Elizabethan trading-post built by the Pilgrim on his five hundred acre fishing ranch, near Stage Rocks, on Cape Ann, the home of Governor Conant—a building afterward removed, set up in Salem, and used as the "Faire House" of that first sealed and officially listed Governor, John Endecott. He must lock arms, in turn, with Roger Williams and Samuel Gorton after their sojourn in Plymouth, as they separately journeyed to Boston and Salem and through the wilderness to Rhode Island. He must sit with the Pilgrim on the magistrate's bench as the latter banishes Humphrey Norton, the Quaker, or that unfortunate Southwick family, including Cassandra (Provided). He must discuss with him the political and religious significance to Plymouth, should he arrest Ann Hutchinson, domiciled not far away. He must touch elbows with John Alden, when wrongfully imprisoned in Boston's House-of-Bondage because of the Hocking tragedy in Maine, or stand by his son, an old man of seventy, a second Alden, in the clutches of the witchcraft-obsessed magistrates of Boston and Salem. He must plunge into the imbroglio that stripped the Pilgrim of his Maine holdings, clash again and once

again with the Dutch, and argue and contest, as did the Pilgrim, with fellow Englishmen who were Puritans, over his settlements bordering the "Long River" in Connecticut. All these were Pilgrim-born issues.

The Pilgrim having a reserve of military force at command for the maintenance of law and order, crushed Merry Mount's erotic revelries as speedily as he did incipient Indian outbreaks. Tolerant of opinions, he could not brook lawlessness that might end civilization, and when King Philip's horrible war was on, the Pilgrim contingent took part in setting aflame the Narragansett Fort with its human contents. He raised the siege of beleaguered towns and isolated settlers' cabins when savages threatened extermination of the white man. He shot King Philip, captured Anawan and aided mightily in enslaving, killing, and scattering hostile savage hordes.

When the call went forth for men and money, nothing held back the Pilgrim's strenuous arm nor exhausted his wide-open purse, into which he dipped until the Indian war debt exceeded the value of his estate.

Aside from war, the Pilgrim met civil problems according to his light as in the case of Ann Marbury Hutchinson, the Apostle John Eliot, the Mathers (Richard, Increase, and Cotton), Tax Collector Edward Randolph, and Governor Edmund Andros.

Men of their time, they and their descendants shrank not from what seemed a duty or the necessities of the hour, but they met these as they came. During the French and Indian War, under Colonel Benjamin Church, they carried the fight across the French border. Later they scaled the walls of Louisburg, the Gibraltar of the West. They tore down an iron cross as a trophy worth bringing home. Reluctantly—aye, haltingly—obeying the command of their king, with sad hearts they deposed, deported, and scattered by thousands the harmless Acadian farmer-peasantry, a war of necessity to destroy a refuge-supply base for French troops.

The Cape on which the Pilgrims lived was a point of outstanding geographical importance as a landmark. It had been charted by every discoverer of note for hundreds of years before the Pilgrims arrived, and given many names. "Who's who?" was a question that echoed on the new-comer's ears as soon as footing was secured on its forest-clothed sand dunes. Thoroughly and promptly did the Pilgrim answer

the query of his predecessor of Indian, Dutch, French and English birth. The assertive, God-fearing Pilgrim of Cape Cod was soon known, respected, loved, and when occasion demanded, dreaded from Acadia to Cumberland Sound and the length and breadth of the Virginian, Manhattan, and intervening settlements, including later those of his quasi-querulous neighbors in Rhode Island. In the hard experiences following the settling of the land, Plymouth and the Pilgrim ever extended a helping hand to the Puritans and the scattered colonists.

When in retrospect, during Revolutionary days, one enters Carpenters' and Independence Halls in Philadelphia where the armor of Freedom was hammered into shape, or sights the length of a shining gun barrel at Concord Bridge, and handles pick, shovel, and flintlock in a Breed's Hill redoubt, the quality of Pilgrim and Puritan brain and brawn is realized. The searchlight of history, even in its modern power and thoroughness, does but increase our admiration and critical appraisal of Pilgrim character and achievements.

As in a procession, events moved swiftly toward history's goal. Yet it is well to discriminate clearly between Pilgrim and Puritan. The Pilgrim Fathers landed on that terrifically cold, stormy night of December 7, 1620, on the plot of ground in Plymouth Bay, on that third important and final inspection of the land, afterward christened Clark's Island.

Eight years later the first Puritan governor, John Endecott, settled at Salem, where he was joined by those "godly missionaries," the Reverends Francis Higginson, Samuel Skelton, and John Bright. Governor John Winthrop of the Bay Colony, in 1630, entered first Manchester-by-the-Sea, next Salem, and later Charlestown (Cherton or Mushawum) crossing to Boston (Shawmut) with his Puritan host. These Puritans, in the main of higher social status, numbering at first over a thousand, later tens of thousands, where the Pilgrims counted hundreds, and with vastly greater resources than the Pilgrims, came with coffers overflowing even to millions in value. It is no wonder that they seem in popular ideas to have preëmpted in Massachusetts nine-tenths of the data concerning New England, and possibly half relating to the settlement of this country.

Today the former hunting grounds of the Indians of Massachu-

SPIRITUAL ANTECEDENTS OF THE PILGRIMS

setts and the Cape Cod region—that land bordering the Great North Sea—outline the extreme end of a fan-shaped territory covering North America from the Canadian border to the Gulf, from Massachusetts to the Golden Gate and far out on the Pacific (South Sea) to both groups of the Isles-of-the-Sun. Down the grooves of the fan, are now traveling and will travel for centuries over lines of steel, Lincoln highways, and air-lanes, millions of people to pilgrimage amidst the hallowed antiquities of America's Fatherland—the land of Brewster, Bradford, Standish, Winslow, Conant, Blaxton, Endecott, Winthrop, Dudley, and hundreds of other pioneers. Breaking away from the tyranny of the Old World they lapsed at times when in the New into the very isms and sins which they condemned and often futilely attempted to cure in others. Nevertheless, in the final issue we see that they lived close to the standard which, appealing to Scripture, they set up for themselves in the land of their adoption.

Others whose names make a list of renown drove their tent pegs between the two capes on New England's water front. It included John Alden, Dr. Fuller, Roger Williams, and Samuel Gorton—that vigorous peace-disturber of Plymouth, Boston, and Rhode Island—Josiah Winslow and John Leverett, the War Governors of the Plymouth and Bay Colonies in 1675; the five Johns, all Boston divines, Wilson, Cotton, Davenport, Eliot, and Norton, together with Danforth, the Indian missionary, and Hugh Peters, one of the founders of Harvard College, whose head rolled into the basket in England, through joining plotters against the throne. All these did valiant work according to the light within them.

Forceful pioneers were those early heroes of the past, who served on land or sea, many of them coming from the twin capes, Cod and Ann—both Pilgrim holdings. As they pass in review, we note that each of them was more or less tied to Plymouth and the Pilgrim venture. Isaac Johnson was the first of Winthrop's group to die, causing poignant grief that shook the colony to its foundations. The query was even raised, "Can we exist without Brother Johnson?" Governor Simon Bradstreet was the last of the leaders to cross the Divide. There was Sir Richard Saltonstall, who fathered Watertown, and Governor William Coddington, who settled Rhode Island and founded a community to be governed by the laws of Jesus Christ. Neverthe-

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less after a fair trial these earnest men found it necessary to have also a fleshly governor and William Coddington served Rhode Island repeatedly.

Macaulay sounded the depths of both Pilgrim and Puritan character when he wrote:

"They rejected with contempt the ceremonious homage which other sects substituted for the pure worship of the soul. Instead of catching occasional glimpses of the Deity through an obscuring veil, they aspired to gaze full on the intolerable brightness, and to commune with Him face to face. Hence originated their contempt for terrestrial distinction. The difference between the greatest and meanest of mankind seemed to vanish, when compared with the boundless interval which separated the whole race from Him on whom their own eyes were constantly fixed. They recognized no title to superiority but His favor; and confident of that favor, they despised all the accomplishments and all the dignities of the world."



RESTORATION IN 1921 OF THE LINES OF THE WATER FRONT, AT
PLYMOUTH, MASSACHUSETTS, AS THE PILGRIMS KNEW IT.

Courtesy of the Pilgrim Tercentenary Committee.

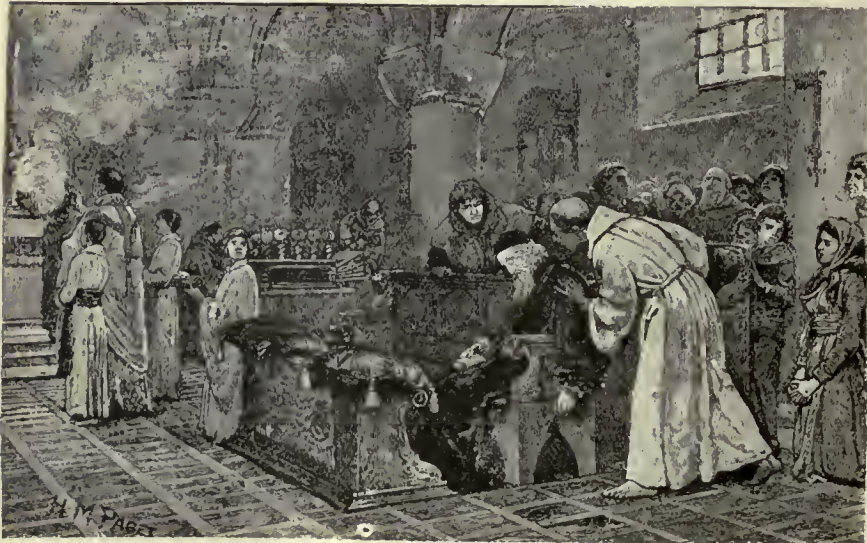
3 nyz: seide to hy, if þu be godis loue.
4 sei þu yete stoues be wð lodnes. þe wð
die answerende: seide to hy, it is wri-
ten, a man himey not in bred alone.
5 þut in eny word þat comey forþ
þe mouy of god: þane þe dnel to hy
in to an holy cite: sette hy on ye py-
nade of ye temple: seide to hy, if þu
be godis loue: send þee dnyglopy
it is writen. for to his angelis he
comandede of yee, þat þey shul take
þee in hondis, lest þar aventure þu
herte þu foot at a ston, eft loone þu
sey to hy, it is writen: þou shalt
not reþten þe lord þu god, lest loone
þe denel to hy, in to a ful heu hul,
þe shewede to hy alle þe reuymes
of þe world: þe glorie of heu: &
seide to hy, alle yete thingis i shal
gyue to yee: if þou failende dunt
shalt wryþe me: þane þu ley
de to hy, So cathanas, forþe it
is writen: þu shalt wryþe þe lord
þu god: & to hy alone þou shalt ser-
ue: þane þe denel sette hy: & la-
angelis camen nyz: & seruede to
hy: þu shal wryþe þu god: þe denel
þat þou was taken: þe werte i
to galilee: & þe cite of nazareth
lest þe cam & dwelte in þe cite of
nazarath, blisid þe sei: þe eudis
of zabalou & of neptahim: þu
it shal be fufild, þu shal wryþe
þe lord: þu shal wryþe þe lord
was seið: bi ysaie þe pte. þu lod
of zabalou & þe lord of neptahim:
þe werte of þe sei, ou iordan of galy-
lee of heþene men: þe pte þat
dwelte in derknesse: þat grett
lyt, & men sittende in þe kumtre,
of þe shadewe of dey: lyt is spinge
to hem: fro yenes þu began to
piche, & leyð to þe penance: for
þe þe kyngdum of heuene shal
come nyz: þu shal wryþe þu
þe sei þe sei of galilee: þat two bre-
þu, symon þat is deyd petre, &
audreus his broþer: sendende net

in to þe sei forþe þe werte fisheris
& he seide to hem, come þe astur me:
& þu shal make þou to be in fisheris
of men: & auocun yete forþe
þe werte hy: þe goende forþe
þe place: þat two oþe breþu, james
of zebede & þou his broþer in þe
ship: þe zebede her fad, makende
aȝee or beeteude her uestis: & he
depede hem: to þe auocun þe net
forþe & þe fad: þe werte hy
& þu cum: ouede al galilee, teche
de in þu synagogs of hem: and þu
dicede þe gospel of þe kyngdum: &
heide alle forþe or aȝee, & alle
shauette in þe pte: & his opun
ou or hme werte in to al sir þe:
þe off: eide to hy alle me haue
de enel, taken wð dnyte forþe
& tormentis: & hem þat hadde
de uel: & hme wenz men i pale-
ste: & he heide hem: & þu
hy werte luypanes of galilee
& of ierapoly: & of þu: & of iude
& of bezoude iordan.
þu forþe seide luypanes: werte
te up in to an hul: & þu he hadde
fiteu: þis discipule camen to hy: &
he apeneude his wozp: taze
hem seide: blisid þe þe pte in
fiteu: for þe kyngdum of heuene
is her: blisid þe imple men: for
þe anu werte þe erpe: blisid
be þe þe werte: for þe þu be
confiteu: blisid be þe þe þu be
thirteu ristur: for þe
anu þe fufild: blisid be man
men: for þe anu gete þe þu
lid be þe þe þe of deue line: for
þe anu sei god: blisid be þe þe
men: for þe anu be god deyd
þe loues: blisid be þe þe anu
þe leu: for þe werte: for þe
kyngdum of heuene is her: &
anu þe blisid þu anu anu
seu þu: & anu anu þu: & anu
sey: alle enel anu þu hende for

ON THIS LEAF OF WYCLIF'S UNVERSED, QUILL-WRITTEN BIBLE IN THE LOWER RIGHT HAND CORNER ARE THE BEATITUDES. THE WORD "GUESS" USED IN PLACE OF "THINK" IS WRONGLY CALLED A YANKEEISM, WHEN IN REALITY IT WAS SHARED WITH THE WYCLIF BIBLE ALONG WITH OTHER QUAIN'T TERMS.



WYCLIF ARRAIGNED BEFORE THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.



WYCLIF STRICKEN BY DEATH WHILE IN CHURCH.



HUGH LATIMER.



"CRANMER, RECAT IN THE PRESENCE OF THIS
CROSS, AND WE WILL PUT OUT THE FLAME,"
FUTILE WORDS, WASTING BREATH.



PRISON FROM WHICH LATIMER, CRANMER AND RIDLEY
WENT TO THE STAKE.



Philip

PHILIP II, MURDERER OF NETHERLANDERS.

The Debt of Pilgrim and Puritan to the Netherlands



BEFORE a single copy of the Bible was printed in England, there had been twelve editions of the whole Bible and twenty-four editions of the New Testament printed in the Netherlands. Thereafter, for centuries, most English Bibles were printed in Holland and thence imported into England.

Bible-armed, Christian-armored, and educated along business as well as literary lines were those Netherlanders, who aided so greatly in the making of the England we know. They introduced the first printing press, besides new crafts and trades, set up paper mills and changed England from an agricultural to a manufacturing country. These Fleming and Walloon, or Netherland weavers, and craftsmen from thrifty Belgic land, to Canterbury, Colchester, and Norwich, spread broadcast the glad tidings and insisted on worshipping God in their own way as Free Churchmen. England, gagged by commercialism, winked at the observance of religion in the way common to all foreign artisans, whose skill was needed to augment wealth. At the same time the political church persecuted to the brink of the grave and occasionally within it, the native-born Englishman for the identical belief; notwithstanding the fact, that "The Establishment," in England, always claimed to be a true Reformed Church. Over a hundred of these Walloon and Flemish churches were formed in England, some of them being still active. The oldest Reformed Dutch Church is at Austin Friars in London.

In an age when the dulled conscience of southern Europe allowed two thousand persons to be burned alive in one Spanish province, in 1482, and in the Netherlands in the sixteenth century a large number, possibly some seventy-five thousand heretics, to be tortured to death, it is little wonder that the people rose in their might in these same Netherlands to fight Spanish oppression. In myriad families there was weeping over an empty chair. Rising in their desperate, righteous

indignation, they cleansed many edifices of the martyr-mad Roman church and confiscated steepled and towered magnificence to Protestant use and to public education. In a word, the Dutch won their freedom for a Federal Republic, preparing the way to shelter the Pilgrims during those twelve years before the first contingent sailed for New England. Thus did every step of the Pilgrim path show the Over Rule.

Later under the flag of red and white stripes—prototype of our own—free from persecution, the Leyden church was kept alive, until in November, 1630, ten years after the first oncoming of the Pilgrims to New England, the ship *Handmaid* reached New Plymouth (Patuxet) at Cape Cod, with the last embarkation of Leyden church members.

Holland emigrants to England nursed Cambridge University, were well to the front in the Puritan exodus under Winthrop, and mustered strong in Cromwell's army, an army in large measure Baptists in faith—that invincible multitude of religious enthusiasts which never went into battle without calling on the Lord of Hosts, and was never defeated, though often pitted against forces four times its number. This host had in it thousands of the grandsons of the Netherland refugees of 1567 and later years.

Men and women of the Netherlands, alien on English soil, stirred and excited Olde England to progress as she would never have been stirred nor advanced without Dutch blood, brains, thrift, ingenuity and breeding. The later drainage by Dutch engineers, of the eastern countries, adding millions of fertile area to England, was a monster achievement.

To Pilgrim and Puritan descendants it is a joy to know that while their ancestors had many a battle of words with the doughty Dutchmen, who inadvertently made an out-post-guard-house of Manhattan Isle, protecting Pilgrim and Puritan against Indian and Spanish attack, little blood was shed between these brother pioneer settlers, who held the same faith and in nearly all the wars, which meant the safeguarding of freedom and the progress of humanity, were allies with the English.

The Dutch-Iroquois Treaty, made before the Pilgrims arrived, was of mighty import to the English and prevented many a conflict

THE PILGRIM DEBT TO THE NETHERLANDS

with these "Romans of the Western World." Dutchmen backed the Declaration of Independence and the Continental Congress, and Hollanders exerted powerful influence on the Connecticut Colony whose constitution was the borrowed pattern by which that Philadelphia Congress cut America's common-sense, Republican garment. The Reverend Thomas Hooker, the eloquent religious Connecticut pioneer, while an English refugee in Holland, developed love of liberty and worked out the freedom-thought in the New World in the Massachusetts and Connecticut colonies. Like the Pilgrims, the Connecticut settlers borrowed many Dutch ideas and institutions which at that time were unknown in England. It was William Penn, son of a Dutch mother, who founded the colony Penn-Sylvan and the municipality of Philadelphia, the first surveyed, properly laid out, paved and lighted, American city. Dutch influence in America shot its impress beyond the minds and lives of Separatist sojourners in Amsterdam and Leyden. The half century during which Dutch Progressives controlled New Netherland, including Manhattan Isle, saw the first fully organized free church in America, still active, the first system of recording deeds and mortgages, toleration of all creeds, separation of church and state, besides public schools sustained by taxation and open to girls as well as boys. All of these features of freedom were absorbed and in time freely adopted by Pilgrim and Puritan.

Handwritten Dutch text, likely a passenger list or ship record, dated 20 April 1634. The text is written in cursive and includes names and details of a voyage.

Passenger List, 20 April, 1634, of Ship, d'EENDRACHT, Bound From Amsterdam, Holland, to New Amsterdam and Killlaen van Rensselaer's Colony on the Upper Hudson. On its First Voyage, 1630, This Ship Brought Over the Famous Anneke Jans, and on its Second Voyage, 1631, Carried Cornelia Maesen Van Buren, Ancestor of the Eighth President of the United States.

The Debt of Pilgrim and Puritan to Switzerland



IN the reigns of Edward VI and Mary Tudor thousands of prominent Englishmen fled the country, largely into Holland and Switzerland, the two republics, these being lands of refuge. Here they found law and order; churches without bishops and states without kings.

The spirit that made fragrant with tender memories every plank in the Mayflower's hull, that stood between the hundred and two and death, the torch that wiped out the Pequots and the Narragansetts, the flintlock musket that lined the road from Concord bridge to Merriam's Corner with the corpses of red coats was moulded and tempered during that five years' sojourn from 1553 to 1558 in two federal republics, in which each state had equal vote in the Senate.

Dwelling on the shores of Lakes Geneva and Lucerne, in the land of the mighty Jung Frau and glorious Mont Blanc, these years of exile gave ample time to these Englishmen for mental and spiritual development. Amid the inspiring mountain air of untrammelled, democratic Switzerland, the Puritan made rapid growth. The debt due from the Pilgrims and Puritans and their descendants to this country, enthroned amid the mountains of Central Europe, is very far beyond the financial realm. Most appropriate is the great monument of the Reformation, completed, unveiled, and dedicated in Geneva in 1918. Among the superb bas reliefs of life-size figures are those not only of Cromwell and the English Reformation, but of Roger Williams and the Compact of 1620 in the Mayflower cabin. Nowhere is American history better understood than in Switzerland. In that federal republic the Pilgrim rule in Plymouth that every able-bodied man must be willing to drill and bear arms has been followed as the best system of national defense.

Beginnings of the Brownist or Separatist Movement



ANGLED threads were untangled and grouped in skeins of order by scattered adherents of the new faith as was well exemplified in Robert Browne, one of the first Separatists, who caused Sir Walter Raleigh to state in Parliament that in the British Isles were twenty thousand Brownists and drew the wit of Shakespeare when he played to the galleries. It was through Queen Elizabeth's great minister, Lord Burleigh, a relative of Browne, that the forceful clergyman enjoyed liberty, and even life. It was Browne who, hearing of a country in which "religion was free to all men" escaped with his fellow believers to Middelburg. There the lone star of freedom of conscience rose. In Middelburg Browne printed his books and tracts. Even the pilgrims at Leyden and at Plymouth were for generations stigmatized by the more numerous and wealthy Puritans of the Bay Colony as "Brownists."

Reverend John Rough in 1571, in Queen Mary's reign, shepherded his Separatist flock in seclusion, save as one or another was occasionally spied by the informer, was segregated in a dungeon, and finally became a flaming torch in Smithfield's quadrangle. Reverend John Fitz, in 1592, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth kept the faith and his people, as far as possible in times that reeked with torture and sudden death. Both pastors of these first two London churches, Reverends Rough and Fitz, ended their earthly careers by the Fire Route.

As early as 1567 London felt its religious heart throb with the new life that was then shaking the nation. In Anchor Lane, Free Churchmen or Separatists gathered to the number of five score or more. Benson, Colemay, Rowland, and Hawkins, clergymen without the pale, ministered to the people, but the ever present informer caused the arrest and imprisonment of a third of the little group, who languished in prison for nearly a year. The year 1576 brought together John Copping, Elias Thacker, and Robert Browne. The latter, fleeing

to Holland, wrote those books, the reading of which carried his fellow-countrymen, Copping and Thacker, to the scaffold, for they were bookbinders in England of the sheets printed in Middelburg. After a while Browne turned his back to the hangman, changed his mind, and in 1591, possibly discouraged by his thirty-two incarcerations, preferred to spend his few remaining days in quiet routine, rather than allow his bones to rot in a martyr's grave.

Puritan Frances Johnson* came out strongly, as his sect generally did, against the Separatists. He was delegated by the merchants forming the English church at Middelburg, to burn Barrowe's and Greenwood's books and to investigate John Aphenry, or Penry, that first real Pilgrim Father, who recommended the Separatists to emigrate to Holland. Johnson stopped the printing of the books and had all but two copies burned. Giving one to his partner, he read the other only to be thoroughly converted to the idea of a free church. Going to London to talk with a man whose gospel he had once sought to destroy, he organized at Southwark in London with his co-laborer, John Greenwood, the *first Congregational Church in England*. In existence today this organization proudly claims priority by ten years or more over all other free Nonconformist churches.

Frances Johnson's stay with the First Church of Southwark was brief.

When Frances Johnson, his brother George, Daniel Studley and John Clark made that pilgrimage to New England in the last year of the sixteenth century, they anticipated the Pilgrim landing on Plymouth Rock by full twenty years. Though the islands off America's eastern coast, never sheltered them, as tempests blocked settlement, yet the honor of being the first Pilgrims to plough these waters was theirs. More to Frances Johnson's liking was the spiritual work awaiting his hand at Amsterdam, and in that city he shepherded the struggling Separatist church, aided by the Reverend Henry Ainsworth, the melodious psalm translator and renowned Hebrew scholar. Under banishment, he joined the Reverend John Smyth at Amsterdam. That consolidation of the Dutch provinces in 1576, by William of Orange, and the formation of the Dutch federal Republic in 1579, made Holland Calvinistic and a refuge land for all comers who should obey the laws, no inquiries being made by the government either into

*Johnson's autograph proves that he spelled his name Frances.

BEGINNINGS OF THE BROWNIST MOVEMENT

nationality or religious opinions. Jew and Gentile, Mahommedan, Separatist, Protestant or Catholic were all equal before the law.

Imprisonment but aided facile pen, and gibbeting only spread the new faith. Henry Barrowe, during those five years in prison disseminated vital truths with tracts which he secured the printing of in Holland and had smuggled into circulation throughout England; John Greenwood was hanged in 1593. The Welshman, John Penry (Martin Marprelate), who through his peripatetic printing press had all England laughing at the clergy, was the last to be legally murdered. These men made more converts by their martyrdom, in 1590 and 1593, than in their strenuous lives. Deaths of the martyrs whether on the scaffold or at the pyre thrilled into greater activity latent religious thought.

In spite of Browne's lapse in faith, the new departure promulgated largely on its literary side by him, grew apace. It was fostered by persistent and conscientious disciples and by those converting factors, the Bible, the printing press with movable type, tracts, and the sermons put into circulation which vastly aided rapid advance in this view of the Creator and His works.

Among those Puritan ministers near Scrooby who dared to face angry church dignitaries and irate kings, were Thomas Toller of Sheffield, Robert Gifford of Laughton, and Hugh Brumhead. Richard Clyfton, that first pastor of the Scrooby Church, preached in 1586, at Babworth, close to Retford, prior to his coming to Scrooby. Grayed and worn with service, the old gentleman fled to Amsterdam to keep liberty and life during his short remaining span of time and worked indefatigably in the Lord's vineyard to the end.

Followers of the Master in these little country villages less outspoken than their neighbors, were classed as Second Separatists, lacking a hundred per cent. Nonconformist rating. They thought, but they did not always dare.

Grounded in the Bible from cover to cover were the Separatists. The text "Be not conformed to this world, but be ye transformed by the renewing of your minds" was frequently echoed from cellar and hay loft by preachers of the old faith made new by the light of the Divine Word.

Officers of the Separatist Church were three; first, pastors or teachers; second, ruling elders; third, deacons.

The Brownists at Gainsborough, England, Under John Smyth and John Robinson, Pastors



JOHN SMYTH, that Leader in Israel, while at Cambridge from which he graduated in 1575, enjoyed rare communings with his instructor, that stalwart Puritan, Frances Johnson, who first fought Separatism, but later became one of its strong adherents. Smyth took up the work discarded by Robert Browne.

Now began in 1602 the real launching of the Pilgrim Separatist faith in Gainsborough, where it first crystalized in the house of William Hickman, whose father and mother, Anthony and Rose Hickman, were leading Separatists. This portrait of Lady Rose Hickman antedates those of all other Separatists, men or women. The well-known portrait of Governor Edward Winslow, now in Plymouth, England, the only proved likeness of any of the Pilgrim Fathers, is the next in rotation.

In this ancient Guildhall, where the Pilgrims occasionally worshipped in 1541, Henry VII held court after that historic stop-off at Scrooby.

William Hickman purchased the manor of Gainsborough from Lord Burgh, in 1596, and the Hickmans of Gainsborough were prominent factors in the Nonconformist Church, for Anthony Hickman and his wife Rose were staunch Separatists. When they were not in prison for the faith, their home was a rallying point for believers.

Prior to the consolidation of the Gainsborough Church, Lady Rose, mother of William Hickman, held the door of her home to admit the elect and reject the scoffers before Pilgrims were able to worship in the Guildhall finally used by the First Gainsborough Church.

John Knox, "bearded like a pard," and Bishop Hooker, who wrote of and preached Conformity to a purpose, more than once thrust their feet beneath the Hickman's hospitable table and called on the Throne of Grace in prayer and praise or name.

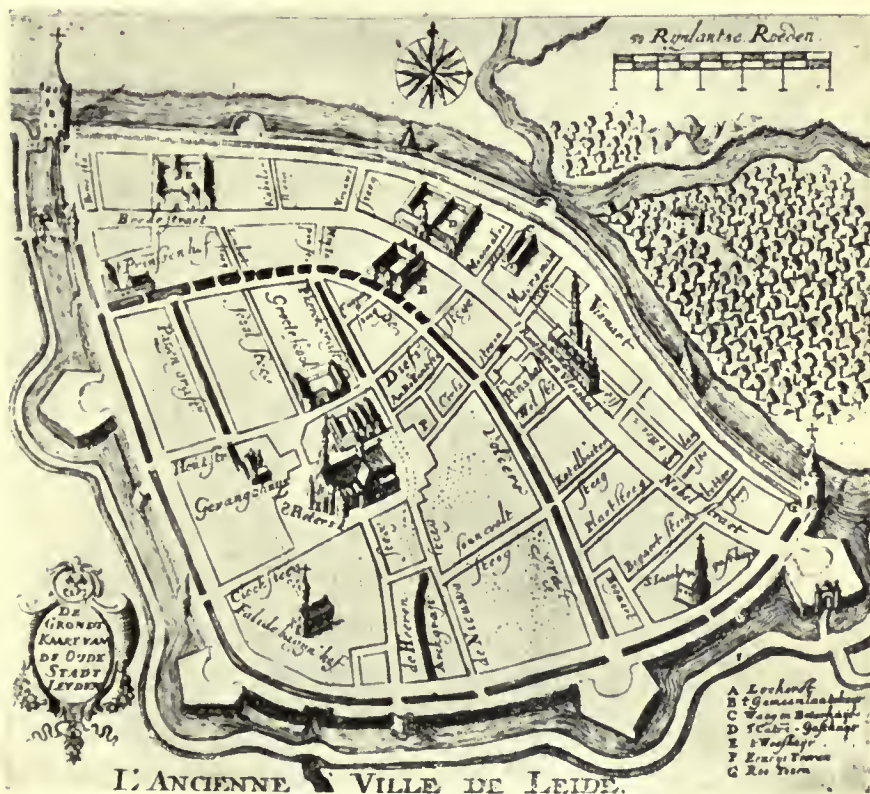


John Winthrop

Courtesy of "Our Plymouth Forefathers," by
Charles Stedman Hanks.

ROSE HICKMAN

THE ONLY AUTHENTIC PORTRAITS OF ANY SEPARATISTS.



ANCIENT LEYDEN.



By permission of and arrangement with George Brocklehurst of Gainsborough.

GAINSBOROUGH'S GUILDHALL.



By permission of and arrangement with George Brocklehurst of Gainsborough.

INTERIOR OF GAINSBOROUGH'S GUILDHALL.

THE BROWNISTS AT GAINSBOROUGH

Tiring of journeying to Fleet Prison, at the behest of the Bishop and of the treatment therein accorded, Anthony and Rose Hickman fled to Amsterdam. William, the son, held firmly his post as Lord of Gainsborough Manor, from 1596 to 1635. While never as prominent in the religious world as his fearless parents, his influence was strongly in favor of the struggling Separatist Church and he made it possible for them to worship in Gainsborough's Guildhall. The Pilgrim or Free Churchman of 1602, who furtively read his Bible and joined the little church at Gainsborough, revered the haloed men, and hallowed stepping stones, oft cemented in blood, o'er which his fathers had stumbled, fallen, and risen again before reaching the goal of Religious Independence.

Persecution in 1606 forced Rev. John Smyth to follow other Nonconformists to Amsterdam, that City of Refuge for Englishmen blessed with stinging consciences.

John Robinson preached in this same Gainsborough Church and assembled his little flock in the old Guildhall; that is, when they were not driven into cellar and hay loft to escape the searching eye of the informer ever on hand to gain lucre and fame by jailing his fellows.

John Robinson's birth place was most probably at Sturton-le-Steeple in Nottingham in 1576. It is certain that his childhood was spent there. His bones rest in Leyden, where he died. The uniquely splendid John Robinson chrysanthemum specially grown for the Tercentenary Pilgrim celebration in Leyden, August 31, 1920, and presented to the American ambassador, may have contained in its brilliant colors and exquisitely crinkled petals some of the dust of John Robinson. His body was laid in a temporarily rented grave (a not unusual custom), beneath the stone floor of that ten-century old church, St. Peters, on March 4, 1625, according to one record of the disposal of the ashes of the great Pilgrim pastor. This richly endowed Pilgrim leader, had rare common sense, a broad education, and a lovable, magnetic nature.

After the starting of the Scrooby church one finds persecution well afield. William Brewster, Richard Jackson and Robert Rochester were fined twenty pounds each, but when cited were not found by the Sheriff, being snugly ensconced in Boston jail, with their fellows. All had been arrested as they attempted to flee the country.

From now on, a wider reading of the Bible with secret gatherings, wherein spiritual communing was taught, fostered the growth of the Reformation in England. No books were published save by ecclesiastical permission, the clergy throttling thought, as well as religious freedom. It was long after Milton that printing was free in England. *All Pilgrim Separatist Dissenters first saw the Light through Puritan eyes*,—a fact not always relished by Pilgrim descendants. They followed the rays, groping their way to the Fountain Head.

Quaintly attractive is the architecture of Olde Gainsborough, many of whose buildings edged the Trent. Within their rough stone walls lived and through lattice-pane and dormered window gazed the faithful.



MEMORIAL CHURCH ERECTED AT GAINSBOROUGH IN
HONOR OF THE PILGRIMS.

The Separatists at Scrooby--- Brewster and Bradford



AT Scrooby in 1605 now gathered the Separatist clans, and, in Brewster's Inn on the Great North Road, or in the refectory room of the Archbishop of York's summer palace, then leased to the Brewsters, they worshiped until the darkening signs of the times caused the sect, later to be known as "Pilgrims," but not until 1799 called the "Pilgrim Fathers," to take the first step of a pilgrimage that, after varied vicissitudes, landed them on Plymouth Rock.

Through the portal of the Austerfield church, as one sees it outlined, William Bradford was carried as a babe, toddled as a boy, and strode with the freedom of young manhood before he crossed fields to Scrooby to become a full-fledged Separatist. It was the finding of the record, on the church parchment, in 1849, by the Rev. Joseph Hunter of York, of Bradford's baptism dated March 19, 1590, that opened the way for the recovery of the Pilgrim Story. Previous to that date no English-speaking person on either side of the Atlantic and only a very few in Holland knew where in England the Pilgrims had lived or whence they had come.

To the present pilgrim, each stride along the path is hallowed by records that began over three centuries ago. Where York, Nottingham, and Lincolnshire meet, in Gainsborough, Scrooby, Austerfield, and Bawtry, in cottages bordering the rivers Idle and Ryton, and near the Great North Road occurred the religious uprising that fathered the settlement of the six Eastern States.

What is now a delightful and fashionable district, given to summer residences and homes of wealth and culture is the ancestral seat of New England. "Incunabula magnae gentis" (the cradle of a great nation), as one bronze tablet records.

The record proves that of Pilgrims first reaching the New World Brewster and Bradford were the only Scroobyites. It is a marked co-

incidence that the birth of Separatism and its persecution was staged on dark and bloody ground. In and about Gainsborough, Babworth, and Scrooby have been enacted many of the tragic scenes in England's history, even from Roman times.

A quaint, long, low building was that used by one of the founders of the Separatist faith, but ideally located for the use of the Pilgrim Church.

Here "mine host" Brewster kept, in the Sandys tenanted manor-house, an inn where the right sort of "folk" were cared for. Doubtless the good man industriously spread the gospel as he spread "the staff of life."

This plan of house and grounds, including cow barn, church, hennery, milk pantry, hay and horse sheds, in interesting details links the home life of the Forefathers in the little English hamlet edging the Idle River with that of our own times. Tradition declares that when the attendance outgrew the house, the Separatists worshipped in the stable, which is still in use, with its tiled roof supported by the carved oaken beams well cobwebbed* that were once and for centuries in the Manor House, which the antiquarian Leland describes minutely in the time of Henry VIII.

In Pilgrim days the common people of England lived crudely. A two-room thatched cot, a straw pallet, a scooped out block of wood for a pillow, and a rush strewn floor, together with cooking utensils, few and of the rudest sort, were the chief physical adjuncts to living. Luxury for the wealthy, consisting largely of servile service, retinue, and a stone palatial habitat, revealed by contrast the crudeness of the lower classes. Dutchman, Roman, Spaniard, and Frenchman, their countries being far more civilized in material matters, swallowed daily great gulps of creature comforts, but life in England was primitive and rasping.

To the dweller in Fact-Land, it is a disappointment to be obliged to enter Myth-Land when we reach out to clasp hands with the main founders of the Pilgrim church, or to gaze upon their features. No accurate portraits of the Reverend John Robinson, Elder Brewster, or William Bradford are known. Only pen descriptions have inspired the modern artist's brush in his attempts to picture these men.

*A piece of one of these beams can be seen in the Congregational House in Boston, Massachusetts.

THE SEPARATISTS AT SCROOBY

In this little Gainsborough and Scrooby congregation, one finds practically the same spirit of nonconformity preached by John Wyclif two hundred years before Robert Browne. Here we have a congregationalism of the Barrowist type, leading back to the second leader of the Lollards or Babbler, even to John Wyclif, who fought the good fight about 1370, and whose writings, reaching the Continent, based the outspoken beliefs of men who for their convictions were to meet death by fire or garrote.

That was a wonderful trio of seventeenth century Englishmen, Reverend John Robinson of Norwich, William Brewster, "post" of Scrooby, who at the age of thirty was an earnest expounder of Separatism, and William Bradford of Austerfield, that English town close by a former Roman camp. This lad when between the years of thirteen and seventeen, probably the latter, though against parental or guardian wishes, strode a short two miles, across fields, to Scrooby, as a follower of Brewster. All these were to aid mightily in forming the new Over-Sea-Empire, although John Robinson never crossed the Atlantic. The parish register records Bradford's baptism as on March 19, 1589. A gathering of Separatist pioneers worshipped in the Manor House in Scrooby, also called the summer palace or hunting lodge of the Archbishop of York. It was a mansion of note, with grounds of some seventy acres at the present time and doubtless then more extensive. The mansion was duly enclosed by a moat according to the custom of feudal and even later times. It was the birthplace of and at one time in later days was used as an inn by William Brewster, that Father-in-Israel, who so strenuously aided in holding the Pilgrim church together. Located on the Great North Road, the ruined palace, once a residence of the Archbishop of York, and even for a while of the great Wolsey, when cast off by Henry VIII, retained a touch of feudal dignity by its drawbridge and moat and was famous from the fact that its wooden walls once sheltered at various times Margaret, Queen of Scotland, and Henry VII.

William Bradford records the strenuousness of the time in and about Scrooby; and incidentally epitomizes the history of the Free Churches there:

"Seeing themselves thus molested, and that there was no hope of their continuance there, they resolved to go into ye Low Countries,

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where they heard was freedom of religion for all men; as also how Sundrie from London, and other parts of ye land had been exiled and persecuted for ye same cause, and were gone thither and lived at Amsterdam and in other places of ye land, so affter they had continued together for about a year, and kept their meetings every Saboth, in one place or other, exercising the worship of God amongst themselves, notwithstanding all ye dilligence and malice of their adversaries, they seeing they could no longer continue in ye condition, they resolved to get over into Holland as they could which was in ye year 1607-1608."



Homes of the Pilgrims in England and Holland,
Showing Their Places of Origin, and of Foreign
Sojourn, Before Sailing to the New World.

Persecution of the Scrooby Separatists in Old Boston, Lincolnshire



THAT first step forward from Scrooby was an attempt to sail from Boston, England, to Holland, a true Freedom Land.

A town with a history is Olde Boston called in the year 654, Ikanho or Icaho and later St. Botolph. It boasts of a beautiful Campanile church, familiarly called "Boston Stump." Built in 1309, in size 290 x 98, its tower three hundred feet high, known as both a physical and spiritual guide to all, including storm-tossed mariners forty miles to seaward, it dominates the landscape. There were stirring times in the old church when crosses were cut by malcontent Puritans from the tops of maces carried before processions; when even the interior church walls, still bullet-marked, were used by the Parliamentary soldiers in Cromwell's time as targets for gun practise—yes, even for the execution of condemned enemies.

Bradford describes how they greeted truth seekers, "Rifled and ransacked them, searching them to their shirts for money, yes, even the women further than became modesty, and then carried them back into town, and made them a spectacle and wonder to the multitude who came flocking on all sides to behold them."

William Brewster, who had succeeded his father as "post" at Scrooby, lost this position after twenty years' service, because of his religious belief. He hastened the departure of the Separatists from a land fast lapsing into dire and chronic persecution. A vessel bound for Holland and to sail from Boston-on-the-Witham in Lincolnshire had been chartered by Brewster and Bradford during a secret trip made to this seaport town, in October, 1607. On this craft the Scrooby church members and their belongings were to be conveyed to the Land of Freedom.

If the Bostonian of the twentieth century will remember that in the city where St. Botolph's church still rears its lofty tower, there

lived for months that man of God, the Pilgrim, Boston's ancestral pride will be intensified. His was indeed an enforced residence in the cells under the Guild hall, varied by confinement in "Little-Ease-Prison," (the old town goal). Yet these streets, houses, and the river Witham saw the Pilgrim's coming and going and his cruel disappointment when, after having paid his passage, he boarded the Dutch vessel at the quay to sail for Texel and Amsterdam. Then it was that the master of the craft traitorously turned him over to the authorities.

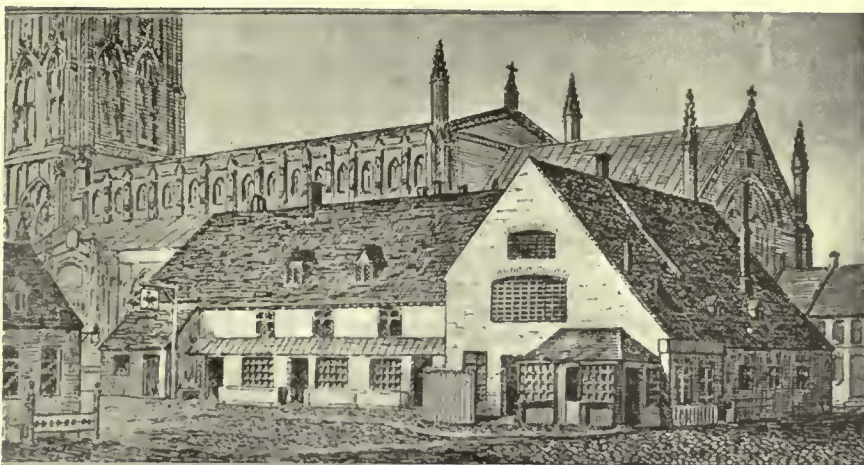
This courtroom where Pilgrims faced the Judge was reconstructed in water color by Mr. Hackford, submitted to the criticism of that "oldest inhabitant," and by him adjudged correct. Within the past two or three years, the railing or bar in the courtroom of the Guild-hall, before which the Pilgrims stood at their trial, has been removed.

In the floor of the courtroom was the trap door leading to the narrow winding stone stair-case, now closed, down which the Pilgrim cautiously felt his way, or incautiously stumbled, when hustled along by the jailor, into his six by four windowless, door-barred cell.

Locked up, if only for a thought-packed five minutes, is the usual self-elected fate of present day tourists and visitors, yet few who venture from their native heath to scenes that witnessed exceptional history need realism to intensify sentiment and loyalty. Inborn in the true American are reverence for those Pilgrim Fathers and a gripping interest in their harrowing experiences in Boston-on-the-Witham. The prisoner's scanty, unsanitary food was cooked in this century-old kitchen.

Close by St. Botolph, adjoining the Old Ostrich Inn, stood Little-Ease-Prison, within which Pilgrim leaders were confined for months. Life in an English Prison cell in the seventeenth century was no luxury. On release, back to their religious base, in Scrooby, by various paths the persecuted ones hurried homeward. (Both Ostrich Inn and Little-Ease-Prison have been razed for a century.)

Seven of the leaders of the party were kept in duress for months. Thus was this first organized attempt of the Free Churchmen to escape from England disastrously and most unrighteously foiled.



THE GOIL built 15 and BUILDINGS adjoining taken down MDCCLXXVI.



By permission of and arrangement with George E. Hackford of Boston, England.

LITTLE-EASE PRISON, OSTRICH INN, AND GUILDHALL IN BOSTON, ENGLAND.



Courtesy of George E. Hockford, Boston, England.

CELLS IN WHICH THE PILGRIMS WERE CONFINED.



By permission of and arrangement with George E. Hockford, Boston, England.

THE KITCHENS IN WHICH THE PRISONERS' MEALS WERE COOKED.



BREWSTER'S OLD HOME.



SCROOBY CHURCH.



ATTEMPTED DEPARTURE FROM MOLLIE BROWN'S COVE NEAR
HALTONSKILTERHAVEN.



Presented to Dr. W. E. Griffis by the Dutch Water Staat.

THE DOCK AT DELFHAVEN AS IT LOOKED THE DAY PILGRIMS KNELT IN PRAYER AND PRAISE BEFORE BOARDING THE SPEEDWELL. DUTCH RECORDS WERE CAREFULLY KEPT, AND THE AMERICAN TERCENTENARY COMMITTEE OF 1920 WAS ENABLED TO KNEEL AND PRAY ON THE EXACT SPOT THUS CONSECRATED BY THE PILGRIM FATHERS.

The Attempt to Reach Holland from Mollie Brown's Cove



THE Second organized attempt of the Scrooby Free Churchmen to reach the Land-of-Promise was by way of Mollie Brown's Cove on the Humber River, then a lonely spot eleven miles to the south of Grimsby and nine miles north of Hull. (The new Grimsby docks at Immingham are near this site.) These were the days before the Dutch engineers had drained the fen lands—about which Charles Kingsley wrote so graphically—and also those eastern counties which DeFoe described, thus turning millions of acres of swamps into a garden. A large part of Lincolnshire is still called New Holland. Even today one walks from the railway station at Scrooby over low, swampy land, on a raised board walk to the village, some hundred of yards away. Thornton Abbey is five miles distant.

A veritable swampland edged the thousand and more acres of upland fronting Mollie Brown's Cove.

The cupidity of a Dutch captain, this time from the coast of Zeeland, harboring at Hull, induced him to rendezvous at this cove, thirty-six miles from Scrooby and agree to transport Separatists to Holland. To evade and mystify possible pursuers, women, children and belongings were taken to the cove by boat on the Trent, from near Gainsborough, under cover of night, while the men in groups of twos and threes tramped forty miles across country, making the trip in three nights, keeping in hiding during the day.

The shallop carrying women and children grounded, the tide having run out, the Dutch captain was late in arriving, and only one boat-load of men, in which William Bradford was included, reached the vessel, when a great mob of armed pursuers was seen descending to swoop down upon the band of refugees. Seeing these the captain slipped cable and sailed away to avoid possible confiscation of his belongings and imprisonment, it being a penal offense, under a statute of Richard II, for an Englishman to emigrate without license. While

frantic passengers bewailed their enforced separation, the women and children on the grounded shallop and those in fearsome timidity grouped on the shore were captured by the military. Sent from one magistrate to another, from "pillar to post" to avoid care and responsibility, their liberation was hastened to save expense to the country.

Meantime, the men ashore who did not succeed in getting on the ship fled to avoid a prison cell which would block all future efforts to raise money to "move on" and give to a dying world their saving faith.

Between the informers and catch-poles on shore and a tempestuous channel off shore, the escaping Separatists heading for Holland had rasping experiences in a storm, when their vessel was blown northward almost to Norway.

Trace in the picture details of the heart-breaking interruption to their journey—the Dutchman's ship in the offing, riding with flapping sails, ready to slip cable; the unlaunchable shallop high on the strand; the oncoming king's soldiers eager to arrest and imprison. The artist has here portrayed one of the most momentous scenes in Pilgrim history. To ordinary human beings, this second disheartening experience would have ended all attempt at emigration. Every page in Pilgrim history from the cell in the Guildhall in Boston in Lincolnshire to the merging of the colony in 1643 with the New England Confederation, enumerates and eulogizes martyrs more worthy of canonization than many who have garnered that distinction.

The three hundred mile trip of the few who escaped at Mollie Brown's Cove, quadrupled in time and distance by head winds and seas, consumed fourteen days, during which foundering was a near call. Bradford, landing at Middelburg, found himself accused as a criminal by an informer, a fellow English passenger, but after fair trial before the Dutch Court, still in existence, even to its very furniture, in the beautiful old Stad Huys, or State House at Middelburg, was acquitted and set free—the "schout," or scout, who freed Bradford, being the original of our district attorney.



Six Groups of Separatists in Amsterdam, Holland



IN various ways and at different times the entire colony of Separatists, braving the stormy up coast channel trip in small groups, often most uncomfortably packed in sprayed, deluged, fragile, unseaworthy, open boats, reached Amsterdam, their first City of Refuge, all within the year 1608. In some instances, as at Naarden, the Separatists were aided with food and shelter by the people of the Dutch Reformed Church. In Amsterdam, on ground allotted by the city government to the Protestant refugees of every land, they dwelt under the spiritual guidance of their revered teacher, John Robinson, who, though he preached to them of the New World, was never to see it.

Fortunately, we have Governor Bradford's condensed description of their getting into the Republic, where "religion was free for all men." "Notwithstanding all these storms of opposition, they all gatt over at length, some at one time and some at another, and meets togeather againe according to their desires with no small rejoycing."

Some of the Pilgrim homes in Amsterdam opened into narrow, sunless alleys, in a few cases less than four feet wide, leading from the Barndesteeg and Achterburgwal—streets where lived the Separatists for a scant year. Fare and shelter were of the humblest.

As early as 1578 Amsterdam, that rallying point for Free Churchmen fleeing from England, had abolished the Roman Catholic form of the faith and adopted the Reformed religion. When therefore the English Separatists arrived in scattered sections, in 1608, they met with kindly treatment from both the city authorities and the religious sects already on the ground.

One London contingent was shepherded by Frances Johnson, at one time a tutor of John Smyth at Christ's College, Cambridge, and the founder of the *First Congregational church in England* in 1592 at Southwark. Among the flock was that musical genius, teacher and

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profound scholar in Hebrew, Henry Ainsworth, composer of Ainsworth's Psalm Melodies which were destined to echo in the Mayflower's cabin, the Pilgrim log hut, and along the beaches of Patuxet.

When the Pilgrims were safe in the triumphant Dutch Republic, there were surely six groups, and possibly more, of fleers from the Anglican heirarchy and autocracy which, with scorpion whips drove these English Free Churchmen into exile. This group of malcontents on Dutch soil and still at mental war with the Established English Church, who fled to this land of Freedom, included Brownites, Smythites, Gainsboroughites, Scroobyites—all in a measure Separatists, yet all full of narrow notions, often to the clashing point.

The fact that through disruption, and inability to think alike, the Church expands its borders, was well exemplified, in these early days and the method still holds. The marrow of the Reformed Faith for years centered in Scroobyite-Separatists under the Reverend John Robinson.

Traditionally, Robert Browne's followers, who settled in Amsterdam, prior to 1600, in that year disagreed, and the disaffected hired a warehouse for worship, cornering the narrow alley where some of the Pilgrims lived while in Amsterdam.

Followers of John Smyth, who came to Holland in 1606, cast their lot with the Brownists and for a time Scroobyites under Robinson also joined the group. Some of Smyth's congregation embraced the creed of the radical professor, Jacobus Arminius of Leyden University and the Brownists expelled them.

Smyth's few followers then settled in Leyden under this same Jacobus Arminius, and on his death within a year continued with his successor, Simon Episcopus. Richard Clyfton, now well along in years, remained in Amsterdam with a few followers.



The Pilgrims in Leyden, Holland



CROOBYITE-SEPARATISTS soon saw if they would keep their faith inviolate they must cut loose from all religious entanglements. The faith, as interpreted by parson John Robinson, was that by which they were ready to live. Therefore in moving to Leyden, which they did within a year, they left behind all prevalent isms and took up with none of the new ones. The application which they made to the authorities in Leyden is still kept among the city archives and we have the honest face of the official who signed the document welcoming and granting permission of residence.

A deep thinker and a powerful argumentative orator was the Reverend John Robinson, amply proved when, in 1617, Leyden University's leading Doctor of Divinity, Polyander, requested him to attack in debate Episcopus the Arminian apostle. In three discussions the victory gained by the Pilgrim pastor was overwhelming.

The future Pilgrim church settled in Leyden opposite St. Peter's cathedral, a building then in age well past five centuries, changed since the Reformation to a Dutch Reformed Church.

The city in which the Pilgrims lived is well worth visiting. Leyden University with its library, the site of John Robinson's home in Leyden, on which is now the Pesyn Hof, founded by Jan Pesyn and his wife, for aged couples, members of the Walloon or French church are two of many points of interest.

In the large meeting room of the house built for the pastor sped heavenward paeans of praise, psalms of thanksgiving and prayers without ceasing as the defenders and forefathers of the faith communed with their Maker.

The purchase of the land on which these homes stood was made in May, 1612, by John Robinson, William Jepson, Henry Wood, and Randolph Thickers, probably representing others, for some twelve thousand dollars. The closing sentence in the Articles of Agreement, photographed by the editor, is "The last penny with the first," duly paid by these honest people. The lot was large enough to accommo-

date twenty-one little houses for the less well-to-do of the Pilgrims, and here many of them lived ideal lives under the very "drippings of the sanctuary." Family life being the vital air of the Pilgrims, every orphan or detached unmarried girl and every young male of the same social status had to become a temporary member of one of the families of the church.

The Pilgrim homes were located in the Klog Steeg, that is, in Clock, or Bell, or Choir Alley, one hundred and fifty-six feet from the Herren Straat, now, the Rapenberg and not far from the Breede Straat, or Broadway. Robinson's house, in size was 25.6 x 75 and he entered this home May 5, 1611.

In this university town of Leyden, located some six miles from the North Sea, the Pilgrims found the third and best starting point in Europe for their organization, and there lived the majority of them during eleven years, engaged in menial, laboring, mechanical, or literary pursuits. Here in Leyden Bradford mastered French and Dutch, also Latin, Greek and Hebrew. He was determined to read with his own eyes the sacred truth in the original tongue. In a word, he incarnated the spirit of the Reformation.

Fairly systematic were Separatists, and the Dutch were still more so. The Englishman quickly adopted all he could from the customs followed in the superb and orderly archives of the Netherlands. The Dutch civic authorities kept not only marriage books, but also a Troth or intention of marriage volume. The authentic records and Pilgrim autographs, with material relating to the Pilgrims in Leyden from 1610 to 1650, were published in a handsome folio, containing facsimiles.

When William I, Prince of Orange, surnamed The Silent, took the reins of government in the Netherlands in 1576, he established Calvinism, and though his life went out a few years before Scrooby Pilgrims reached Holland, the work he did for the cause lived after him. While England was one vast seed bed of sprouting religious wars, that meant to hundreds flaming death, Holland, having in a measure been through the fire, quieted down to wordy discussion and an occasional stone and bludgeon argument between Calvinist and non-Calvinist, and followers of Gomar, Arminius, and Episcopopus.

In 1577 William of Orange wrote to the magistrates at Middel-

burg: *"You have no right to interfere with the conscience of anyone so long as he works no public scandal or injury to his neighbor."* Backing these words with his example, William the Silent gave his countrymen freedom and ploughed the way for the coming of Pilgrims to Holland. These doubtless would have gone directly to America from England, had not the hospitable Republic stretched a beckoning hand. In a large sense we can thank William the Silent for our Thanksgiving Day, which was started October 3, 1584, at Leyden, on its deliverance from the Spaniard who had encircled the Dutch city with his fifty-four cannon-mounted forts. William cut the dykes at Delfshaven, freeing his people, who, from that day to this, celebrate the feast with a stew of meat and vegetables similar to the one found in camp kettles of the Spanish Philistines who sought to shackle the Hollander.

The Netherlands exhaled all the virtues, few of the vices, and but little of the ignorance that shackled England. In the land to which the Pilgrim fled, art and agriculture clasped hands, education was general and the public schools open to all of both sexes. The country's very existence was a free-for-all fight with the elements; eighty—aye—at times a hundred thousand of its population might be swept to death in a single night by the breaking of a dyke. Still the gritty Dutchman held on, grew vegetables before England knew their name or taste, raised garden seed in wide range, and sold tulips as high as five thousand dollars each. It is of record that a hungry bumpkin, to the horror of the owner, ate one believing it a raw onion. The Dutch also grew grain and in later days, long after the Pilgrim came, bred pedigreed cattle, including Holstein and famed Dutch belted breeds for world consumption. In his multitudinous and intricate harbors, which enabled the Netherlander to build up the carrying trade of the world, his vessels found refuge from pirate hordes. The old Roman roads leading from Italy and Spain brought gold to build his palaces and cathedrals in exchange for Friday food from his fisheries, or for the manufacturing products which poured in steady stream over the world from his myriad factories.

So important an authority as the British Museum must meet the criticism that it never saw until recently, a genuine John Robinson signature and that the tract written by John Dove and signed by a

John Robinson is spurious. The assumption is that the two signatures of John Robinson in Sir Edwyn Sandy's book now in America are spurious also. Dr. Eckhof of Leyden enjoys the honor of having found in Leyden on a legal document what is considered John Robinson's autograph. This is seen on an agreement to pay seven forty-four guilders, twelve stivers and three pence on a given date, due on May Day, 1621. The authenticity of the signature is farther guaranteed by three well-known Pilgrims. Thomas Brouwer, "Jan Rabbijs," and "Wilhelm Jepson." The spelling of these English names within twelve years after reaching Holland may prove how rapidly the Pilgrims lapsed into Dutch. An example of how tradition is upset by newly discovered records is shown by the latest found statement that the widow, Bridget Robinson, never came to America, but died in Holland some eighteen years after the death of her husband, as is proved by her will distributing her property to her children—two daughters, son Isaac in New England, and son John, physician in England. This is in direct contradiction to the statement so long believed among us that the widow Robinson came to New England on the vessel *Handmaid*.

Down these aisles of the University library walked, and at these forms Robinson, Brewster, and Bradford pored over problems of living as set forth by the Leyden University. Warrants of arrest against the leaders had been sheriff-given at various times, and it is said a copper cauldron concealed William Bradford from a search officer, just prior to his leaving England.

Of great aid to Elder Brewster was Thomas Brewer, also a member of the Leyden University. He shared with Brewster and Robinson in the benefits of the printing enterprise and aided Brewster in distributing in England those books issuing from the Pilgrim printing press in Choir Alley that caused an uproar among the Anglican clergy. Brewer, under the protection of his Leyden University membership, faced his English accusers, who were hounded by Sir Dudley Carleton, the English envoy to the Republic. Brewer was not at this time jailed, but later was confined years behind bars. Both type and printing press were repeatedly concealed in Mother Earth, waiting convenient and safe season to print tracts and sermonize willing and eager converts. A Leyden University matriculation, which Brewster and

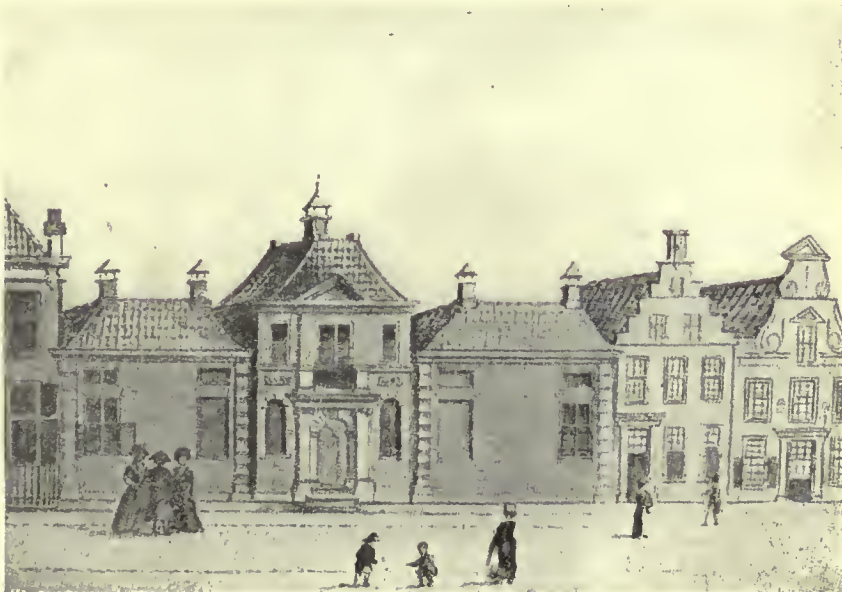


CHURCH OF SAINT PETER.

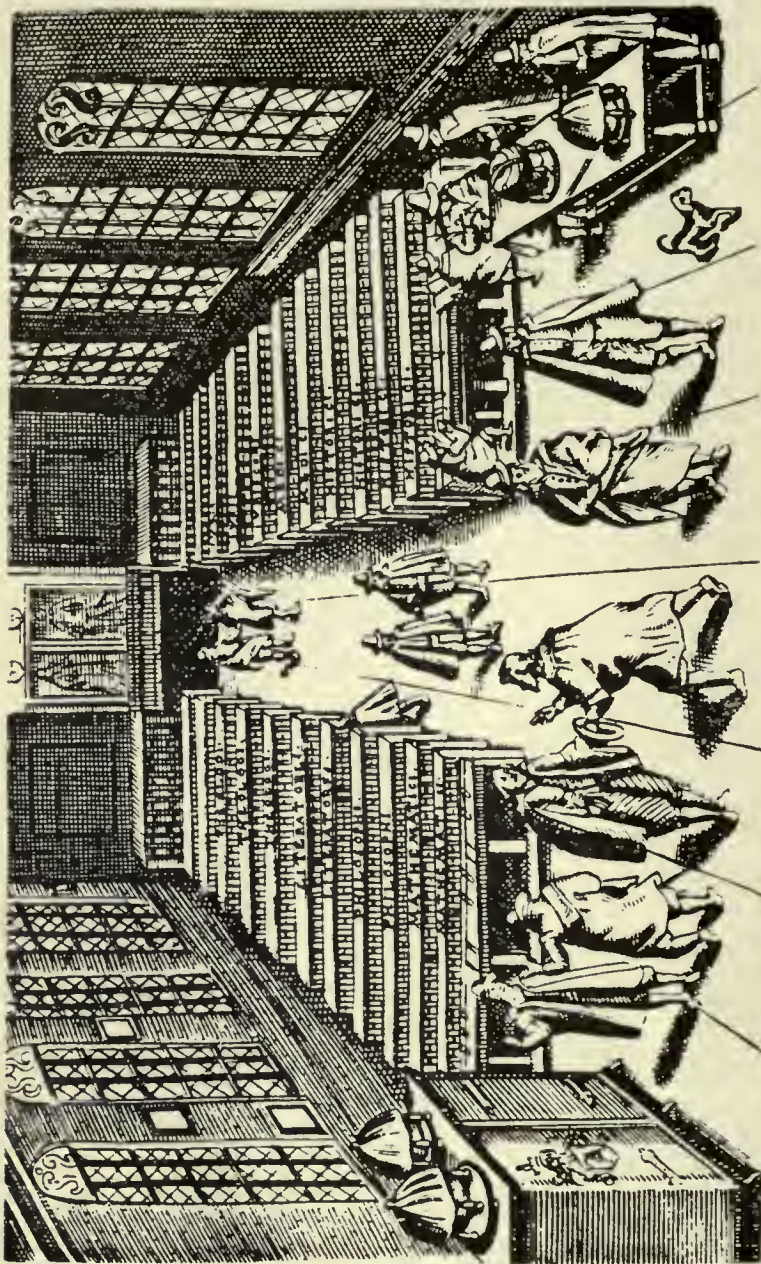


SITE OF ROBINSON'S HOUSE NOW
THE PESYN HOF.

THE ROBINSON TABLET IS ON THIS HOUSE.



KLOK STEEG (CHOIR ALLEY) IN WHICH THE PILGRIMS LIVED IN LEYDEN.



THE LIBRARY OF LEYDEN UNIVERSITY.

THE PILGRIMS IN LEYDEN

Robinson had gained when living in Leyden, carried with it immunity from arrest, save by officers of the University. This stood the two offending Pilgrims in good stead when Brewster's fifteen revolutionary books, which he published from 1616 to 1619, set England agog, because of his attacks on the Established Church.

England's political power as an ally had become sufficiently strong, however, to cause the seizure of Brewster's printing establishment by the Dutch authorities, and this means of spreading the Gospel of the Independents was blocked. An attempt to arrest Brewster in Holland through Sir Dudley Carleton, Ambassador of James I, to The Hague, signally failed, possibly through interference of the powerful Leyden University.



LEYDEN UNIVERSITY

"Down the Aisles of the University Library Walked Robinson, Brewster and Bradford and Pored Over Problems of Living as Set Forth by the Leyden University."

Why the Pilgrims Wished to Leave Leyden



THE tendency of the Pilgrim youth to "yoke" in matrimony with the sons and daughters of the land of their adoption was a source of deep solicitude to the English Separatists. This anxiety was well founded, for one finds that in 1650 the remnant of the Separatist Colony was completely merged with the Dutch. One reads on Dutch door plates even today thousands of British names. Had the English settled at New Amsterdam as broached by their neighbors, instead of on isolated Cape Cod, similar conditions, but slower in their working, would have prevailed, and possibly blocked the coming of the Puritan, and America been another name for a New Holland.

Confronted by the reality and farther possibilities of continuous intermarriage with the Dutch, some of whose jollifications ill accorded with Pilgrim ideas, the gong of destiny again warningly clanged "Move on!" Should Separatists become Guinans under the Dutch—Sir Walter Raleigh having written glowing accounts of Guiana—or Americans under the English? These two books, "Raleigh's Discoveries" and "Hakluyt's Divers Voyages" were read threadbare by the Pilgrim leaders and had much to do with their final decision to relinquish all thought of immigrating to Guiana, making America their future home.

Their very language was slipping away from them, for their children, especially those who attended the public schools—open to girls as well as boys and as old as the twelfth century—knew no language but the Dutch as well as the English and not a few of the Separatists spoke this tongue fluently and some wrote it accurately.

Enervating work, including child labor in the factories, and breaking the back and courage of old age through the grind of making a living in competition with city-born workmen, was another cause of upstaking and braving the dangers of the ocean and the wilderness.

Bradford glossed the temptations of the town. The quill of the

historian touches lightly on shadows that darkened the age, but the pencil of a Teniers and an Ostade, with the artist's habit of calling a spade a spade, did not hesitate to leave the door well ajar, through which the curious of coming ages might clearly understand one reason for the Pilgrims' departure. Nevertheless, drinking and social customs were much the same in England, and these exiles of Puritan mind would have eschewed certain of the lower order of popular amusements in any land.

Of great interest to the Pilgrims, prior to and after their landing at Plymouth, was the Jamestown settlement in South Virginia. The details attending this town's rise and fall and subsequent cyclonic happenings were keenly discussed both in Leyden and at New Plymouth. Jamestown should be credited with far greater influence in causing the Pilgrim exodus to America, and awarded a larger meed of praise than is generally accorded to that cavalier settlement.

A major part was that played in the settlement of Plymouth by Sir Edwyn Sandys, boy schoolmate and man friend of William Brewster, and fellow student with the great, broad-minded Richard Hooker. In full accord with the idea of immigration to America, Sandys was of great assistance to the Pilgrims, helping to obtain consent of the South Virginia Company of London, to settle on their lands, and loaning them on their holdings from his own pocket and without interest three hundred pounds sterling.

Thus far, from 1607 to 1620, Virginia was like New Netherland from 1609-1623. It had no homes or home-makers. Without women or children from their own country, here was but a camp of adventure. It was this same Sir Edwyn Sandys who made Virginia a place of homes, and thus insured its continuance as a commonwealth. This he did by an unique stroke of genius and common sense. In 1620, the year the Pilgrims landed on Plymouth Rock, emigrants flocked in large numbers to Virginia proper, among them a separate shipment, consisting of those ninety history-making young women, "pure and uncorrupt," sent by Sir Edwyn Sandys to be dealt out as wives to lonely bachelor colonists yearning to become husbands and parents, and enjoy family life.

To Sir Edwyn in 1617 wrote the pioneer Pilgrims, John Robinson and William Brewster, in the spirit of "the tie that binds" as follows:

"We verily believe and trust ye Lord is with us."

Preparations to Leave Leyden



THE Pilgrims sent Deacon John Carver, afterward Plymouth's first Governor, and Robert Cushman, that first New England sermonizer, to London. There they were to bargain for a charter from the South Virginia Company, having shown preference for a sunny, temperate Southland to a frigid Northland. It was on this trip to London that John Carver and Robert Cushman had their momentous interview with King James. Without doubt the argumentative monarch, with whom discussion was only second to a good dinner, knowing well of the religious broils agitating Holland, gave a hedging, half-hearted consent to the departure of English Pilgrims with their Leyden confrères via London and Southampton.

When Carver and Cushman stood before the loquacious monarch, answering his query as to how the Separatists expected to gain a living in the Americas, they stated that fishing would keep them alive, an occupation certainly more tempting than the laborious work of Holland; to which the King ostentatiously answered: "So God have my soul; 'tis an honest trade, 'twas the apostles' own calling." At this time the Scotch were already great fishermen but rarely was deep-sea fishing practiced by the English.

James I, in his desire to get the best of his religious antagonist, had many a bout with Pilgrim and Puritan, but these two Pilgrim leaders, Carver and Cushman, in this interview, held their own. Undoubtedly their arguments with His Majesty aided the Leyden pioneers to get safely away. In fact, the assurance has sifted through the crevices of time that the king was at heart glad to hear that his argumentative but loyal subjects had finally headed for the Sea of Darkness and to a land peopled with scalp hunters.

The Dutch East India Company now came into competition and offered the Reverend John Robinson, through mutual friends, free transportation, cattle, protection from enemies, and liberty of conscience, in the neighborhood of the Hudson River. But after Carver

PREPARATIONS TO LEAVE LEYDEN

and Cushman had returned, with a grant of land from the South Virginia Company of London, it was decided after prayer for guidance and earnest discussion, to accept the South Virginia grant from the Londoners.

Thereupon they started the stock-company scheme of promoter Thomas Weston and the seventy merchants, each share having a par value of ten pounds, fully paid and non-assessable. Children from ten to sixteen years of age were allowed a half share, and additional shares were obtainable for about fifty dollars—a dollar then purchasing some four times the present day normal value. Every colonist was to be the proud possessor of at least one share and in payment labor for the company as a communistic-unit four days each week. The length of contract extended the biblical term of seven years, at the end of which, after discharging the obligation, including interest, any surplus was to be divided among the colonists. If the indebtedness remained unpaid, the mortgage was to be foreclosed.

The Leyden Separatists engaged Christopher Martin (one of the first to die in the death-winter of 1621) to represent them in negotiations with the London promoters. With a multiplicity of partners came strife. To pacify malcontents, prevent partial cancellations and withdrawal by some of the stockholders, and to start the settlement, a new arrangement was made. Robert Cushman, anxious to reach the new land as speedily as possible, took the unwarranted liberty of agreeing with Thomas Weston—the unreliable—to annul the two days' self-work clause, thus forcing the community to labor for the benefit of the company the entire six days of the week. This was a hard, shrewd deal thus made at the beginning—crowding Shylock's realm under Weston's attempted but rejected amendment. This agreement was afterward signed in Plymouth at Cushman's earnest solicitation.

Articles of Agreement were now signed with the London promoters. This restricted charter forced Conformity and Church Government, but carried for the Pilgrims an unsealed verbal promise from the king to be "let alone." This amply sufficed, "as the king did not keep even sealed promises." Such was the outspoken opinion of more than one Separatist and possibly churchman.

To meet possible opposition from the King, High Churchmen,

Parliament, the Virginia Company, and rival organizations or any other uprising antagonistic element, the Separatists flung to the breeze on the eve of their departure from Holland the Seven Leyden Pacifist Articles which, abridged, read as follows:

1. To the Confession of Faith published in the name of the Church of England, and to every article thereof we do, *with the Reformed churches where we live and elsewhere*, assent wholly.

2. We do desire to keep spiritual communion in peace, and will practise on our part all lawful things.

3. King's majesty we acknowledge if the thing commanded be not against God's word, or passive if it be, except pardon can be obtained.

4. We judge it lawful for His Majesty to appoint bishop's offices of authority in several provinces; dioceses in all things to give account.

5. The authority of bishops in the land we do acknowledge so far as the same is indeed derived from His Majesty unto them.

6. We believe that no synod, clan, convocation, or assembly has any power save through that given by the magistrates.

7. We desire to give to all superiors due honor to preserve the unity of the spirit with all that fear God, to have peace with all men what in us lieth and wherein we are to be instructed.

The Pilgrim Fathers were confronted by most intricate conditions when, after painstaking thought and deep searching of spirit, they framed their Seven Leyden Articles. Secret enemies were at work to prevent their departure; Brewster was under espionage. At any moment English companies holding communications or with whom they were negotiating might abrogate all promises. War was soon to break out between Spain and the Republic. Loss of language, inheritance, and individuality through inter-marriage with the Dutch or other strangers in Holland, confronted them, as well as possible deterioration through the gilded youth of the town.

The seven Leyden Articles diplomatically scheduled, truthfully contained the groundwork of their religious belief. The plank on which they escaped from the machinations of their enemies was a gratuitous sop to the king, but they were cheered by the prospect of a change from restricted to unrestricted religious freedom, even amid savages in the New World.

PREPARATIONS TO LEAVE LEYDEN

The magistrates of Leyden gave their indorsement to the reputation and character of the Separatists as follows: "These English have lived among us for twelve years, and yet we have never had a suit or accusation against any of them."

Noteworthy were those final days in Holland. A good-bye feast for the leaders at the pastor's house, and then, as one of the Pilgrims wrote so picturesquely that he makes the reader one of the group of earnest souls, little realizing that three centuries hence his words would be sacredly treasured both by direct descendant and posterity in general:

"We refreshed ourselves after tears with singing of psalms, making a joyful melody in our hearts as well as with the voice, there being many of the congregation very expert in music; mine ears ever heard."

Bradford also delightfully describes their communion with each other—"in a comfortable condition, enjoying much 'sweet and delightful society and spiritual comfort,' and that they lived together in love and peace all their days without any difference or disturbance but such as was easily healed in love." Verily, the Pilgrims had fully learned and joyfully practiced the "fine art of living together." These were the days of true spiritual democracy in the era of genuine "Congregationality" before the less fruitful and spiritual "Ministeriality" that substituted a form of church life less like the New Testament model of primitive Christianity. Later Bradford thus wrote of the next important move:

"They had good hope and inward zeall of laying some good foundation, or at least to make some way thereto, for ye propagating and advancing ye gospel of ye kingdom of Christ in those remote parts of the world; yea, though they should be but stepping stones unto others for ye performing so great a work."

They in truth became "stepping stones" to their fellows and the great host of Welsh, Scotch, and North Irish that helped later to people the six Eastern States of the Union. The missionary spirit that they kindled has never been extinguished, but became a world illumination.

Sailing from Holland



THE day to which the Pilgrims looked forward with ceaseless fervor arrived, and they began their journey through the Dutch canals, starting their voyage from the outer wall and gate of Leyden—the local restrictions and rules on canal traffic inside the city being very rigid in those days of impending hostilities.

At the quay in Delfshaven they grouped themselves on Friday, July 21, 1620, O. S., before stepping on the deck of the *Speedwell*. Of this historic event, the stained glass windows set in the Reformed Church at Delfshaven in 1915, where, on September 2, 1920, Americans, English, and Continental folk held services, memorialize in artistry and color the Pilgrim Fathers. This edifice was built in the fourteenth century.

One can hardly read the records given by Winslow and Bradford without being impressed with the fact that the Pilgrim company was a more compact unit, a more social company, than the average modern church. The congregation was more. The minister was simply the teaching member. Today, the usual attitude of the audience that gathers on Sunday is that of passive receptivity. It is "ministeriality" now. It was "congregationality" then. There were no hired singers and the ministers were not "the clergy" isolated from the people. Strange as it may seem to the ignorant person or hostile critic, the music was more varied, the tunes of many more metres than in a later century, and the singing more general. The pulpit was not so far off, either in space or concept. In a word, they realized even more fully than in our day the word of the Lord, "One is your Master, even Christ, and all ye are brethren."

The church at Delfshaven has a bronze tablet on its walls, commemorative of the Pilgrims, which was reared by the Congregational Club of Boston, in 1906. The ancient village is now an integral part of the mighty city of Rotterdam.

At the quay, exactly as reproduced on the church seal, those who were to embark and those who were to remain behind, though some



PILGRIM WATER ROUTE FROM LEYDEN TO DELFSHAVEN



DOCK FROM WHICH PILGRIMS SAILED FROM DELFSHAVEN



THE LAST SERVICE BEFORE SAILING.



COURTYARD VIEW ABOUT 1840 OF THE PESYN HOF IN LEYDEN
HOME OF ROBINSON AND THE PILGRIMS.



SCOTCH CHURCH IN AMSTERDAM IN THE BEGYN HOF.



ALLEY LEADING FROM BARNDESTEEL STRASSE ALLEY LEADING FROM ACHTERBURGWAL STRASSE
PLYMOUTH FOREFATHERS.



MEMORIAL TABLET ON ST. PETER'S
CHURCH, PLYMOUTH

Courtesy of Charles Stedman Hanks. "Our Plymouth Forefathers."

TABLET ERECTED BY THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CONGREGATIONAL
CHURCHES IN AMERICA IN 1891.



ENTRANCE TO THE SCOTCH CHURCH IN THE BEGYN HOF IN AMSTERDAM. IN THIS BUILDING WORSHIPPED THE REMNANT OF THE LAST BROWNISTS, LONG AFTER THE PILGRIMS HAD LEFT OR DIED.

only for a season, gathered. Not a few of the friends who witnessed the Speedwell's departure had come from Amsterdam and other centres in which there were Separatists. After farewells and prayers at Delfshaven they returned to remain at Leyden with the majority. Prayer, praise, and blessing the night before in the East India Company's warehouse, at the quay and on the vessel's deck that summer day, brightened and saddened the last hours they were to spend together.

It was a people imbued with a definite purpose who left Delfshaven and crossed the sea to do or die. They carried with them the fondest and deepest yearnings of love and sympathy, from fellow Pilgrims, that the human heart is capable of inspiring.

"Truly doleful was the sight," says Governor Bradford of that sad and mournful parting "to see what sighs and sobs and prayers did sound amongst them, what tears did gush from every eye and pithy speeches pierced each other's hearts that sundry of the Dutch strangers that stood on the quay as spectators could not refrain from tears."

Winslow, who was with the company on board, says "When they separated we gave them a volley of small shot and three pieces of ordnance, and so lifting up our hands to each other and our hearts for each other to the Lord our God, we departed and found His presence with us."

In the centre of the group on the Speedwell's deck stood William Bradford, later the "star" governor of Plymouth, whose diary enables one to view the Pilgrim on so many occasions. It is however through Edward Winslow that one reads the prophetic words "More light" spoken by Pastor Robinson to his little flock and delivered most probably in the church at Leyden on that bright morning of July, 1620.

An extract from John Robinson's famous parting sermon reads as follows. The text was singularly appropriate to the hour.

"I proclaimed a fast at the river Ahava, that we might afflict ourselves before God, to seek of him a right way for us, and for our little ones, and for all our substance."

"Brethren, we are now quickly to part from one another, and whether I may ever live to see your face on earth any more, the God of heaven only knows; but whether the Lord hath appointed that or not, I charge you before God and His blessed angels that you follow

me no farther than you have seen me follow the Lord Jesus Christ. If God reveal anything to you by any other instrument of His, be as ready to receive it as you were to receive any truth by my ministry, for I am fully persuaded, *I am very confident, that the Lord has more truth yet to break forth out of His holy word.* For my part, I cannot sufficiently bewail the condition of the Reformed churches who are come to a period in religion and will go at present no farther than the instruments of their reformation."

Time and tide waiting for no man, they cast off mooring and sailed from Delfshaven under a pilot sent from London to guide the Speedwell to Southampton.



DUTCH QUAY OF THE PERIOD

The Voyage of the Mayflower



THE historic voyage to "Virginia" fairly began when the little sixty-ton Speedwell started from Delfshaven, then a village port two miles from Rotterdam on the River Maas. The pinnacle was uncomfortably crowded with "planters." Only the young and the strongest in the company left for the American wilderness, even their pastor Robinson, who had urged their going, remaining at Leyden with the majority. Prayer, praise, and blessing at the quay and on the vessel's deck that summer day brightened and saddened the last hours they were to spend together.

At Southampton the Speedwell joined the chartered Mayflower, a vessel of one hundred and eighty tons.

Pastor John Robinson's letter, surcharged with good advice and tender solicitude, in the interim, sent across channel by packet, was received and read just before sailing from England.

Here it was that Robert Cushman and Thomas Weston argued in favor of making that radical change in The Compact, namely, wiping out the weekly two days' self-labor clause. The Pilgrims balked at signing, without conferring with the Leyden church, what stood for a collar of servile servitude thus put around their necks, even though the burden and the responsibility of the change would be on their own shoulders.

Then Weston left in a rage, having refused, as treasurer of the fund, to give them the hundred pounds of the stockholders' subscription still necessary to complete suitable preparations for the journey. His parting shot was, "I'll let you stand on your own legs,"—a somewhat inappropriate comment, as independence had marked every move of the Pilgrims. Honorable men were these religious pioneers, resourceful and well stocked with self-denial and indomitable perseverance! Butter, oil, shoe-leather, sword, and match-lock—in the main sterling, life-saving essentials—were cheerfully and somewhat recklessly thrown into the breach and sold to replace that necessary hundred pounds.

One pictures thrifty Southamptonites swarming on the pier, and friskily bidding at the impromptu rummage sale, with the result that

the Sheriff's grip loosed, and the two vessels cast off their moorings from West Quay, heading for the open sea and the New World, the subject of fearsome commiseration of curious-minded quay loungers.

At Southampton John Carver spent some seven thousand pounds in purchasing supplies for the journey, while Cushman was handling the funds of the organization in London. The only one known to have embarked at Southampton to throw in his lot with the Pilgrims was John Alden. His trade being that of a cooper, and the statutes of the realm requiring that as many staves of timber as were taken out must be brought back, the presence of such a craftsman was a necessity. Romance adds its charm to the record. It is not unfair to assume that as Alden strode down the quay the fair Priscilla Mullins may have proved as strong a factor in adding another passenger as the opportunity itself.

John Alden's sentence to sit in the Southampton stocks—evidently not unpardonable in the eyes of the fair Priscilla, who is pictured as viewing the victim—expired in time for Alden to make the gangplank, possibly with a running jump—so at least romance loves to picture.

The only Huguenot who, as we have stated, embarked with the Pilgrims—though probably a score of the Leyden church company were of this or Walloon stock—had escaped in a cask from France. He emerged in the nick of time to catch the first ship of the new line opened for Atlantic ferriage.

The Mayflower reached Southampton August 5, and both vessels sailed westward on August 15. The full passenger list footed ninety on the Mayflower and thirty-three on the Speedwell. The assertion by the Captain of a leak on the latter necessitated seeking shelter in Dartmouth harbor for eight or ten days. Starting again, fully three hundred miles of their journey from Land's End into the Atlantic Ocean was accomplished. Then that enigmatical, and, as Dame Rumor strongly suggests, possibly that subsidized, Captain Reynolds, of the Speedwell, asserted very strongly that the vessel—the personal property of the Pilgrims—was unfit for the voyage.* He

*It is asserted that some of the sailors mutinied, having signed for a full year. A few were terrorized by the Sea of Darkness, supposedly inhabited by terrific monsters, and ending in the Falling-Off-Place, but having heard of Jamestown's starvation, cannibalistic days, they feared most famine in the unknown land. Evidently Captain Reynolds' decision or plot, or cowardice or scoundrelism—was based on the fact that the Mayflower only, of the two ships, was well provisioned.

VOYAGE OF THE MAYFLOWER

insisted on return number two, which, duly made, landed them at Plymouth's harbor of refuge in Devonshire. There Mayor Thomas Downes and other warm friends entertained, and at departure, wished them "God Speed."

Abandonment of the Speedwell—the Mayflower having not only the chief store of provisions on board, but the right of way, according to the London Company's monopoly—resulted in the essential curtailment of the passenger list, which included a goodly number of London Separatists. This left on the Mayflower a comparatively small number of the Leyden church members, or real Pilgrims, in addition to the mariners, yet happily among those sure to go over ocean were some of the Pilgrim leaders. Except Robinson, their pastor, it is probable that nearly all the men and women of initiative among the Leyden people were on the Mayflower. Indeed, one gathers as much from Bradford's record.

The historic one hundred and two, the true Pilgrims, being greatly in the minority, were packed in the Mayflower and stowed wherever a sleeping nook could be found on a vessel planned to carry a far less number. In our day a dozen or two cabin passengers would close the list of reservations.

Nevertheless, after all that is said about the Mayflower, she was one of the largest ships—possibly the largest—that, down to the year 1620, had ever crossed the Atlantic. Most of the previous vessels of explorers and colonists, from the deckless caravel of Columbus, were very much smaller. Some of them of less than twenty tons burden could have been hardly larger than strongly built extra-sized dories or row boats. It is not smallness of size but the crowded condition of the Mayflower that excites our attention. Every available space was utilized, and even the pinnacle, on which they depended for coasting use and "trucking" or trade with the Indians, was utilized for sleeping purposes—so much so indeed that after nine weeks of this novel use its seams opened and it had to be almost rebuilt before it could be made to float.

September 16, 1620, over one hundred and twenty years after Columbus made that trial trip, the Pilgrims sailed in the Mayflower from Plymouth Harbor, England, even as with Columbus, headed for Western shores. As the Mayflower wore ship and the foam glistened in her wake, the waters of Plymouth Harbor were darkened by lower-

ing skies dropping from Cloudland, as the craft of destiny made for the open sea.

Those who in the second decade of the seventeenth century deemed themselves learned men would not have boarded the little craft upheaving anchor in Old Plymouth harbor on that crisp, mid-September morn, heading toward known and unknown dangers across a rarely traversed, turbulent ocean. No English hall of learning had echoed to the tread of more than one of the little group which with set faces, in tense silence, saw the hills of their nativity fade in eye mist and sea mist forever. Elder Brewster had taken a partial course at Peterhouse, Cambridge—that seed plot of Puritanism—but later with his fellows entered one of the greatest educational universities in the world. It was the School of Persecution and Experience, where the main endowments are much the same in all ages and climes, when men are called of God to lead and not to follow their fellows. Graduates of note were these religious crusaders! They needed neither the reflected glory from an Alma Mater nor a record of slaughtering their fellow beings on the battlefield to secure their place in the imperishable Hall of Fame built for the race. To one group of persecuting Conformists, these semi-outcast homeseekers were detested “Brownists,” to another “the pinched fanatics of the Mayflower.” If “pinched” means spurred, and “fanatic” be a synonym of overwhelming religious fervor, this shipload of English folk, at variance with the Established Church, were not “called out of their name.”

In these days, one notes that well-meaning artists and riggers portray the Mayflower with a jib on her foremast and a square sail on the mizzen, when in reality the guiding lateen or Latin sail was always used on this mast. The jib was not known prior to 1700.

The Mayflower had three masts; the mizzen or aft, rigged with as lateen a sail as ever graced a Malay pirate, though “lateen” is only another way of spelling Latin, having been first used by the southern European peoples. Both main and foremast were square rigged, but the sheets were *never* carried aft, being held in place by riveting ropes with tri-rove braces fastened to the sail as shown in this illustration. Sheets were either belayed direct to the halyards or carried forward a trifle, but never as in present custom, belayed astern.

There moved across the ocean in the Mayflower one of the brav-

VOYAGE OF THE MAYFLOWER

est little companies that ever traversed the Atlantic, battling with wind and wave for their own safety and that of their descendants. Perhaps the cloud of witnesses often pictured by the artists in old prints proved more than witnesses.

On the Mayflower, as a digest of authorities shows, there were sixty-seven passengers from England and some thirty-five from Holland. The names of these, though traditionally English, show a notable proportion of distinctive French or Netherlandish origin—a true type of the nation that was to compass the continent even to the Pacific Ocean. That one French Huguenot who reached Southampton in a cask may have landed at Plymouth in America. Except the few derelicts that had slipped in—servants of uncertain character and valiant Captain Standish—all were Separatists. Indeed, it is rumored, and some people believed, that the Captain himself, who so frequently saved their lives from savages, was in some mysterious way, in spite of his Roman Catholic learning, safely housed within “the pale.” Until late in life, it is more than probable that he still held to the mediaeval form of the faith. He was never known to have joined the Pilgrim Church.

Various estimates have been made of the expenses of that journey across sea. The budget is generally figured at \$12,000—today equal to some \$50,000—a small sum compared with the millions or so it took to equip and transport the Winthrop colony of Puritans in 1630. Should we add the expense of the Separatists’ long delays in English ports, after they left Delfshaven, we might safely add several more thousand to the figure given.

The shipping merchant, Thomas Goffe of London, has been the reputed owner of the Mayflower, both on this trip and ten years later, when as is supposed the same ship came in Winthrop’s fleet to Salem and Boston, as well as in the interim, when she brought over another contingent of Leyden Pilgrims, whose names show that many of these were of non-English birth or descent.

The after history of the Craft of Destiny shows that in the year 1654, a ship named Mayflower was a whaler. It has been left for Professor Rendel Harris, of Cambridge University, England, to figure out that the torn-asunder ribs of the sacred vessel, with portions of the iron keel riveting, can be viewed in the barn of Old Jordans

hostelry at St. Giles in Buckinghamshire, where they support the roof. The evidence is not conclusive, though the cumulative details are interesting. One of the British ships of the hundred odd captured as a prize by Paul Jones, the Scotchman, was named the Mayflower.

Let not the modern Pilgrim object to the testimony of the latest discussed documents, whether they concern the personnel of Pilgrims or their ship. It appears the original Mayflower was broken up in May, 1625, that her owner at that time was not Thomas Goffe, but Robert Childs, Thomas Moore, and Johanna Jones, widow of Captain Christopher (possibly *not* Thomas) Jones, who commanded the famous vessel in 1620, that a Richard Gardner was a fourth owner, and that on his property in the settlement of friends at Old Jordans was built the Mayflower barn. One of the sacred spots in England, to the Quaker, is this place, for near by it lies the cemetery wherein are the remains of William Penn. Folklore, backed by traced argument, says it was the custom to break up old vessels out of service and that two canny tillers of the soil, owning a half-interest in the Mayflower, salvaged what they could of oaken ribs and planks and built them into that barn at Old Jordans.

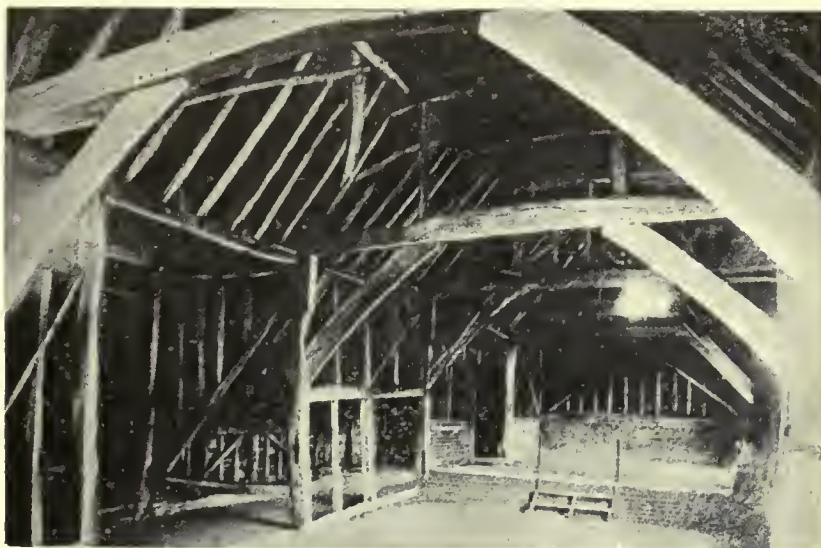
One well-documented modern instance of the frequent transformation from warship or cargo holder on the water to static guardianship of grain on land, is seen in that of the captured United States frigate, Chesapeake, by Captain Broke of the H. M. S. Shannon—the American timbers having long ago been built into a flour mill, which is still standing and in use on the south coast of England.

Going a step farther along this line, one finds that the brick foundations of the Old Jordans structure prove it was erected in the seventeenth century. A bracing beam has clearly cut the letters "Har," which might readily stand for Harwich, at one time the home port of the Mayflower. The appearance of the timbers prove they were once in a ship, and the carved cross braces on the barn door echo "Mayflower" to the enthusiastic delver in old records.

At the meeting of the American Delegation, which met in this barn in September, 1920, one enthusiastic newspaper reporter from London climbed the loft and putting his tongue to parts of the beams less rough or worn, declared that the taste was that of sea salt and strong.



DOOR ORNAMENTED WITH CARVINGS POSSIBLY FROM THE MAYFLOWER.



INVERTED ROOF OF OLD JORDANS BARN.



Courtesy of The Independent.

STABLE AT OLD JORDANS.



Drawn by the late W. H. Pike.

DEPARTURE OF THE PILGRIM FATHERS FROM THE OLD BARBICAN, PLYMOUTH.

The illustration of Old Jordans* barn, when turned upside down, resembles the current style of shipwright carpentering, with half-round log shaped bottoms, which was in vogue during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Who knows but yonder split beam is the very one drawn together by Francis Eaton with that iron jack screw (probably made at Delft, the chief hardware center in Holland), aided by willing workers doubled to their chins in the incoming icy seas. A difficult task in the slushing water of that low-studded hold, but the act prevented the drowning in mid-ocean of the progenitors of millions of present-day Pilgrim descendants!

Records show the Mayflower was about canal-boat size. Built low in the waist, the craft must have shipped waves galore when any sort of a sea was running, and forced every passenger below decks. Howland evidently disobeyed orders, as Bradford tells us he was washed overboard and miraculously thrown back by a friendly wave, aided by a trailing rope to which he clung with the grip of a drowning man. Later investigations give the Mayflower's length as ninety feet and her beam twenty—at all events, the craft was a very large ship for those cockle-shell days—in fact, in proportion, the Mayflower in 1620 may have been as great a novelty in deep water transportation as were the motives of the passengers attempting a colony.

These were trying days to the Pilgrim, in that long drawn out, tempest-flecked voyage. The cat grew snarly and thin. A lilac hush, slyly slipped aboard in a shawl, shriveled in the gale. A certain Mother-in-Israel, who insisted on providing for a coop-full of downy chicks found that within two months' time her pets had developed into scrawny awkward chickens. On pleasant days, each little family group took turns in building fires on boxes of sand that stood about the deck, on which to prepare food, and to warm over "cold victuals," for this was the usual method employed in cooking aboard ship in those days, though some vessels were provided with low, brick-paved and lined fireplaces, as the replica, in 1909, of Henry Hudson's ship of 1609 proved.

The equinoctial had given them lusty greeting in mid-Atlantic, the vessel scudding under bare poles and a beam finally buckling amid-

*A scant twenty miles from London is Old Jordans where Gardiner's ancient barn today, sprung into notoriety, holds forth a beckoning hand as a new shrine for present day Pilgrims to visit.

ships. Again it seemed to these devout people, that the Lord's power thus vividly put forth had been especially manifested to hold them firmly in their designated path, for "They committed themselves to ye will of God and resolved to proceede," proving that the question of turning back was at least discussed and may have been advised by the fainter hearted.

In mid-ocean, came that sea-born Oceanus, son of Stephen and Elizabeth Hopkins. Oceanus never proved a helpful Pilgrim, dying in infancy. The first death on the ocean was that of William Button, a servant of Samuel Fuller. Hence the number of passengers (one hundred and two) was practically unchanged, when the Mayflower cast anchor in Provincetown Harbor on this, her first voyage to the New World. A second sea burial was of a sailor rumored to be "a man of blasphemy meeting his just deserts."

The sixty days, or thereabout, required to reach the Cape-of-Many-Names, euphoniously called by the Indians "Pamet," were in the main tempestuous. There were then no scores of lighthouses, duly numbered and stretching from Florida to Eastport, Maine, kept every night hour up to the highest standard of science and efficiency by vigilant men; no army of watchers in their lonely vigils; nor a host of life savers with manly courage and finest equipment, such as those who every year and often for days in succession, show how Nature in her fiercest moods rarely conquers man. Nevertheless, having no one to help them, the Pilgrims looked to the First Cause and discerned, fully believing, the hand of the Lord; which fanned for them a saving breeze, enabling them at the last moment to "wear" ship and veer from the treacherous Cape Cod breakers which were pounding on the outer Western bar, when the Captain attempted to head for South Virginia. The Mayflower came near foundering amid these shipwrecking shoals.

Turning back, they reached safe anchorage on Saturday, November 11, 1620, O.S., in that wonderful harbor of Provincetown, where it is claimed twenty-five hundred vessels could easily outride the most violent gale. The ship anchored three quarters of a mile off Long Point, just around the bend of the Cape's outer hook. At times, five hundred sail, today, can be seen, huddling like chickens under a mother's wing, to escape the coming storm near where the Mayflower first

VOYAGE OF THE MAYFLOWER

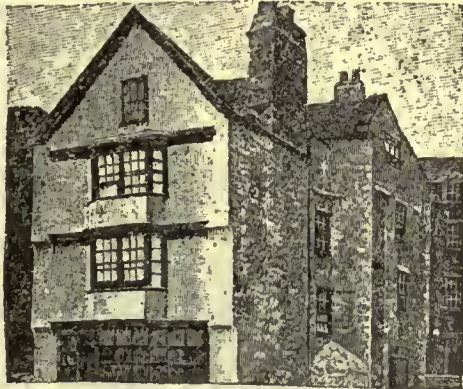
hove to. Like the Delaware breakwater, it has proved a saviour of life and property.

Silence shrouded land, sea, Pilgrim, deck, mast, spar, and furled sail, snow-blanketed and frozen stiff, presaged in months to come suffering, cold, sickness, hunger and death.

Though but two on the Mayflower are known to have come from Scrooby, most of the passengers were more or less of "pure English blood," that is, born in England, though the names both in Leyden and in New Plymouth show Flemish, Walloon, French, and Dutch ancestry among males and females. Neither Jew nor Irish nor Scotch, so far as known, were passengers in that first Mayflower, though people of Scottish, Welsh, Irish, and Netherlandish descent came in the later Pilgrim ships.

That Leyden Separatists community, with its eight nationalities represented, was a true type of the American Republic, and its spirit of harmony a true symbol of genuine Americanism. In fact, Separatists were Americans before their time.

Of the male passengers on the Mayflower including servants, thirty-two came from Norfolk, seventeen from Kent, eleven from Essex, and the remainder from the north. Their long stay in Holland had given the wanderers their public school lesson and most of their political experiences, besides mellowing their spirits: it is therefore no flattery to say that the Pilgrims were liberal and broadminded; in a sense cosmopolitan.



HOUSE IN PLYMOUTH, ENGLAND, WHERE
THE MAYFLOWER PILGRIMS WERE ENTER-
TAINED BEFORE SAILING FOR AMERICA

The Mayflower Passengers

The number of Mayflower passengers was 104.

From fifty of these descent has been proved.

From fifty-four descent has not been proved.

The fifty from whom descent has been proved are:

John¹ Alden
 Isaac¹ Allerton
 Mary¹, his wife
 Mary², his daughter
 Remember², his daughter
 John¹ Billington
 Eleanor¹, his wife
 Francis², his son
 William¹ Bradford
 William¹ Brewster
 Mary¹, his wife
 Love², his son
 Peter¹ Brown
 James¹ Chilton
 His wife, name unknown
 Mary², his daughter
 Francis¹ Cooke
 John², his son
 Edward¹ Doty
 Francis¹ Eaton
 Sarah¹, his wife
 Samuel², his son
 Edward¹ Fuller
 His wife¹, name unknown
 Samuel², his son

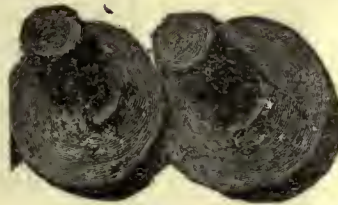
Dr. Samuel¹ Fuller
 Stephen¹ Hopkins
 Elizabeth¹, his second wife
 Constance², his daughter
 Gyles², his son
 (Both by the first wife)
 John¹ Howland
 Richard¹ More
 William¹ Mullins
 Alice¹, his wife
 Priscilla², his daughter
 Degory¹ Priest
 Thomas¹ Rogers
 Joseph², his son
 Henry¹ Samson
 George¹ Soule
 Myles¹ Standish
 John¹ Tilley
 His wife¹, name unknown
 Elizabeth², his daughter
 Richard¹ Warren
 William¹ White
 Susanna¹, his wife
 Resolved², his son
 Pereguire², another son
 Edward¹ Winslow

THE MAYFLOWER PASSENGERS

The fifty-four Mayflower passengers from whom descent has not been traced are:

Bartholomew² Allerton
 John Allerton
 John² Billington
 Dorothy Bradford
 (William's¹ first wife)
 Wrestling² Brewster
 Richard Britteridge
 William Button
 Robert Carver
 Katherine, his wife
 His maid-servant
 Richard Clarke
 Humility Cooper
 John¹ Crakston
 John², his son
 ——— Ely
 Thomas English
 Moses Fletcher
 Richard Gardiner
 John Goodman
 William Holbeck
 John Hooke
 Damaris² Hopkins
 Oceanus² Hopkins
 John Langmore
 William Latham
 Edward Leister
 Edmund Margeson

Christopher Martin
 His wife, name unknown
 Desire Minter
 Ellen More
 Jasper Moore
 ——— More
 Joseph² Mullins
 Solomon Prower
 John Rigdale
 Alice, his wife
 Rose Standish
 (Capt. Myles's first wife)
 Elias Story
 Edward Thomson
 Edward Tilley
 Ann, his wife
 Thomas Tinker .
 His wife, name unknown
 His son, name unknown
 William Trevore
 John¹ Turner
 His son, name unknown
 Another son, name unknown
 Roger Wilder
 Thomas Williams .
 Elizabeth Winslow
 (Governor Edward's first wife)
 Gilbert Winslow



PILGRIM HATS

FAC-SIMILE OF THE COMPACT SIGNED ON BOARD THE
MAYFLOWER WITH LIST OF THE SIGNERS.

*yn j name of god Amen. We whose names are Underwritten,
the loyall subjects of our dread Soueraigne Lord King James
by j graces of god, of great Britaine, France, & Ireland King
Defendor of j faith, &c*

*Having undertaken, for j glorie of god, and advancement
of j Christian^{sail}, and honour of our king & countrey, a voyage to
plant j first Colonie in j Northern parts of Virginia. God
by these presents solemnly & mutually in j presence of god, and
one of another, Covenant, & combine our selves together into a
civill body politick; for j better ordering, & preservation & fur-
therance of j ends aforesaid; and by vertue hereof to enacte,
constitute, and frame such just & equall Lawes, ordinances,
Acts, constitutions, & offices, from time to time, as shall be thought
most meete & convenient for j generall good of j Colonie: unto
which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness
whereof we have hereunder subscribed our names at Cap-
Codd j. 11. of November, in j year of j raigne of our soueraigne
Lord King James of England, France, & Ireland j^{eighteenth}
and of Scotland j^{fifth} fourth An: Dom. 1620.*

- | | | | |
|------|--------------------|------|---------------------|
| [1] | John Carver | [21] | Edward Fuller |
| [2] | William Bradford | [22] | John Turner |
| [3] | Edward Winslow | [23] | Francis Eaton |
| [4] | William Brewster | [24] | James Chilton |
| [5] | Isaac Allerton | [25] | John Crackston |
| [6] | Myles Standish | [26] | John Billington |
| [7] | John Alden | [27] | Moses Fletcher |
| [8] | Samuel Fuller | [28] | John Goodman |
| [9] | Christopher Martin | [29] | Degory Priest |
| [10] | William Mullins | [30] | Thomas Williams |
| [11] | William White | [31] | Gilbert Winslow |
| [12] | Richard Warren | [32] | Edmund Margeson |
| [13] | John Howland | [33] | Peter Brown |
| [14] | Stephen Hopkins | [34] | Richard Britteridge |
| [15] | Edward Tilley | [35] | George Soule |
| [16] | John Tilley | [36] | Richard Clarke |
| [17] | Francis Cooke | [37] | Richard Gardiner |
| [18] | Thomas Rogers | [38] | John Allerton |
| [19] | Thomas Tinker | [39] | Thomas English |
| [20] | John Rigdale | [40] | Edward Dotey |

[41] Edward Lister

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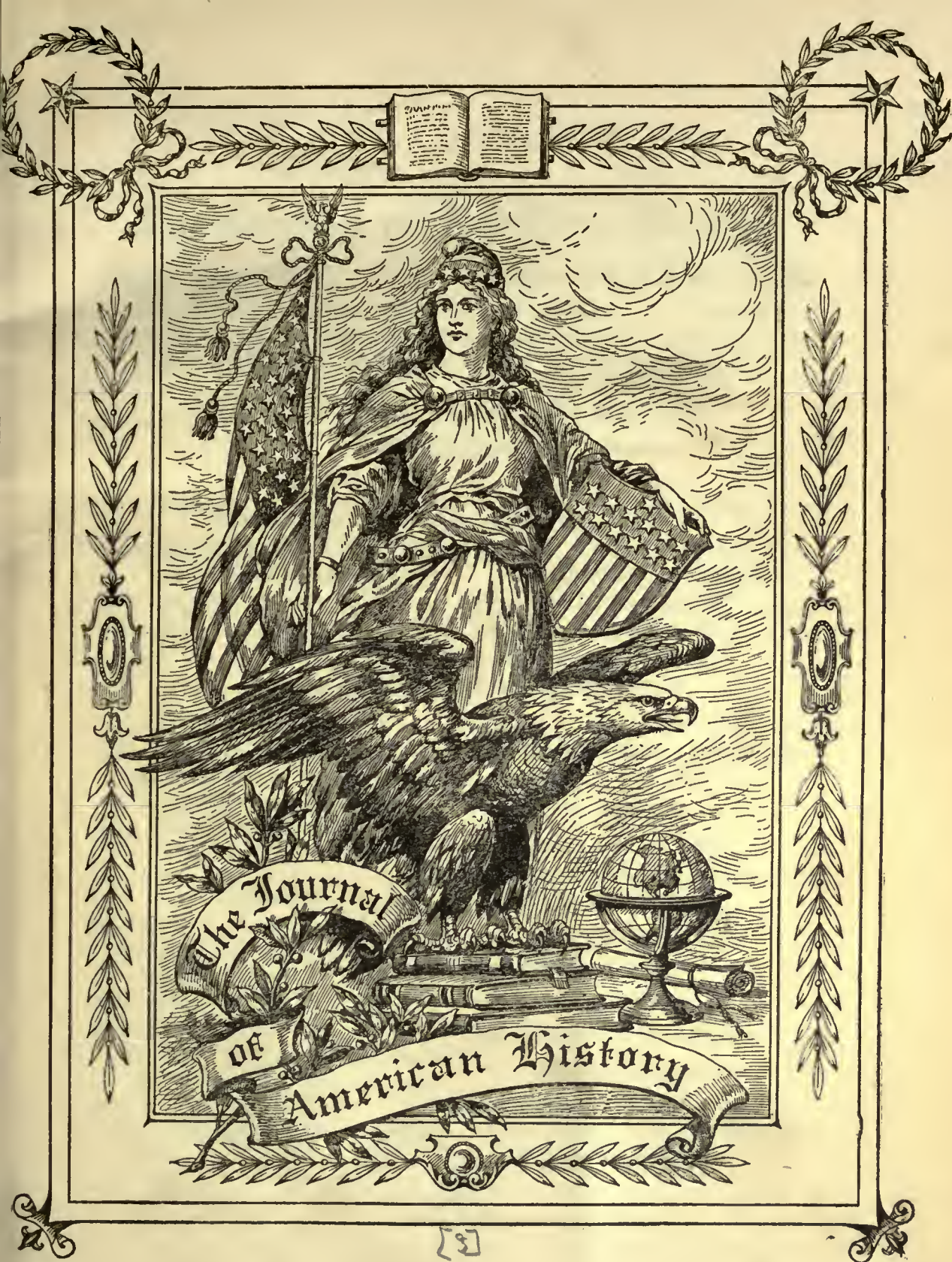
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Incorporated under the Laws of the District of Columbia at Washington, on the Twenty-Sixth Day of April, in the Year of Our Lord, Nineteen Hundred and Fifteen, "For the Purpose of Promoting Historical Knowledge and Patriotism, and the Peace of Righteousness among Nations"



THE NAME by which the Society is to be known is "The National Historical Society."

The Society is to continue in perpetuity.

The particular business and objects of the Society will be:

(a) To discover, procure, preserve, and perpetuate whatever relates to History, the History of the Western Hemisphere, the History of the United States of America and their possessions, and the History of families.

(b) To inculcate and bulwark patriotism, in no partisan, sectional, nor narrowly national sense, but in recognition of man's high obligation toward civic righteousness, believing that human governments are divinely ordained to bear the sword and exercise police duty for good against evil, and not for evil against good, and recognizing, as between peoples and peoples, that "God has made of one blood all nations of men."

(c) To provide a national and international patriotic clearing-house and historical exchange, promoting by suitable means helpful forms of communication and co-operation between all historical organizations, patriotic orders, and kindred societies, local, state, national, and international, that the usefulness of all may be increased and their benefits extended toward education and patriotism.

(d) To promote the work of preserving historic landmarks and marking historic sites.

(e) To encourage the use of historical themes and the expression of patriotism in the arts.

(f) In the furtherance of the objects and purposes of the Society, and not as a commercial business, to acquire The Journal of American History, and to publish the same as the official organ of the Society, and to publish or promote the publication of whatever else may seem advisable in furtherance of the objects of the Society.

(g) To authorize the organization of members of the Society, resident in given localities, into associated branch societies, or chapters of the parent Society, and to promote by all other suitable means the purpose, objects, and work of the Society.

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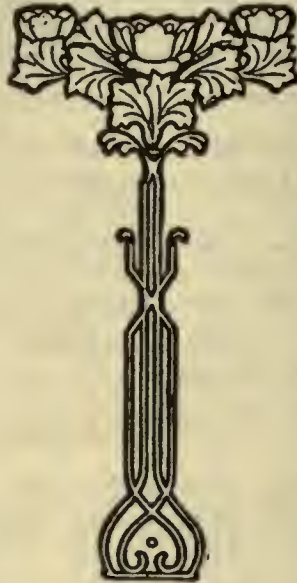
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BURDENS OF THE AGE OF GREED AND STRIFE

Sculpture of Louis Potter, Showing Mankind "Earth-bound,"
Weighed Down by Envy, Jealousy and Warfare



"THE AZTECS"

Sculpture by Louis A. Gudebrod

The Journal of American History

VOLUME XVI
NINETEEN TWENTY-TWO



NUMBER 1
FIRST QUARTER

The Incas

A Narratibe of the Early Life of the Incas of South America—Their Kindliness, Their Courtesy, and Their Industry, at a Time When Other American Tribes Were Wild Savages, Roaming the Plains of North and South America

BY

ALMA J. NOBLE



SYSTEM of civilization," says General W. Miller, "wholly uninfluenced by contact with that of Europe, born on the soil where it flourished, fashioned by the same circumstances which gave it birth, adapted to a peculiar race of men, and having an active tendency to difference that race still more than other men, must always form an interesting object of study. When that civilization has vanished from the face of the earth and we can become

acquainted with it only by tradition and the monuments it has left on the theater of its former greatness, our curiosity, excited by the difficulty of satisfying it, grows eager and keen. We derive therefrom a melancholy pleasure from the contemplation of the former splendor and present abasement of any powerful people."

Such a people were the Incas, the early inhabitants of Peru, and such interest attaches to the fragmentary bits we are able to glean from their history.

Their origin is somewhat shrouded in mystery, but the most ancient and generally accepted theory points to Marco Capac and his sister and wife, Mama Ocllo, as the progenitors of this great race. They traced their origin to no less an ancestor than the sun, and first appeared on this terrestrial orb in the region of Lake Titicaca, tradition holding that they issued from the very lake itself. Journeying about two hundred and fifty miles to the northwest, Manco Capac and his companion reached the site of the present city of Cuzco and there determined to make their home. He bore in his hand a wand of gold, the emblem of princely authority, and wherever he thrust the wand into the earth, and it was swallowed up, there the gods decreed that he should found a city.

The personality of this first Inca was such that the surrounding tribes were readily attracted toward him. He is said to have been noble in his bearing, and kind in his treatment of his subjects, teaching the men how to clear the ground and cultivate it, while his wife taught the women how to spin the wool of the alpaca and weave it into cloth for garments.

The rule of the Incas, from the very first, was absolute. Their will was law, but, strangely enough, they were not arbitrary nor tyrannical, but combined with this supreme authority earnest endeavor for the well-being of their subjects. The Inca was clothed with dignity and power, and his very body was considered sacred. The highest officials in his empire never appeared in his presence shod, but came before him with bodies bowed, bearing upon their shoulders a light bundle, in token of submission; and one of the later Incas, Atahullpa, is credited with the saying, "The very birds suspend their flight when I command them."

Their marvelous conquests, achieved by four generations of sovereigns, were undertaken,—so many of them affirm,—with one

end in view, and that the spread of civilization. The conquered tribes were readily assimilated, because of the kindliness of the Incas and the Utopian character of the government. Sociability, a prominent characteristic of this people, did much toward the building up of their language, not only by their mingling together, but also by their intercourse with other nations. Before speaking directly of their language, we may find some of their customs and habits of interest.

One writer gives the following description: "They were greatly given to hospitality, kindness, and courtesy toward each other. Not only did they labor together in great public works, they lived together in like harmony, their unbought industry and their wise frugality showing them to be a great and free people. It was a custom among them, in visiting each other's homes, to carry some useful work with them. The women and young girls took their spinning, the men and youths their fibre-twisting, strings to sort, or tackle to mend. There were among them neither professed tailors, shoemakers, nor dress-makers, for it was among their virtues that each, from the Inca down to the meanest subject, should learn to make clothes for himself, and no prince ever received the peculiar order of knighthood until he had learned to make his own sandals. The Aristocracy, Priests, Rulers, and Amantas (Philosophers) each had his own tailor and shoemaker, but none else were allowed to have their clothes made for them. And they never patched their clothes. One of the first things that made the Spaniards contemptuous in their eyes was the patched condition of their clothing. All the clothing of these early Peruvians was shaped and made in the loom, and if by accident it was rent or torn, it was again put in the loom and mended so cunningly that it was impossible to tell where the rent had been.

"They were a thorough people, and it was their thoroughness in their work that made them what they were—quiet, patient, loving, and worshipers of nature. There were no fastenings to be found on the doors of temple, palace, or private dwelling, for there were no thieves, and, furthermore, in the tropical districts, the common people were obliged to eat with their doors open, that the officials, should they chance to pass that way, might see that the house was clean and that the household meal, and affairs in general, were being conducted decently and in order."

The common language of the Incarial tribes was the Quichua

language, introduced and cultivated by the Incas, and composed of words of diverse origin, many of them assuredly Oriental. It was not reduced to writing until some years after the Spanish Conquest; hence it is that, without a written language perpetuating history, our knowledge of those early and intensely interesting years of the reign of the Incas, and of their civilization, is so unreliable and scrappy.

It is said that between the Isthmus of Panama and Cape Horn there are from two hundred and eighty to three hundred and forty languages, of which four-fifths are composed of idioms radically different. Most of the tribes conquered by the Incas spoke a different language, and the necessity of making some one language the common voice of the people, resulted in the general acceptance of the Quichua. . . . A Spanish Jesuit wrote a grammar and vocabulary, a copy of which was presented to Louis XV of France, and there is now in the British Museum a Quichua grammar, bearing date 1754.

A writer in *Harper's* says: "While the social and civil systems of Peru were wisely directed to the general physical amelioration of the people, they were not adapted to their intellectual development. The masses were taught to regard the Incas with reverence, as the sons of heaven, the sources of power, and the fountains of intelligence. As a consequence, there was nothing of mental cultivation among the Peruvians at large, and little of what may be called learning among the Incas themselves. Without a written language, they were unable to perpetuate ideas and thus accumulate knowledge. Territorial expansion being their leading object, military science received their closest attention. In Cuzco, and all other principal cities, were institutions, under the direction of aged men of royal blood, for instructing the youth in the art of war. But none were admitted to them except the aristocracy; for the masses were obliged to follow the professions of their fathers."

The only visible symbol of thought among them was the Quipus, which consisted of cords of various colors, suspended from a string in the manner of fringe, and which, by means of knots combined in various complicated ways, formed a method of expression and calculation. The word Quipu, or Quipo, means to knot or reckon, and the Quipos was used, primarily, for mathematical purposes, but came into use for recording events, past and present, populations, and, in fact, took the place of an historical record. Much of the history of the Incas has

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been traced by men who have made a special study of the Quipus, and thus have been able to read, in the various combinations of color, knot, and cord, the otherwise unwritten history of these people.

General Miller tells us that each one of these principal strings was twenty-five inches long, and that from them were often suspended shorter lengths, serving to note exceptions to general rules. Different colors represented different things. Yellow stood for gold, white for silver, red for the soldiery, etc. Colorless things were enumerated in a fixed order, according to their relative importance, as Indian corn, barley, and peas. Among warlike weapons, the lance claimed precedence, then came the bow, arrow, and club. Accounts of revenue receipts, and progress of population were made every new moon, and the annual census was made from these monthly records,—distinct records for the men above seventy, sixty years old, and so on, and for women, widows and widowers.

The greatest difficulty was experienced in representing abstract ideas, but their ingenuity contrived a scheme whereby this was partially effected, so that their men of science and their poets learned from the Quipus the principal historical events in due succession, which it was their duty to learn by rote and transmit orally from generation to generation. Thus were events not only recorded, but certain reflections also, and were it not for the carelessness and indifference of many of their first conquerors, who lost much of the Quipus, much more information would be available to the modern historian.

"The history of the Incas," says one, "was written in the splendid public works of their kingdom, in the bridges which spanned great rivers, in their highways, which leveled mighty mountains and uplifted plains, which crossed great swamps, and riveted together a realm stretching north and south more than forty geographical degrees in their matchless gardens, their aqueducts, their cultured lands of cotton and corn, their vast pastoral plains, in the beauty and splendor of the city of Cuzco, and in their transcendent treasures of silver and gold. Thus written, the Spaniards could read that history, and they have even preserved numerous records of it, in the unwilling testimony of soldiers and monks, who saw it with their own eyes, but the wonders of which they never failed to attribute to the power of the devil. What they did not and could not understand was the spirit of

the nation which they destroyed, its provident laws, its simple life, its happiness, and its view of the world."

Until the coming of the Spanish their form of salutation was as follows: "Ama Sua, ama quella, ama llula." "Thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not lie, thou shalt not be idle." In 1783, however, the Spanish strictly forbade these salutary expressions and prescribed instead, "Ave Maria purissima."

One of the greatest and most beloved of the Incas was the last and twelfth, Huayna Khapac, a man far in advance of his times, who had a premonition of the coming of the Spaniards, and, just before his death gathered his people about him, as did Moses the children of Israel, and, in accord with the royal custom of the Incas, gave them a parting address, in the course of which he said: "For many years I have known by revelation from our Father, that after the reign of twelve of his sons, as Incas, there shall come a people, new and unknown in these parts, who shall conquer this kingdom and many other kingdoms and subject them to their rule. I suspect that these are they of whom we have heard, sailing on our seas. They will be a valiant people and much better than ourselves. Now I know that in me is completed the number of the Incas, and I tell you that in a few years after I have gone, these people will come and accomplish all that our Father has said. They will conquer our kingdom and become our kings. I command you, therefore, that you obey them in all things, as being superior to yourselves. Their laws will be better than our laws, and their arms more powerful than our arms. And now be at peace. I go to rest with my Father, the Sun, who calls me to himself."

After saying these words he died, after a reign of fifty years. One historian says: "I remember hearing an old Inca speak of these things in the presence of my Father, who asked him of the entrance of the Spaniards, and how they had conquered the land so easily, and the Inca turned upon him in vexation as if his people had been called cowards, and were only receiving the reward of their pusillanimity by being subjected to Spain, and after repeating the last words of Huayna Khapac, he said: 'Those words were our conquerors. They subjected us and took from us our kingdom, and not the arms of the Spaniards.'"

Adams' estimate of the Incas and their civilization is so discriminating that we quote it in closing. "They were in character and gov-

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ernment inferior to the Mexicans; their civilization was of a primitive and unprogressive type. As they were, under their first Inca, so they were under their twelfth, and, had the empire survived, so they would have been under their twenty-fourth. They might multiply and extend, but their social system forbade that they should rise. In Peru as elsewhere a paternal despotism meant popular enervation. The moral energies were sapped and undermined by that kind of lifeless domesticity which found neither stimulus for emulation nor necessity for exertion. Satisfied with the mode of living they had inherited, and a mode of living supposed to be approved by their deity, they never dreamed of nor yearned after any higher order of things. Moreover, they were bred in so absolute a conviction of the surpassing superiority of the Incas, that they were averse to all kinds of speculation. To criticise was irreverent, to doubt, profane. The reasoning faculties were thus suffered to rust unused, while the comparative social comfort and actual tranquility which the Peruvians enjoyed satisfied them so completely that they never desired anything better. We repeat, then, that though in the amenity and the softer aspects of life they were in all essential respects superior to the Mexicans, they were, in the higher motives and purposes of national existence, inferior."



HOP'S MAP
An Early Conception of the New World.

The Old North Church, Boston

BY

CHARLES NEVERS HOLMES



LIKE sole survivor from some other age,
Its weathered walls by stately steeple crowned,
Like picture taken from historic page,
The North Church stands, a landmark far re-
nowned.

Like aged shepherd of a Christian fold,
Or minister whose task is not yet o'er,
It welcomes in this parish as of old
The worshipers who seek its ancient door.

Where Newman hung the lanterns of Revere,
And Cutler strove to save men's souls from ill—
How changed this spot!—except the old church here
And near at hand the graves upon the Hill.

Still stands this church, still sounds its Christmas chimes,
Links that unite the past with present times.

*Musicians! bring thy best truly play
To turn grief to joy,
Let them cheer the living brave to day,
They may wail the dead to morrow,
Fitz-Greene Haller*



AMERICAN TRIUMPH

This Statue Surmounts the Colossal Monument to the American Navy at San Francisco
Sculpture by Robert Aitken



WOMAN'S COURAGE IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION
Nancy Hart Defending Her Home and Children Against the Invasion of British Soldiers



MISS NELLIE KRAMER, UNVEILING
THE CANNON AT THE GRAVE OF HER
GREAT-GREAT-GRANDMOTHER, "MOLLY
PITCHER"



PAINTING OF BETTY WASHINGTON
ABOUT 1750, SAID TO BE BY COPELEY



WOMAN'S HEROISM ON THE FIELD OF BATTLE

In the War for American Independence, Mary Ludwig Hays, Commonly Known as "Molly Pitcher," From the Services by Her at Monmouth, in Carrying Water to the Soldiers, Took Her Husband's Place at the Gun When He Was Severely Wounded. For Her Brave Conduct, Washington Personally Com-
plimented Her

Heroines of the Revolution

Mary Ludwig Hays, the Heroine of "Monmouth," and Margaret Cochran Corbin, the Heroine of Fort Washington

BY

RANDOLPH KEIM

There exists a conflict of identity as to two heroines of the war for American Independence for which there can be no excuse except the carelessness of persons assuming to write history.

The case in point is the mistaken personalities of Mary Ludwig Hays, the heroine of "Monmouth," a Pennsylvania German, and Margaret Cochran Corbin of Pennsylvania, of Scotch Irish stock and Virginia-Pennsylvania parentage.

A local authority in the *Telegraph* of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, March 5th, 1907, calls attention to this mix-up.

By way of comment the writer says:

Historian after historian in referring to the War for American Independence, makes mention of the valor of the patriots of the Revolution, and of the heroism of the one particular woman who is designated as "Moll Pitcher" from the services performed by her at Monmouth and Fort Washington in carrying water to the soldiers at the guns. One writer or another centres her brilliant actions around the former engagement, while others in narrating the events which led up to the surrender of Fort Washington, speak of "Moll Pitcher" as gallantly identifying herself with that memorable event, by firing the last gun before its surrender. Investigation and research disclose the fact, that these women were not identical—and although belonging to or accompanying the same artillery force of the Continental Army, each earned the laurels which writers have heretofore failed to bestow on the right women. One of our most noted historians of the Revolution referring to "Captain Molly" in his account of the action at Monmouth states that "she was a sturdy, young camp follower, only twenty years of age, and in devotion to her husband, she illustrated the character of her country—women of the "Emerald Isle." The

sketches which follow of these heroines of Monmouth and Fort Washington, give the facts of the courage and skill of two American women—one of German, the other of Scotch-Irish lineage—records of duty which in any other country would be perpetuated in marble or bronze. Much fiction has been furnished relating to these events, but the narrative herein set forth will tend not only to perpetuate the incidents but preserve the names of two of the most heroic womanly figures of the Revolution.

MOLLY HAYS THE HEROINE OF MONMOUTH.

Mary Ludwig, the daughter of John George Ludwig, was born in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, October 13, 1744. Her parents were emigrants from the Palatinate, Germany. Mary's early years were spent in the family of General William Irvine, then residing at Carlisle. Here she became acquainted with John Hays, to whom she was married July 24, 1769. When the struggle for independence began, John Hays enlisted in Captain Francis Proctor's independent artillery company. With almost every command a certain number of married women were allowed, who did the washing, mending, and frequently the cooking for the soldiers. Among these was the wife of John Hays, who gladly availed herself of the privilege of sharing the privations and dangers of war with her husband. Two years had passed, of march, bivouac and battle, and the devoted wife followed the fortunes of her partner in life.

It was preserved for her, however, to immortalize her name by one heroic deed. It was in the action at Monmouth that her conduct became conspicuous. Sergeant Hays, who had charge of one of the guns, was severely wounded, and being carried away, the wife took his place in the forefront, and when the conflict was over assisted in carrying water to the disabled. This won for her the sobriquet of "Moll Pitcher." There may have been other "Moll Pitchers," but this heroine of Monmouth was none the less than Molly Hays. For her brave conduct, upon coming to the attention of the commander-in-chief, General Washington personally complimented her, as she departed for her home in Pennsylvania with her wounded soldier, to show his appreciation of her virtues and her valuable services to her

HEROINES OF THE REVOLUTION

country. Hays never returned to the army, and died a few years after the close of the war from the effects of his wounds. Owing to the fact that other women were credited with this heroic act at Monmouth the State of Pennsylvania, as well as the Federal Government in recognition of her distinguished services as herein set forth, granted her annuities for life.

Mrs. Hays subsequently married George McCauley, and was afterwards familiarly known as Molly McCauley. She was a woman highly respected by the citizens of Carlisle, and at her death, January 22, 1832, was buried with the honors of war. In 1876 the patriotic people of Cumberland County appropriately marked her grave, and the day is coming when the name of Molly McCauley will be honored and revered by patriots throughout the land. Inured to hardships, privations and sufferings in her life, she was a true matron of the Revolutionary era. Poor, it is true, but conspicuous in her loneliness and poverty.

MARGARET CORBIN THE HEROINE OF FORT WASHINGTON.

Margaret Cochran, daughter of Robert Cochran, was born in what is now Franklin County, Pennsylvania, November 12, 1752. During the Indian maraud of 1756, her father was killed by the Indians and her mother taken prisoner. In November, 1758, the latter was seen one hundred miles westward of the Ohio. It is probable that Margaret and her brother, John, were away from home at the time. In 1765 nothing had been heard from the mother, and the children were yet under the guardianship of their maternal uncle. About the year 1772 Margaret married John Corbin. Of him or his antecedents, little is known save that he was a Virginian by birth.

At the commencement of the War of the Revolution, John Corbin enlisted as a matross in Captain Francis Proctor's First Company of the Pennsylvania Artillery, and his wife accompanied her soldier to the wars. Childless, she felt that the patriot cause demanded this self-sacrificing duty on her part, and as the sequel shows, she proved how brave a woman could become. At the attack upon Fort Washington, a shot from the enemy killed her husband. There being no one to fill his place the officer in command directed the piece to be

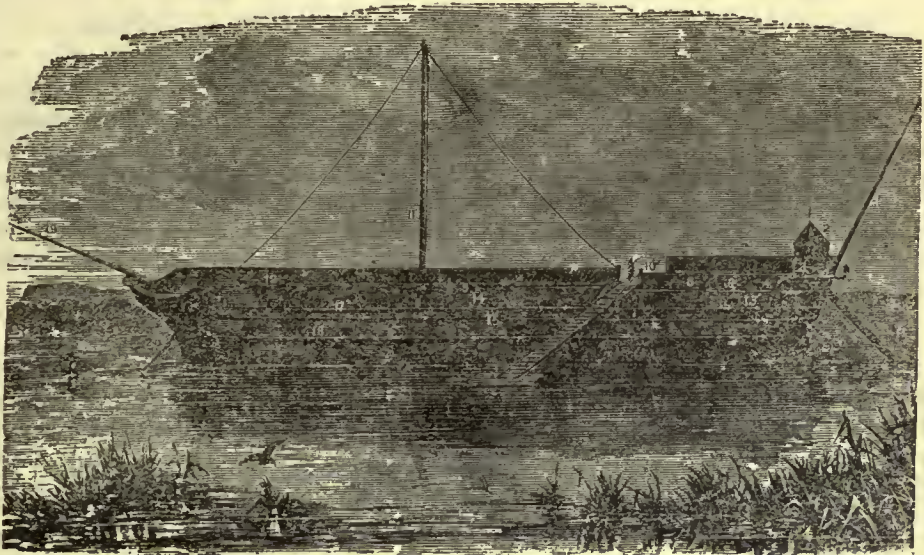
withdrawn. Hearing this order, Margaret Corbin unhesitatingly took her husband's place, and heroically performed his duties with courage until (supposedly) fatally wounded. Her services were appreciated by the officers of the army. The State of Pennsylvania made prompt provision for her, but it was not until the Supreme Executive Council called the attention of Congress to her case that that body offered her any relief.

On the 29th day of June, 1779, the Council ordered: "That the case of Margaret Corbin, who was wounded and utterly disabled at Fort Washington, while she heroically filled the post of her husband, who was killed by her side serving a piece of artillery, be recommended to a further consideration of the Board of War, this Council being of opinion that notwithstanding the rations which have been allowed her, she is not provided for as her helpless situation really requires." A few days afterward, in July, we have the first acknowledgement of her services by Congress, which unanimously resolved: "That Margaret Corbin, wounded and disabled at the battle of Fort Washington while she heroically filled the post of her husband, who was killed by her side serving a piece of artillery, do receive during her natural life, or continuance of said disability, one-half the monthly pay drawn by a soldier in the service of these States; and that she now receive, out of the public stores, one suit of clothes or value thereof in money."

With this documentary evidence, it is as a strange thing that Mr. Lossing, in his "Field Book of the Revolution," as well as other historians of greater or lesser note, should attempt to give the credit of these heroic achievements to some one else. On the rolls of the Invalid Regiment in Pennsylvania, commanded by Colonel Lewis Nicola, as it was discharged in April, 1783, is found the name of Margaret Corbin. She was properly pensioned by her native State at the close of the war and until her death, caused by her wounds received in battle. She resided in Westmoreland County, beloved, honored and respected by every one. She died January 16, 1800, and lies buried in Congruity graveyard. For her distinguished bravery in these days when patriotism has to be taught, it would be well that the women of America, so proud of their Revolutionary ancestry, should honor her devotion and loyalty to country and liberty, by perpetuating her virtues in bronze or marble. Mr. De Lancey in writing of the capitula-

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tion of Fort Washington, enthusiastically wrote: "The deed of Augustina of Arragon, the Maid of Zaragoza, was not nobler, truer, braver than that of Margaret Corbin, of Pennsylvania.



OLD "JERSEY" PRISON SHIP, WALLABOUT BAY, BROOKLYN, WHERE THE BRITISH HUDDLED THE PATRIOT PRISONERS DURING THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

From Rhode Island to Ohio in 1815

Journal of a Trip Through New York, Philadelphia, Harrisburg, and
Pittsburg to the Pioneer Towns of the State of Ohio

BY

JOHN COTTON, M. D.

Dr. John Cotton, the Author of This Journal, Was a Lineal Descendant of the Reverend John Cotton, the Eminent Boston Minister. He Was Born at Plymouth, Massachusetts, September 9, 1792. After Having Graduated at Harvard University, and Taken the Degrees of A. M. and M. D., He Decided to Emigrate to the New State of Ohio. This Journal Was Kept for the Benefit of His Sister, Mrs. Isaac L. Hedge. It Was Carefully Preserved by Her and Finally Given Intact to His Youngest Son, Dr. D. B. Cotton, of Portsmouth, Ohio.

Journal of John Cotton



ON Sabbath morn, Sept. 17th, 1815, we sailed from Providence in a New York packet. In the afternoon we reached Newport, where we spent the night. At Newport we were much gratified to find Capt. Pierce, Doctor Kitteridge's father-in-law. At 10 a. m., Monday, we set sail from Newport with a fair wind and rough sea, and arrived at New York the next morning. We were quite sick during the whole passage, and almost came to the resolution that we would traverse the seas no more. We spent two days at New York. Although the largest city in the United States, to the eye of a stranger its appearance is rather ordinary. The streets are narrow and crooked and dirty, with the exception of Broadway, which is spacious and that beyond any I have ever seen. It is the custom here to throw all the filth gendered in the private houses in the streets and the swine are set at liberty to devour it. This practice, it is thought, tends to healthfulness; it certainly does not tend much to neatness.

Captain Pierce procured us boarding, which at present is no easy matter. The city is full of people, even to overflowing; we are informed no houses and scarcely rooms can be procured in the city. In

FROM RHODE ISLAND TO OHIO

the evening we walked around the city with Captain Pierce. It is an island, being surrounded by the Hudson and East rivers; there are wharves nearly around it, but the principal dock lies in East river. The City Hall is a most elegant and superb edifice, constructed entirely of white marble. It is said there is nothing like it in the United States.

Wednesday, 20th, I called on Mrs. Bulkley, a lady of respectability, whom we saw at Plymouth. She directly called on Susan and invited us to tea. The ladies of New York, if we may venture an opinion on that subject, are more ordinary than those of Boston, and dress with less taste.

On Thursday, 10 a. m., we set out from New York in a steamboat, in which we proceeded eighteen miles to Elizabethtown. On our way we passed close to Newark, where Doctor Griffin now resides. It appeared to be a very pleasant village.

At Elizabethtown we chartered four stages and that night reached Princeton, the handsomest town in New Jersey, fifty miles from New York. This place is noted as the former residence of Presidents Edwards, Davies, Finley, and others, whom you know as eminent Christians. We set out from Princeton at 4 a. m. The country through which we passed is flat and low and in many places barren, though in many parts of New Jersey the soil is fertile and well cultivated.

At Trenton, about twenty miles from Princeton, we again took the steamboat and at 11 a. m. reached Philadelphia. We sailed down the Delaware about twenty miles. It is a very pleasant river, lined with county seats and villages; but the unpleasantness of the weather prevented our seeing them and confined us to the cabin. The steamboat is a curious and truly useful invention, of a nature too much complicated for me to describe, or even understand. They vary in length from 60 to 200 feet; ours was about 90 feet, having two spacious cabins, neatly furnished, and a bar at one end, where liquors are sold. We proceeded at least six miles an hour against tide by the power of steam.

At Philadelphia we found Doctor Kithredge and family, who appeared much rejoiced to see us. We took lodgings with them in a private house, at \$5.00 per week. Philadelphia is an elegant and well

constructed city, vastly superior in external appearance to any we have seen. Though an entire stranger, I can find any street and even house without inquiring. The streets are very spacious and clean and the sidewalks in every street wide enough for five or six persons to walk abreast, handsomely paved with brick. The streets all cross at right angles and are perfectly straight. The ladies here seem much handsomer and possessed of a taste superior to those of New York. On Sunday we attended the First Presbyterian meeting, and were much struck with the solemnity and propriety of the performances. It was communion day and all the communicants seated themselves along the broad aisle in forms prepared for that purpose. We joined in the memorial. Susan was delighted with the Presbyterian mode, as well as with the minister, whose manner was uncommonly interesting and affectionate. Though but a middle-aged man, he seemed on the border of the grave and spoke as though it was his last opportunity. You will perhaps be surprised when I tell you that there is only one steeple in this city and only one bell rung on the Sabbath.

While at Philadelphia we visited that great collection of natural curiosities, Peale's Museum. Here we saw almost every species of beings that live and breathe, besides some that are now extinct. The most curious and wonderful by far is the Mammoth, that prodigy of Nature. To give effect to the impression so huge a skeleton must of itself produce, it is contrasted with that of a diminutive mouse, which appeared almost less than nothing in the comparison.

As we found ourselves unable to procure seats in the stage for our whole number, until Thursday, we were under the necessity of continuing in the city a week. Here I called on Mr. A. Gilman, a wealthy and respectable merchant of this city, who has lately removed from Marietta and to whom I had a letter of introduction from Plymouth. He was very polite and with Mrs. Gilman called on us at our lodgings. Dexter Stone also paid us much attention. He introduced us to Mr. Augustus Stone, of Marietta, who was in this city with his wife, on their way to Massachusetts, where they purpose to make a visit. They came over the mountains on horseback. In company with Dexter Stone we walked to the new water-works whence the city is supplied with water. It is situated about three miles from the city on the Schuylkill and is truly a curious invention. The water of the river is raised to the perpendicular height of 100 feet by means of a pump



VIEW OF THE PORT OF PHILADELPHIA FROM THE SITE OF THE TREATY TREE, KENSINGTON
IN 1800 (B'RGH VIEW.)



FIRST SETTLERS' FORT WEST OF THE ALLEGHANIES

Monument Erected at Sycamore Shoals, Overlooking the Watauga Valley, in Tennessee, Where Fort Watauga Was Established 1770, and the Watauga American Patriots Gathered in 1780, on Their Way to King's Mountain, Where They Faced the Foe and Won a Great Victory

worked by steam. The fountain thus formed covers an acre on the top of a hill high enough to convey the water to the tops of the houses. From this fountain the water is conveyed to the city in pipes. The market house is, likewise, a curiosity; it is upwards of half a mile in length in the middle of High or Market street. On the whole we were much pleased with Philadelphia, far more than New York, although somewhat inferior to it in a commercial view.

On Thursday, September 20th, we commenced our much delayed journey in company with three others, making ten in the whole. The stages here have four seats and are capable of carrying fifteen, besides the driver. Our road lay through a pleasant and well settled country, occupied principally by Germans. We found no towns as you would expect in the vicinity of so great a city, but excellent farms with stone houses and extraordinary barns. One of them, indeed, we mistook for a meeting house, though nothing more than a barn; it was three stories high and ornamented with green blinds; in short it was a very neat building.

About dusk we passed through Lancaster, the largest inland town in the United States; it is said to contain about 9,000 inhabitants and really makes a fine appearance. We found the roads rough from their hasty mode of improving them, which is merely to fill them with small stones without at all covering them with earth. The first day we proceeded eighty miles and rode until 11 o'clock at night. At 2 a. m. we were again called up to resume our journey. We breakfasted at Harrisburg on the Susquehanna. It is a large and handsome town, the residence of the Governor and the seat of government for the State of Pennsylvania. After breakfast we crossed the Susquehanna in a ferry boat, when through the carelessness of the driver, one of our horses stepped off the boat into the river. He was gotten out again without much difficulty, but our ladies were much frightened. At length, after a two mile sail we arrived safely on the other side. A bridge is now being erected over the river and will, probably, be completed in two or three years. At night we reached Chambersburgh, sixty-seven miles. The mountains now appeared in full prospect. Hitherto our course lay through a plain fertile country, well settled by wealthy Germans with now and then a thriving town. Our ladies now seemed discouraged. They were much fatigued and the mountains appeared in frightful prospect. We were doubtful about

proceeding, but, at length, came to the conclusion to proceed without stopping. Here we had a comfortable night's rest and arose at 3 a. m. much refreshed and prepared to resume our journey. After traveling fifteen miles we arrived at the foot of the first mountain, called Cove or North Mountain. Here we all got out, except Captain Pierce and wife, who rode entirely over it. It is seven miles over and the road as rough as can be conceived, being full of rocks and stones. From the summit we had a view of the cove on the other side, where is situated a pleasant village called O'Connet'stown. Here we had a good breakfast and felt quite proud of having passed the first mountain with so little difficulty. The ladies seemed much encouraged at finding the road no more arduous; indeed it was much less steep than we had expected, as it wound through the lowest places of the mountain. The roads were something better for nine miles until we reached Sideling Hills, so called from the circumstance of their being so sideling.

Here we had the misfortune of finding a bad driver who hurled us over the rocks and holes with great precipitancy; however, we arrived safely at the Juniata river where we spent the night. About a week before the same fellow drove his carriage under trees that tore off the top and bruised a whole stage load, consisting of nine persons, very severely.

We crossed the Juniata on foot on a chain bridge, while the stage passed fifty feet beneath through the water. While crossing the bridge we saw a wagon upset in the road below.

It is astonishing to notice the prodigious number of wagons constantly traveling this road, many of them family carriages proceeding to the westward, loaded with women and little children, but most of them are Pittsburgh wagons loaded with goods from Philadelphia and Baltimore. These heavy wagons cut up the roads and render them almost impassable to covered carriages.

At the Juniata we spent Saturday night, having traveled forty miles that day and twenty-five over the mountains. We found a good table and beds, and arose on Sunday morning refreshed. Here Susan had something of the asthma but soon got over it.

On the Sabbath we traveled only fifteen miles, which occupied about five hours. The remainder of the day we spent at Bedford, a pleasant and considerable town in the bosom of the mountains. As we arrived about noon we expected to attend meeting in the after-

noon, but were disappointed as there was no preaching that day. At Bedford is a mineral spring, which is much resorted to by invalids and considered a beautiful situation. Our accommodations were very good, equal perhaps to any in New England.

At 3 a. m. Monday we were again aroused from our pillows. It was quite dark and our ladies felt much opposed to setting out before day. However, we soon started and found a tolerable road for fourteen miles to our breakfasting house. After breakfast we crossed the Alleghany, the highest of the mountains that separate the east from the west. The summit of this ridge divides the waters which empty into the Atlantic from those that fall into the Ohio and Mississippi. Here we were agreeably disappointed as we found the passage over it less difficult than over Cove Mountain. We now began to descend towards the western world. Many fine prospects presented themselves on every side. Our horizon became very extensive, so that we seemed in a world of mountains. Even here we found tolerable farms and pretty fertile soil. As we descended we found the country to improve. Soon we discovered the sugar tree, which in this country is considered the sign of fertility. It is large and regular in its shape and its foliage had now become of a lively yellow. At the edge of evening we arrived at Somerset, a pleasant town, situated like Bedford, in the bosom of the mountains. Here we found the *Cross Land-Lord*, of whom we had previously heard. We were so fortunate as to escape without any altercation. Not so with our companions, Captain Pierce and wife, not being so particular in securing a chamber, were put off with a very uncomfortable one. The Captain resented the imposition, but to no purpose. At 4 a. m. we set out from Somerset and proceeded seventeen miles before breakfast, which we obtained about noon. In our course, this morning, we passed Laurel Hill, which we had long before anticipated as the roughest and most dangerous part of our journey. What added much to our apprehension was the character we had heard of the driver, who was represented as surly and rash in the extreme.

We had nearly reached the foot of the hill with a very good as well as pleasant one and were rejoicing in the prospect of having escaped his hands. Our joy proved of short duration, for at the foot of the hill the stage stopped and the old man appeared. His countenance was indeed hard and morose. Our driver took his seat, when the gen-

lemen got out and walked by the stage, while Captain Pierce attempted by flattery and every other method to soothe and pacify him. The old man soon became very pleasant and sociable and continued so to the end of his route; indeed he proved one of the most agreeable and skillful of our drivers, so that we really parted from him with regret.

Laurel Hill we found exceedingly bad; not, indeed, very steep, but rough and sideling. A little while ago the stage was here overset and a man's thigh broken; he recovered and is now well, I believe. The stage is often overset on this hill, which renders it a place much dreaded by stage passengers. The weather is usually rainy on Laurel Hill; as we approached, it became cloudy and lowering, so that we expected rain. The clouds, however, soon dispersed and the weather became pleasant. Laurel Hill is nine miles in length. In the afternoon we passed Chestnut Ridge, the last of the mountains, and at night reached Greensburgh, another considerable town, thirty-six miles from Somerset. Thus we crossed the Alleghany mountains without any accident or difficulty. Our company was somewhat fatigued, but not nearly so much as we had feared. The roads we found much less steep, but considerably rougher than we expected.

The whole course was marked with log houses and tolerable farms. One peculiarity we noticed everywhere since we left Philadelphia was that their ovens are all out of doors, and this, I believe without exception. At Philadelphia, that great city, private families are destitute of ovens of any kind; all their baking is done by professional bakers.

During our journey over the mountains we had seen no birds, excepting only two sparrows and a woodpecker, but to-day several made their appearance and betokened our approach to a better country.

The farms are all enclosed with Virginia fences, although the roads are full of stones well adapted to the making of stone walls. Our ladies were much pleased with the precaution taken on descending the mountains, to retard the motion of the carriage by locking the wheels, which we found indeed a great safeguard.

On Wednesday at 4 a. m. we set out from Greensburgh, at 2 p. m. the seventh day after leaving Philadelphia. Our drivers we found good, with the exception of one only, and most of them excellent. Indeed, without this I know not how we could have passed the mountains. Our horses, too, were excellent, and shifted every ten or fif-

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teen miles, so that we had twenty-eight teams in all, or 112 horses. In a private carriage we could hardly have come without much risk and great difficulty. We found a family here who came from Boston a few weeks since and were fourteen days in passing the mountains. What seemed a little remarkable, one of the ladies was confined in child-bed the very night after their arrival.

The roads are considered at present in their best state. We have also to be thankful that we have met with fair weather during every day of our journey. The taverns, likewise, were good, almost without exception, both in regard to tables and beds. Better fare we have rarely found anywhere. We have proceeded, also, over most part of the way quite leisurely and been allowed sufficient time for sleep.

Pittsburgh is finely situated at the confluence of the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers, where they form the majestic Ohio. The Alleghany is a very clear stream, proceeding from the north; but the Monongahela, which runs from the south, is extremely muddy. The line of their union is as straight and accurately defined as if drawn with a pencil. The town is nearly surrounded by hills, which much confine its situation. Opposite the town, beyond the Monongahela, is a lofty hill, called Coal Hill, several miles in length and consisting beneath the surface of one enormous body of coal by which the town and country are supplied at a very cheap rate. Nothing but coal is used for fuel in Pittsburgh, whether in manufactories or private houses, which renders the air extremely suffocating and unpleasant; a thick cloud overhanging the town and descends in fine dust, which blackens every object. Even I, now, can scarcely be called white at Pittsburgh. The inside of the houses is completely besprinkled with dust. So remarkably is this the case that the people humorously call themselves blacksmiths, from the highest to the lowest grade. In addition to the coal mine there is great plenty of iron ore in the neighborhood. The natural advantages of Pittsburgh as a manufacturing town are very great, superior, perhaps, to those of any town on the continent. At present there is an immense number of manufactories emitting their sooty vapor in every direction. We were much amused with the glass house. The glass ware is rather higher than in New England; indeed, everything made with hands is extravagantly dear in this country. They showed us glass pitchers rated at fifty dollars a pair. They cut glass in very superior styles. The houses of

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Pittsburgh are generally brick and well built. The streets are mostly laid out like those of Philadelphia, in regular squares, and the inhabitants all busy and prosperous, finding abundant market for their labor. Every person who desires it, whether man, woman or child, it is said, is engaged and well engaged. Everything prospers. The thickness of the atmosphere affected Susan very severely with the asthma. The next day Susan took an emetic and was somewhat relieved. It was quite rainy while we were at Pittsburgh.

On Saturday, October 9th, we set out from Pittsburgh in a covered skiff which we bought for the purpose, and with two hired men proceeded down the Ohio. The river we found quite low and the shores lined with boats, especially family boats, destined to Cincinnati and the country adjacent. We had not proceeded far before we struck upon a bad ripple where the current shot forward with great velocity. All the men got out and endeavored to push off the boat. The ladies were much terrified, although there was not the least danger, the water being scarcely ankle deep. At length we passed the ripple and pretty soon ascertained that our boatman knew nothing of the river. At night we called at a miserable town, called Middletown, only twelve miles from Pittsburgh. We found no taverns, but got lodgings for all of us at two log houses and slept pretty comfortable, with one sheet apiece. The next morning we found the river had risen several feet so as to cover all the shoals and ripples. We set out and proceeded to Beavertown, about eighteen miles. We should have been pleased to have stopped during the Sabbath, but it seemed not advisable and our company felt anxious to proceed, so we spent five hours on the water that day. At Middletown, where we lodged, we saw a girl of thirteen years whose parents had their boat staved opposite the town and with great difficulty reached the shore. The woman was entirely exhausted and immediately confined with twins. One of them, together with the mother, died on the spot; the other was the girl we saw. The father was afterward married in Kentucky and ever after refused to acknowledge her.

Monday at 7 a. m. we set out from Beavertown and shaped our course down the river. Beavertown is so-called from its situation at the mouth of Beaver Creek. Up this creek lies the town of Harmony, which was laid out and settled by a peculiar race of men who left Wurtemberg in Germany. Under the direction and guardianship of

Mr. Rapp, their respected minister, they crossed the Atlantic and settled in the howling wilderness. They were about 200 in number and very poor, so that at first they suffered severely. Their constitution was formed on the platform of the primitive christians; all things were common. They became renowned for industry and sobriety as well as unanimity, were joined by several more from Europe and became prosperous and wealthy. In this enviable situation they remained until a few months ago, when, to the surprise of every one, they sold their town and all common property for \$120,000 to one individual and removed several hundred miles into the Indiana territory, again to clear the howling wilderness, as it were, and commence their lives anew.

On Monday we sailed forty miles, stopping only once, a few minutes to warm ourselves. At night we reached Steubenville, a flourishing town on the Ohio side of the river.

To-day we crossed the State line that divides Pennsylvania from Ohio and Virginia. Hitherto we had had Pennsylvania on both sides of the river, but now we had Ohio on the right and Virginia on the left hand.

We found some difficulty in landing at Steubenville, owing to the darkness of the evening. The men left the boat and walked to the town in quest of a tavern. The women, in the meantime, became much alarmed at their absence, and Mrs. Pierce jumped into the water. We found our landlord pretty topping; we asked what supper he could get us in a few minutes; he replied, "*Salt fish and bread and butter.*" We then asked him if he had any mutton, that we could have a little mutton chop. "No, I have got no mutton." "Have you any veal, that you can give us a little cutlet?" "No, I have no veal." "Have you any beef?" "No beef of any kind." "What have you, then?" "*Why, salt fish and bread and butter.*" However, he got us a very good supper and agreeably disappointed us.

Steubenville is only seventeen years' growth and at present contains over 150 houses, some of which are handsome brick buildings. The Presbyterians have a neat brick meeting-house. There is also a spacious court-house, a stone jail and a bank, with a capital of \$200,000.

Tuesday at 8 a. m., we resumed our journey. The wind blew fresh ahead, so as to considerably ruffle the river. We left the boat

and wandered along the shore, while the boatmen pushed along the boat. On the bank we found plenty of nuts, particularly the black walnut, which we found delicious. Susan ate very largely of the walnuts without experiencing any bad effects. We soon resumed our seats in the boat, when Mrs. Pierce fell into an hysterical fit through fear of the waves. We now were obliged to quit our boat and proceed to the first cabin. As there was a prospect that the wind would soon abate, Susan, Eliza Pierce and myself agreed to stroll along the bank until overtaken by the boat. We had not proceeded far before we learned that the boat had passed us, with Mrs. Pierce in it. We had now to walk to the town where the party intended to lodge, which was at the distance of five miles. We arrived at length much fatigued, and found our company much concerned at our absence.

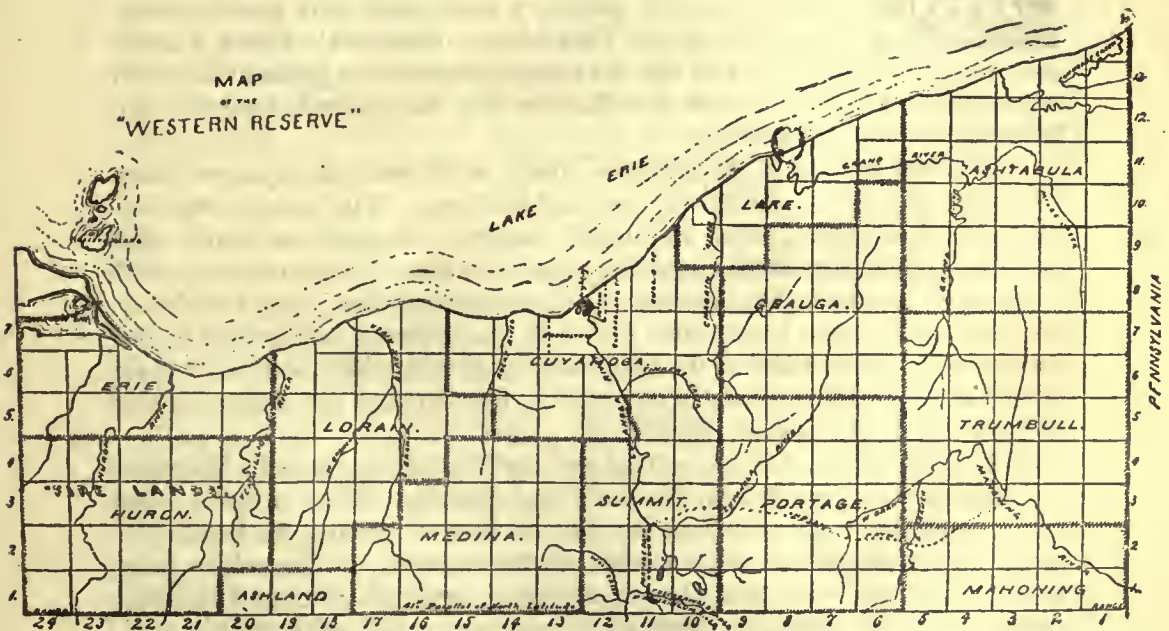
On Wednesday, we started at day-light and breakfasted at Wheeling, on the Virginia side. Wheeling is a prosperous and considerable town on the left bank, about as large as Steubenville, and ninety-six miles by water from Pittsburgh. It is the point at which the line of stages stops. Westward the mail is carried once a week on horses. When the river is high, or even at a middle stage, there is no difficulty in navigating the river to Pittsburgh, but at all times it is navigable below Wheeling. To-day we sailed fifteen miles and arrived about dark at a log tavern on the Virginia side, where we found our accommodations. Early in the morning we resumed our journey and breakfasted at a tavern on the Virginia side. Some of our ladies were so much disgusted at the slovenliness of the people that they could not eat. It is noticeable everywhere on this river that the accommodations on the Virginia side are much inferior to those of the Ohio, which is imputed to the influence of slavery in Virginia, which is not tolerated in Ohio. On returning to our boat we found our boatman had purchased a boat and talked pretty loudly of leaving us. At last we succeeded in persuading one of them to get into our boat, while Susan and myself jumped into the other. We were now in an open boat, and as the weather was remarkably fine had a delightful view of the wide, wandering Ohio, with its lofty, verdant banks. We now passed through Long Beach, as it is called, where the river runs in a straight line, without the least meander to the right or left, for many miles. At night we arrived at Newport and spent the night at Mrs. Dana's, on the right side. We found good accommodations. In the

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morning we found our boatmen had forsaken us in good earnest. But now we were only fourteen miles from Marietta and were fortunate enough to find a man who wished to go with us. At 11 a. m. we reached the long-expected, long-desired haven.

Marietta is finely situated at the confluence of the Ohio and Muskingum rivers. It lies on both sides of the Muskingum, the widest and best of the tributary streams that run through this State. It is 250 yards wide at its mouth, and navigable for large boats to Zanesville, about seventy miles by water from Marietta.

(To be Continued)



EARLY MAP OF THE LAND CLAIMED BY CONNECTICUT IN EARLY OHIO

The Copus Hill Tragedy

The Story of the Massacre of James Copus, an Early Pioneer in Ashland County Ohio, by the Indians, Who, Stirred Up By the English During the War of 1812, Took Up the Warpath Against the White Settlers

BY

JUDGE R. M. CAMPBELL



NOBLER exhibition of true courage has ever been displayed than in the lives and deaths of the first settlers of this country. I speak not particularly of those who fell by the hand of violence, but of the great army of pioneers who made this goodly heritage what it is. Behold how changed! Ohio, a veritable empire in the extent of her territory, possesses a population more numerous than the colonies that battled for the independence of this land against Great Britain.

In 1806 and 1807, Richland County, with several adjacent counties, was surveyed into townships and sections. The nearest county-seat was Lancaster, now Fairfield County. It was not until 1808 that Knox and Richland Counties secured a county organization with the seat of justice at Mt. Vernon, and, in April of that year, but thirty-six votes were cast for county officers, the election being held at the county-seat. Not until 1807 was there a single white settler in Ashland County. Here and there were Indian towns, but they were of the most insignificant character.

In 1809 James Copus settled on the Blackfork, then in Richland County, bringing with him his wife and family. What a great stout heart must have throbbed in his heroic breast, daring as he did, to plant his home in the very midst of the enemies of the white man, with no defence save his own strong arm, and reliance on Him who sees not as man sees, nor permits a sparrow to fall without his care! Here he pitched his cabin home, consisting of split timbers leaned against a horizontal pole some twenty feet from the ground and supported by the forks planted for that purpose; the ends being closed

THE COPUS HILL TRAGEDY

up by setting small timbers in the ground and leaving a space for a door and an opening above as a chimney for the escape of smoke. The floor was earth. Here for eighteen months that family lived, prospered and was happy. In 1810 James Copus built a cabin near the fountain, which from that time to this has never ceased to discharge its limpid waters. Each year added to the number of settlers in this vicinity and in other portions of Ashland County.

On June 18, 1812, our government declared war against Great Britain for the purpose of compelling an observance of the treaty of 1783 by the terms of which that government agreed to surrender all control over American citizens, and certain parts on the Great Lakes. From the eastern shores of our country the Indians had been gradually driven until Ohio, Indiana, and Michigan and this territory became the theatre of their hunting and warlike enterprises. These execrable warriors were the natural allies of the enemies of our country. Mutterings, not loud, but deep, were heard all through this section of the State, foreboding evil to the frontier settlers' homes. The roar of hostile cannon and the tramping of war steeds in ordinary warfare, would have been sweet music in the ears of bold, fearless, valorous men, such as were our ancestors, in comparison to the skulking shadows of murderous Indians hanging around the homes of the whites.

As the "lightnings of war painted hell on the sky," they had reason to dread the fearful savages—unseen foes ready to strike at any moment, bringing desolation upon happy homes and leaving smoking ruins behind them. On the sixteenth day of August preceding this event, General Hull surrendered the American forces to the British, leaving the whole northern part of Ohio utterly defenceless, while a large force of Indian auxiliaries were let loose to pillage, plunder and murder. One tragic occurrence was the inhuman butchery of Martin Ruffner, Zimmer, his wife, and daughter, Kate, by the savage marauders of the forest. Taking the alarm, James Copus and others removed their families to distant places for safety. Through the forests by meandering pathways, over streams, through tangling brushwood, up hill and down the valley by way of Lucas to the block-house were hurried the helpless women and children.

The bane and curse of the frontier seemed to have been satisfied with the destruction he had wrought, and to have fled to his dark

abodes, but he only skulked in unseen ambush to await some future opportunity to feed his insatiate maw.

Once more Copus and his family returned from the Block-house to take possession of their forest home, and he resumed his daily toil to secure for his wife and helpless little ones a bounty, such as honest industry alone could procure, to guard against want of the coming winter.

A Christian father, followed by his wife and seven children, winds his way to their rude nestling place in the lonely woods. Hand in hand they travel their way "o'er tangled copse and wild wood," dreaming of the peace and happiness of their destined haven. The strong armed, great-hearted husband and father has borne the burden of the day, and oft times hushed and soothed his little ones by carrying them in his arms: little recked he that he was hurrying to his doom.

He was at peace with all the world. His voice had been heard, even by the children of the forest, proclaiming the glad tidings of salvation and mingling in the choral songs of redeeming love.

The sun had set, the homely meal dispatched, the birds have ceased their songs, the evening breeze is still, the evening sacrifice is done, the sacred song has gone forth, the father's prayer has mounted high: on rude and lonely cots, but beds of contentment's down, are sleeping seven children in perfect security, as they have been commended to the care of the ever watchful One by a father and a mother's benediction. Silence is now broadening like a deathless spirit o'er the still and pulseless world. All around that lonely cabin a guard of unseen sentinels seems to watch. A few rods from that cabin, in a primitive barn, are quartered nine soldiers, who had accompanied the family from the Block-house as a martial guard, "till danger's trouble might depart." In blissful dreams the soldiers slept, while unseen, lurking foes the darkness hides. The faithful watch dogs bay in alarming notes the long night through. A father's sleep is haunted by disturbing dreams and frightful visions of the morrow's fearful woes, arousing him e'er the streaking light of morn, and note of "clarion cock" doth call him from his cot. Up and out into the darkness, it would seem in a response to a call divine, the father goes to bring his martial guard from their bivouac in the barn, that he, with them, might constitute a cordon of defence for the cabin, wife and children—which supernatural presentment had told

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him would be needed in the morning. That act of daring in the darkness saved posterity to the unfortunate James Copus.

Listen to the first twitter of the birds and see the first streaks of morning light that usher in the fifteenth of September, 1812. The cabin, far removed from the haunts of men, was tenanted by James Copus and wife, their seven children and nine soldiers. Near by there gushed a living spring and e'er the sun was up, it attracted the soldiers to its sparkling waters.

All was still, yet black as night and terrible as hell, the lurking enemies, like fiends from the infernal world, surround them. "Go not to the spring without your arms, for I know that enemies are lurking near." I hear the last reported injunction of the master spirit of the hour to the soldiers. But some passed to the fount without their guns. Momentous hour of fate!

Aye, cower, quail and tremble, wife and little ones, for the moment of your bereavement and desolation has come. Awake from your slumbers to behold the accursed deed that shames the human mold. Out from the ripening corn rush painted fiends, with hideous yells that rival Milton's fiends of hell, to blot out homes and murder helpless innocents. Up from his couch leaps Copus, like Hector armed, to save his family from the brutal storm. From the spring there was no retreat. Like hail falling from sudden storm clouds, the bullets fly against that cabin home. I see two soldiers unarmed, pursued by yelling furies, overtaken, struck down and their scalps torn from off their heads—reeking trophies of their chase.

A third, more fleet, out runs the murderous pack, but not too swift to escape the rifle's deadly messenger that takes his life away. A fourth bounds back to the cabin door through a cordon of demoniac monsters, thirsting for his blood. Copus, too bold, fearless and great hearted to be cooped within while his friends were being massacred without, with his trusty rifle in his hand, opens the door to meet a grim visaged Moloch at his threshold, the very incarnation of red handed murder, fresh from hell. Quick as the lightning's flash, the Indians' deadly work is done, but not before he too received his death wound at the hands of the murdered pioneer. Staggering back, the blood oozing from his faithful breast, he hears the storm of assault without, the unearthly yells of the assailants, the bullets pattering against the door, the cries of the orphan children about to be, the lament of wife, yet, amid all, his courage never fails. While the life

tide slowly ebbs away, he exclaims, "Soldiers, I am a dead man, but do not be discouraged; fight like men and save yourselves and my family!"

In an hour the soul of James Copus winged its way to the home of the immortals amid the constant roar of fire arms and the fiercer tumult of forty whooping devils, battering at the home he had planted in the wilderness and thirsting for the blood of the wife of his bosom and the children of his loins. For five hours the conflict lasted, and though it was fought on the outskirts of civilization, and fames' trumpet has never sounded the valor of those engaged, yet Napoleon's old guard never covered themselves with more honor on any historic field than did Copus and his comrades who fairly earned for themselves a chaplet of renown on that eventful morn. At every volley hurled against that beleaguered cabin forty unearthly yells arose above the crash of arms and fell upon the ears of the besieged. Napoleon at Waterloo, as the event of the battle hung in doubt, was sustained by the hope that Grouchey would come at the opportune moment, with his fresh battalions and change uncertainty into victory. But the inmates of that solitary citadel in the forest were buoyed up by no such anticipations. There was no succor, save in the arm of the God of battles. They knew the consequences of failure, and hence bent all their energies and utilized all their resources to save themselves and the family of their murdered host from the tomahawk and the scalping knife. The retreating yell was heard about ten o'clock, and the inhuman warriors of the wilderness disappeared as they came, leaving no trace of their own casualties or the place they buried their dead. What a scene of sorrow and desolation succeeds the conflict. Doubt and uncertainty prevail 'till, when about one o'clock, a company of soldiers arrive upon the ground, only to behold the fearful massacre, relieve the beleaguered garrison and bury the dead. It is difficult to realize that the now fertile valley was only seventy years ago an uncultivated wild where dangers lurked in every bush and safety there was none. James Copus, George Shipley, John Tedrick and W. Warrnock fill the roll of the patriot dead. They were buried by the soldiers and left in their lonely graves near where they fell, to await the Master's call at the resurrection morn.



PORTRAIT OF CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH, FROM HIS "TRUE TRAVELS,"
 PUBLISHED IN 1629



THE FIRST INDIAN TROUBLES AMONG THE ENGLISH COLONISTS IN AMERICA
From Captain John Smith's "True Travels," 1629

Some Remarkable Facts in the History of Texas

Texas Has Been Under Six Flags. It Has Been An Independent Republic. It Has Single Counties as Large as the State of Massachusetts and Has Millions of Dollars of Wealth in Its Oil Wells

BY

HONORABLE GEORGE EAMES BARSTOW



RHODE ISLAND was my native state, over whose waters I have sailed; its hills I have clambered, from its pastures culled the wild flowers, and in whose varied activities I was for long years most intimately engaged. Rhode Island is a jewel enfolded in a small package! I am proud of her history, and look fondly backward upon her people in whose confidence I so fully shared. But, great is Texas! She does not share the glory of being designated as one of the thirteen bars in the greatest banner that floats on high in the world! But what those Thirteen States accomplished for the people because of their love of freedom and liberty under law at the outset of our Republic in the far east, Texas has more than verified in the great southwest of our nation. Both those original states and Texas, have in their time worshipped at the same shrine, and bathed their sacred soil with the blood of their best and truest sons! Great is Texas!

First, because of her men, past and present.

Second, because of her immense territory.

Third, because of her schools and colleges.

Fourth, because of her great natural resources.

Fifth, because of her past, present and prospective population.

Sixth, because of her climate.

Republics and nations have only been born and preserved by "men who will dare and do." Such has been the character of the men—aye, women too—who blazed the way for the establishment of this

great state. What Washington and Greene were to the Thirteen Original States; Austin and Houston were to Texas!

"The history of Texas is unique, romantic and attractive. Much of the detail yet awaits exploration, and a fruitful field for study and investigation is presented. The president of the United States has announced his intention of devoting himself to such exploration and to the writing of an analytical history of the State when he shall have left the White House."

"Although a 'new country,' the beginnings of Texas history date back almost to the inception of the oldest of the States. A European colony was founded on her soil in the seventeenth century. That colony faded away, and years elapsed before permanent settlement began."

"The foundations of Texas were laid not as the colony of a mother country and with the protection of a home government, but by Americans who came as strangers to a strange land to establish colonies in a wilderness, in the presence of savages and under the terms imposed by a foreign government, the laws, language and customs of which were new to them, and in many respects unsuited. Living under a government which was in constant ferment, unstable and uncertain, subjected to many wrongs and oppression, and denied the rights originally guaranteed them, these colonists at length proclaimed and established their independence and erected the Republic of Texas. Annexation to the United States was the logical and inevitable sequence, and it came after ten years of autonomous government. Texas is the only State in the Union which was ever an independent nation."

"Texas has owed allegiance to six governments and has been under as many flags. There have waved over her in token of sovereignty the fleur-de-lis of France, the Royal banner of Spain, the flag of the Mexican Republic, that of the Republic of Texas, the stars and stripes of the American Union, and for four years, the stars and bars of the Southern Confederacy."

The territory of Texas is something more than two hundred and sixty-five thousand square miles! Equal to New England, the Middle Atlantic States, Ohio and Maryland. There are single counties as large as Massachusetts, and Rhode Island has no more square miles than is found in the County of Ward, in Texas, of which Barstow (founded in 1894) is the county-seat. There is enough arable land

REMARKABLE FACTS IN HISTORY OF TEXAS

in Texas, so that each head of a family in the United States can locate on twenty acres thereof, and there would still be plenty of land to spare. The topography of the State varies from that of the low coast country on the south, skirting two thousand miles of the Gulf of Mexico, to the great level, rolling and weird like plains of the "Panhandle" on the north, and reaching an altitude of from two thousand to three thousand feet. Or, from the low and swampy regions of the extreme east and southeast to the broad plains and mountains of the southwest and western extremities of this State. The highest of these mountain peaks are over eight thousand feet above the level of the Gulf of Mexico.

From the founding of the State of Texas, its people have not been any more unmindful to the fact that the public school is "the Keystone to the Arch" of our Republic, than were the early settlers around Massachusetts and Narragansett bays. The invested school fund of Texas is now about seventy million dollars; and with still over ten million acres of land left for sale, which will add enormously to the coffers of that fund in process of time. The founders of Texas "builded better than they knew," when providing for the future of her public schools. Then there is the State University, and the Agricultural and Mechanical College with a total student roll of about four thousand. There are also a great many Protestant church schools and colleges of high order, and with invested properties running into the millions.

Great is Texas, because of her natural resources! Space and time will not permit me to half tell the tale. Texas includes the largest single forest of noble timber of any State in the Union, cultivates more rice fields, produces thirty per cent. of America's cotton crop, and grows sufficient fruit in variety and quality to have taken the gold medal as anent the other states at the Saint Louis Exposition. The European grapes and Elberta peaches grown at Barstow received the first medal over similar products from California. You can obtain tropical products from the extreme south of the State; and all the cereal and grain products grown in temperate climates, from the east and north thereof. Cattle and sheep on the plains and on a thousand hills claim the record in quantity high grade. Texas oil fields are enormous; and she has more acres of land in her arid and semi-arid regions that can be irrigated than any of her sister states. Her noted sea ports are Galveston, Port Arthur and Sabine Pass.

The extensive coast line of the State is sure to invite inhabitants from other parts in due season. What wonder, that, under such natural conditions, combined with a vigorous and purposeful people and a delightful climate, great cities, a legion of large and prosperous towns, and an enormous and prosperous farmer class, a mighty State should arise. The bone and sinew and mentality of its founders have not yet passed away, but rather, have arisen with new might, and, clasping hands with sturdy men from all the other states, who have come here to live, propose leaving an impress upon not only this State, but the Republic at large, for high morals and true statesmanship.

I am writing this article on April twenty-first—San Jacinto Day—a legal holiday in Texas. This day commemorates the final throwing off of iron tyranny by a valiant and courageous band of patriots who were ready to sacrifice life for the sake of principle. They were but few in number, but marked the trail for an inflow of what will soon be toward five million people in Texas who love law and order; and the percentage of whose criminal class is at least as small as any of her sister states. Seven hundred miles northwest from San Jacinto, in Texas, another battle has been waged! The war dance and tomahawk have given way throughout this great west Texas to the Anglo-American civilization, as expressed in railroads, agricultural, horticultural and happy homes—and great is Texas for all those who are in search of such an environment!



S.F. AUSTIN IN 1821.

STEVEN F. AUSTIN, FOUNDER OF THE STATE OF TEXAS, WAS BORN ABOUT 1790 AND DIED DECEMBER 27, 1836. IN 1821 HE LED A PARTY FROM NEW ORLEANS TO A TRACT OF LAND GRANTED TO HIS FATHER BY THE MEXICAN GOVERNMENT, AND THERE THEY FOUNDED THE CITY OF AUSTIN



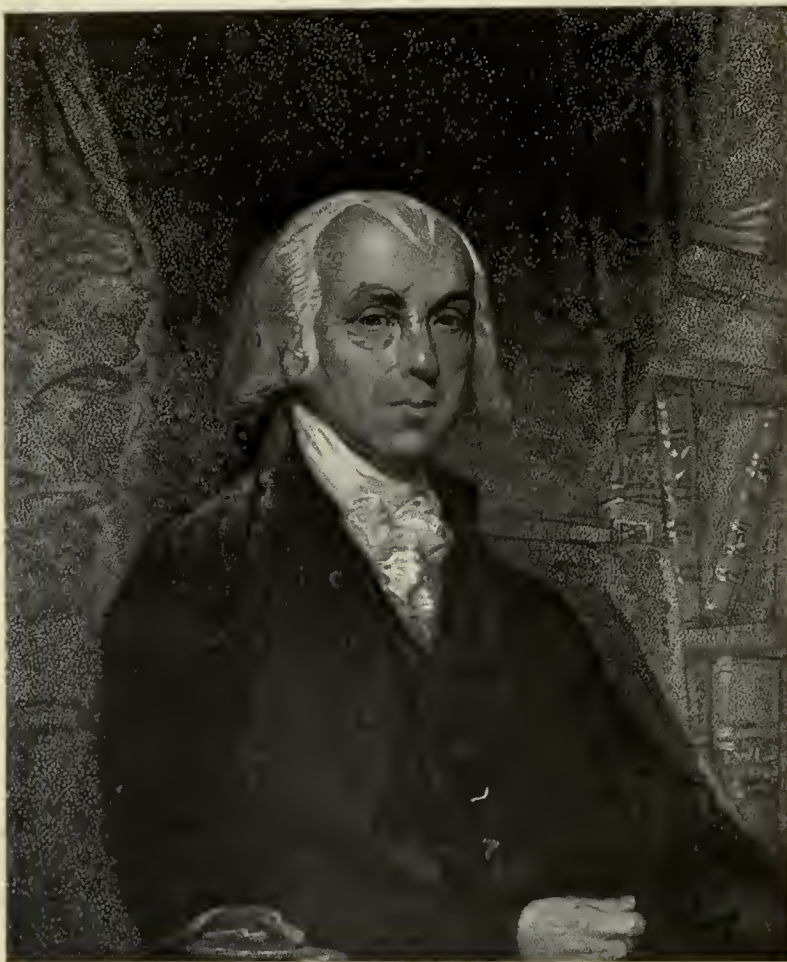
THE LIBERTY BELL

"The Order for the Great Bell Was Given by a Resolution of the Assembly, October 16, 1751, and November 1 of That Year, Isaac Norris, Thomas Leech and Edward Warner, Committee, Wrote to Robert Charles at London, Directing Him to Get Them 'a Good Bell, of About Two Thousand Pounds Weight, the Cost of Which We Assume Any Amount to About One Hundred Pounds Sterling, or Perhaps, With the Charges, Something More....Let the Bell be Cast by the Best Workman, and Examined Carefully Before It is Shipped, With the Following Words Well Shaped, in Large Letters Around It, viz:

"BY ORDER OF THE ASSEMBLY OF THE PROVINCE OF PENNSYLVANIA, FOR THE STATE HOUSE IN THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA, 1752.
and Underneath:

"PROCLAIM LIBERTY THROUGH ALL THE LAND TO ALL THE INHABITANTS THEREOF. LEVIT. XXV-10"

"The Bell Duly Arrived in August, 1752, and Was Soon Hung in the Tower. To the Mortification of Those Who Had Procured It, When It Was Tested in September It Cracked by the Stroke of the Clapper, Without Any Other Violence, so That It Had to be Recast. This Was Done by 'Two Ingenious Workmen' of Philadelphia, Pass and Stow, and More Copper Was Added to the Metal. When It Was Rehung, It Was Found That Too Much Copper Had Been Put In, and Pass and Stow, Vexed at Their Failure, Asked to Cast It Again, Which Finally They Were Allowed to Do, and at the Beginning of June, 1753, It Was Once More in Place. It Rang Then, for Many Years and Many Purposes, but Above All for the Proclamation, at the State House, in July, 1776, of the Declaration That the Thirteen Colonies Were, 'and of Right Ought to Be, Free and Independent States.' The Motto Directed by Isaac Norris and His Associates Then Seemed to Have Been Indeed Prophetic."



JAMES MADISON ESQ^R.

In the Continental Congress of 1791 Madison Opposed the Charter of the Bank of the United States, as in 1781 He Had Opposed the Charter of the Bank of North America

A History of Banks and Banking and
of Banks and Banking in the City of
New York :: :: :: :: ::

BY

W. Harrison Bayles

and

Frank Allaben

FRANK ALLABEN, Editor-in-Chief

CHAPTER VII

THE BANK OF THE UNITED STATES

Alexander Hamilton, the First Secretary of the Treasury—Proposed Establishment of a National Bank—Bill for a National Bank Passed, 1791—The Bank of the United States—The New Bank a Great Financial Success—Verplanck Elected President of the Bank of New York—The Bank of the United States Establishes a Branch Office in New York City—Financial Troubles Arise—The Government Loans the Bank of New York Money to Relieve the Financial Difficulties of Merchants—New York Stock Exchange Organized—Other Branches of the Bank of the United States Established in Boston, Baltimore, Norfolk, Charleston, Savannah, New Orleans and Washington—Speculation Frequent—Philip Livingston Elected First President of the New York Branch of the Bank of the United States—The Bank of the United States Loans Money to the Government—Cornelius Ray Elected President of the New York Branch of the Bank of the United States—The Bank Opens a New Office on 52 Wall Street—Loans of the Bank of New York to the Government—Grant of a Charter to the Manhattan Company to Supply the City with Water and to Do Banking Business—Nicholas Gouverneur Elected President of the Bank of New York—Herman LeRoy Succeeds Gouverneur—Forty Banks Now in Operation.

The Bank of the United States



WHEN the Federal Constitution was formed there were three banks in the United States, all of which still exist—the Bank of North America at Philadelphia, the Bank of Massachusetts at Boston, and the Bank of New York at New York City. Every one of these banks was issuing circulating notes, and continued to do so after the Constitution was adopted. That clause of the Constitution which prohibits the issue of bills of credit by the States does not appear to have been considered as having any reference to bank-notes, which, supposed to be secured by a reserve of specie and issued in the regular way of conducting a banking business, were quite different from State bills of credit.

The second incorporated bank in the United States was the Bank of Massachusetts. In its charter, granted February 7, 1784, there were no restrictions or conditions except the right of the Legislature to examine its affairs. No mention was made of circulating notes, for it seems to have been considered the right of any banking company to issue notes without limit.

The third in point of time was the Bank of New York, which at first did business without a charter and issued circulating notes without question as to its right to do so. It was not incorporated until March, 1791, having been in business nearly seven years. The restrictions of its charter were few, except that its note-issues should not exceed three times the amount of its capital, which was sufficiently liberal. The bank had then a paid-up capital of \$318,250 in specie and its outstanding notes, part redeemable in specie and part in State paper, amounted to a total of \$360,000.

In a report, dated December 14, 1790, made in obedience to an order of the House of Representatives, Alexander Hamilton, the first Secretary of the Treasury, proposed the establishment of a national bank. The bill for creating such an institution, on lines laid down by Hamilton, to be styled the Bank of the United States, passed the Senate, with but little opposition, December 23, 1790. In the House it elicited the longest and bitterest debate of the session, but

was passed February 8, 1791, by a good majority. All of the thirty-nine affirmative votes, except three, were from States north of the Potomac; all of the twenty negative votes, except one, were from States south of it. New England and New York members, the ablest financiers in Congress, supported the Secretary.

The plan proposed by Hamilton evidently reflects the study he had made of the act incorporating the Bank of England about one hundred years before. It appears evident also that he intended the Bank of the United States to take a place in relation to the government of the United States similar to that of the Bank of England in relation to the government of Great Britain.

In the act as passed by Congress the capital was to be ten million dollars, divided into twenty-five thousand shares of four hundred dollars each. Eight millions of the capital stock was to be open to subscription by the public, one-fourth to be paid in specie, and three-fourths in government securities, the subscriptions to be paid within two years. The remaining two millions of the capital stock might be subscribed by the United States to be paid in ten equal annual instalments, and was so subscribed. The charter was limited to twenty years, and Congress pledged itself to incorporate no other bank during its continuance.

The protection of the small investor was provided for by a graduated scale of voting which did not permit more than thirty votes to any one shareholder. Foreign shareholders were not to be allowed to vote by proxy, which practically prevented their voting at all. The number of directors was fixed at twenty-five, who must be citizens of the United States, and not more than three-fourths of them were eligible for re-election.

The bank should not hold real estate, except for the necessary accommodation of its business, but was not forbidden to loan on security of mortgage. The bank should not become indebted to a greater amount than its capital stock, over and above the amount of its deposits. There was no other limit of the note-issues of the bank except this, which practically allowed that the circulating notes might be equal in amount to the capital stock; and these notes were to be receivable for all public dues as long as they were payable in gold and silver coin. The amount loanable at one time to any State or to the United States was limited, while loans to any foreign power were prohibited. The officer at the head of the Treasury of the United

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States had the right to inspect all the affairs of the bank, except individual accounts, and to call for reports as often as once a week if he should see fit. It was not required that the public money should be deposited in the bank. The rate of interest on loans should not exceed six per cent. per annum. The bank might have branches for deposit and discount wheresoever the directors should see fit to establish them.

As Madison had opposed the charter to the Bank of North America, in the Continental Congress in 1781, so he now opposed the charter to the Bank of the United States, in the Congress of 1791, and on the same ground, that it was unconstitutional.

After passing the House the bank bill was sent to the President, but Washington withheld his signature till the ten days allowed by law were almost spent. Undecided what course to pursue, he turned for advice to Attorney-General Randolph and to Jefferson. Both were adverse to signing the bill. Their opinions were sent to Hamilton for such answer as he might be able to make, and he replied at considerable length and with great force. On receipt of this reply, Washington signed the bill.

Announcement was made that subscription books would be opened on July 4, 1791, at Philadelphia. For each share the subscriber was required to pay down twenty-five dollars; twenty-five dollars in specie and one hundred and fifty in public securities on the 1st of January, 1792; twenty-five dollars in specie and seventy-five in securities on July 1st, 1792, and the same amount of each on January 1st, 1793. The most enthusiastic Federalist did not doubt that several weeks at least would pass before the stock would be taken, but within two hours from the time the books were opened the entire capital of the bank was subscribed—some say within much less time. It was a great financial success from the start. The bank began operations in December, 1791, and paid a dividend of four per cent. in July, 1792.

Meantime the Bank of New York had been making progress. The following is a statement of its assets and liabilities May 1st, 1791, before it commenced business under the charter. It gives an idea of the extent of the bank's business at that time:

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SPECIE BANK

| | | | |
|------------------------------|-------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|
| Bills discounted..... | \$845,940.20 | Capital stock..... | \$318,250.00 |
| Due from Corporation..... | 12,222.44 | Notes outstanding..... | 181,254.00 |
| Cash | \$516,081.87 | Due depositors..... | 773,709.67 |
| Less notes on hand 53,266.00 | | Profit and loss..... | 47,764.84 |
| | <u>462,815.87</u> | | |
| | \$1,320,978.51 | | <u>\$1,320,978.51</u> |

PAPER BANK

| | | | |
|------------------------------|---------------------|----------------------|--------------------|
| House and lot, Queen St..... | £5,248 4 9 | Notes out..... | £71,822 0 0 |
| Cash | £115,373 17 11 | Due depositors..... | 16,920 0 4 |
| Less notes on hand | 25,605 0 0 | Profit and loss..... | 6,275 2 4 |
| | <u>89,768 17 11</u> | | |
| | £95,017 2 8 | | <u>£95,017 2 8</u> |

On the 2nd of May, 1791, the directors named in the act of incorporation formally accepted the charter, assumed all the existing liabilities of the former company, and re-elected the former officers. Two thousand sheets of circulating notes were ordered to be printed and signed, ready for emission "as quick as possible." The paper on which these notes were printed was made in Philadelphia, and the notes were struck off on a handpress in the bank.

As shown by the above statement, the capital of the bank, on the 1st of May, 1791, was \$318,250. The unpaid part of the subscription was called in, and on the 1st of July the capital had increased to \$495,000. By the 1st of August the balance was paid in, making the capital \$900,000.

At the annual election on the second Monday in May, 1791, Gulian Verplanck was elected president of the bank in place of Isaac Roosevelt, who had declined a re-election. Mr. Verplanck was the son of Gulian Verplanck, a prominent merchant of New York, and was born February 11, 1751. After his graduation at King's College he was sent to Europe to receive a mercantile training with his uncle, David Crommelin, then a member of the great banking and commercial house of D. Crommelin & Sons, Amsterdam. After his return to New York, Mr. Verplanck soon became a prominent citizen. In 1788 he was elected a representative in the Assembly of the State, and became Speaker in 1791. He was recognized as a highly accomplished and fluent orator.

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On the 1st of November, 1791, a dividend of seven per cent. was declared for the first six months of the incorporated bank. The bills and notes discounted during these six months amounted to \$10,558,669.49, and the total amount of cash received was \$42,681,644.80, which illustrates, in a measure, the extent of the mercantile transactions of New York at that period. According to a rule of the bank, no notes nor bills were discounted for a longer time than thirty days.

From its first organization Alexander Hamilton had been much interested in the success of the Bank of New York. He had been unable to take an active part in the management of the institution as a director, after the first two years of its existence, but he continued to show considerable interest in its welfare, and was the firm friend and adviser of William Seton, its cashier.

Without consulting Hamilton, it seems, arrangements were made to establish a branch of the Bank of the United States in the City of New York. The plan does not appear to have met with his approval, and under date of November 25, 1791, he wrote to William Seton:

"I seize the first moment of leisure to answer your letter of the 21st inst. Strange as it may appear to you, it is not more strange than true that the whole affair of branches was begun, continued, and ended, not only without my participation, but against my judgment.

"When I say against my judgment, you will not understand that my opinion was given and overruled, for I never was consulted; but that the steps taken were contrary to my private opinion of the course which ought to have been pursued.

"I am sensible of the inconveniences to be apprehended, and I regret them, but I do not know that it will be in my power to avert them.

"Ultimately, it will be incumbent on me to place the public funds in the keeping of the branch; but it may be depended upon that I shall precipitate nothing, but shall so conduct the transfer as not to embarrass or disturb your institution. I have not time to say more at present, except that, if there are finally to be two institutions, my regard for you makes me wish you may feel yourself at liberty to take your fortune with the branch which must preponderate."

Hamilton had evidently hoped to make the Bank of New York the exclusive agent of the United States in New York, but the plan

referred to in his letter was carried out, and a branch of the national institution, called the "Office of Discount and Deposit," was established in New York.

On the 20th of March, 1792, a committee was appointed on the part of the Bank of the United States to meet and confer with the directors of the Bank of New York upon the best means of promoting a friendly intercourse between the two institutions. A conference was accordingly held which resulted in a formal correspondence, expressing a desire and willingness on the part of each institution to co-operate in any measure calculated to inspire mutual confidence or public accommodation.

When the year 1791 opened the country was prosperous. Many who had given up any hope of remuneration for losses sustained during the war had come into possession of certificates and final settlements which enabled them to pay their taxes and their debts, as well as advance their business. Quantities of these certificates were thrown on the market and produced a brisk buying and selling of government scrip. Lotteries sprang up everywhere. All kinds of schemes were gotten up for the public benefit by means of them. Building court-houses, laying out roads, digging canals, improving river navigation, and many other similar undertakings were promoted and supported by lotteries. Stocks were put up at auction, sold on credit, bought by men unable to pay for them in full, and at the expiration of the time of credit the difference of the price then and on the day of sale was paid or received by the buyer.

A wild mania for speculation pervaded the land, and even the cool and conservative business men were somewhat affected by it. Several failures were the result. Discounts were in demand at the Bank of New York, and it was said that great partiality was shown in dispensing its favors. It was claimed that the bank had been instituted by a party, and had since been administered by the same or nearly the same set of men, so that the dispensation of its favors had been very partial, and that in discounts "the question seems to be not, is the applicant able? but, is he one of us?"

This feeling among a portion of the people, and the marked success of the Bank of New York, produced a project for a rival institution, which was brought forward in the early part of the year 1792. On this subject Hamilton wrote to Seton:

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"I have learnt with infinite pain the circumstance of a new bank having started up in your city. Its effects cannot but be in every way pernicious. These extravagant sallies of speculation do injury to the government, and to the whole system of public credit, by disgusting all sober citizens, and giving a wild air to everything. 'Tis impossible but that three great banks in one city must raise such a mass of artificial credit as must endanger every one of them, and do harm in every view.

"I sincerely hope that the Bank of New York will listen to no coalition with this newly engendered monster; a better alliance, I am strongly persuaded, will be brought about for it, and the joint force of two solid institutions will, without effort or violence, remove the excrescence which has just appeared, and which I consider as a dangerous tumor in your political and commercial economy.

"I express myself in these strong terms to you confidentially, not that I have any objection to my opinion being known as to the nature and tendency of the thing."

Early in January, 1792, a project to establish a new bank in the city, to be known as the Million Bank, was announced. The capital of the bank was to be divided into two thousand shares of five hundred dollars each. Some of the most prominent and well-known men of New York appear to have been interested in it. A few days later, according to notice given, a meeting was held at Corre's Hotel, at ten o'clock in the morning, when Alexander McComb, Brockholst Livingston, Abraham Duryee, Moses Rogers, and John McVickar were appointed commissioners to receive subscriptions. It was then proposed and agreed to that the subscription books should be opened, and continued so, till twelve o'clock, at which time, as appears by the report of the commissioners made that evening, upwards of twenty thousand shares were subscribed, ten times more than the proposed capital of the bank. The subscriptions had to be cut down.

The disappointed ones and others obtained subscriptions for a separate or third bank, and forestalled the action of the Million Bank by making an application to the Legislature for a charter. They then made an offer for a coalition of the two projects. This was accepted, and on January 29, a second application was made to the Legislature by the coalition for one bank under the title of the State Bank, to consist of two thousand five hundred shares of five hundred dollars each.

It is stated by a newspaper of the day that "without exaggeration it may be said that an application more respectably supported was scarcely ever presented to the representatives of a free and enlightened people," and that it was hoped that it would convince the members of the Legislature "that another bank was ardently solicited, not by a few interested speculators, as some pretend, not by the disappointed Anti-Federalists, as some allege, but by the independent, mercantile, and opulent part of the community." The bill to incorporate the bank reached the second reading in the Assembly on the 6th of February, but nothing further was done. The application proved unsuccessful.

During the session of the Legislature in 1792, the president and directors of the Bank of New York notified that body that they would be willing to receive from the State Treasurer any of the money of the State, and to pay not above six per cent. interest therefor, the loan to be payable upon three months' notice. The projectors of the rival institution had proposed to take the State funds as a loan at seven per cent., on security of the funded debt of the United States, "unless the State should prefer investing the money in the new bank which is to be established or lending it in small sums upon mortgage of real estate."

The Legislature subsequently passed an act authorizing the State Treasurer to deposit in the Bank of New York certificates for the funded debt of the United States to the amount of nearly two million dollars; the bank agreeing to collect the interest on the same, and pay it over to the Treasurer without charge. In conformity with this act, Gerard Bancker, Treasurer of the State, was elected a director of the bank on the 24th of May, 1792.

During the period of speculation, in 1791, the six per cent. issues of the government were depressed. To relieve the merchants and sustain the credit of the United States, the Secretary of the Treasury authorized the cashier of the Bank of New York to buy government bonds in amount not exceeding one hundred and fifty thousand dollars. This produced some relief and had the desired effect for a time, but it was only temporary. By March of the following year the distress had greatly increased, which induced the Secretary of the Treasury to once again come to the rescue of the mercantile community. On March 25, 1792, he wrote to the cashier of the Bank of New York authorizing him to purchase United States stock at par to

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the amount of fifty thousand dollars. "It will be very probably conjectured," he wrote, "that you appear for the public, and the conjecture may be left to have its course, but without confession. The purchase ought, in the present state of things, to be at auction and not till to-morrow evening."

Hamilton informed Seton that he had just received a letter from Mr. Short, our minister resident at Amsterdam, informing him that a loan for three millions of florins had just been effected on account of the United States. This Seton might announce, and, as in the then state of suspicion some might be disposed to consider this report as a mere expedient to support the stocks, Hamilton pledged his honor for its exact truth. He further writes: "While I encourage due exertion in the banks, I observe that I hope they will put nothing to risk. No calamity truly public can happen while these institutions remain sound. They must, therefore, not yield too far to the impulse of circumstances." At this time the Branch of the Bank of the United States had been established in the city, which explains Hamilton's allusion to the "banks."

Under date of March 25, Seton, the cashier of the Bank of New York, wrote in reply: "We have no public sales of stocks now in the evenings; therefore I cannot go into the market till to-morrow, and although the sum is small, yet be assured it will be a relief. The collector has furnished the list of names of those who have duties to pay between this and the first of May, and our directors have given out that they will discount on a deposit of stock. The large dealers in stock are to have a meeting this evening, and, it is reported, will enter into an absolute agreement not to draw out any specie from the banks for three months to come, so that from to-morrow I hope the prospect will brighten. I have made as public as possible the new loan obtained in Amsterdam; it gives most universal satisfaction."

The financial troubles increased, and Hamilton wrote to Seton on the 4th of April saying that he was pained beyond expression at the accounts he had received of the financial distress of his fellow-citizens, and authorized him to apply \$50,000 additional to purchases of United States stock at such times as might be thought most beneficial to the public. Again, on the 17th of April, Hamilton wrote to Seton giving him authority to increase his purchases of the six per cents. and the deferred stock. He also wrote to the directors of the

bank, confirming his previous instructions to Seton and adding \$50,000 to the amount already appropriated for the relief of the merchants, making in all \$150,000.

Seton's letter to Hamilton, under date of April 16th, shows the beneficial effect produced by the timely relief given by the government, and also gives an interesting statement of the situation in the city at that time.

"I received your letter by the express, on Friday morning," he writes, "previous to which I had been relieving a few by purchases of stock, upon the strength of the second extension of fifty thousand dollars. At noon I went into the market, but the applications were so numerous, and so vastly beyond my expectations, I found it necessary to declare I could take but very small sums from each. However, notwithstanding this, every one pressed forward, and were so eager that I could only take down names upon a declaration that I would average the whole. This I did, that no one might be left without some relief; so that the investments of one hundred thousand dollars goes to upwards of eighty persons, from which you may form a judgment that your orders for purchases were well-timed. At the same time, it is an evidence of the great and universal distress which prevails, and which I am sorry to say is such, and it would be utterly impossible to make purchases equal to the relief. However, it cannot now be worse; and when the public mind cools down a little, it is to be hoped that good will arise out of the evil, that the spirit of industry instead of gambling will revive, and that the stocks will come to their proper and real value."

The judicious course of the Secretary seems to have produced good results, and the timely purchases of stock by the Treasury Department gave great relief to the financial situation, which gradually cooled down to a normal and healthy condition.

About this time was taken the first steps towards an organization of the "Stock Exchange of New York." Stocks were being more extensively dealt in than at any previous time. In the early part of March, 1792, notice was given that "The Stock Exchange Office" would be open at 22 Wall street, where public sales would be daily held at noon, as usual in rotation. On Wednesday, March 21, at a meeting held at Corre's Hotel, No. 24 Broadway, the merchants and dealers in stocks came to a resolution "that after the 21st of April

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next they would not attend any sales of stocks at public auction, and also appointed a committee to provide a proper room for them to assemble in, and to report such regulations relative to the mode of transacting business as in their opinion may be proper." This resulted in the first agreement among themselves of the dealers in securities, the oldest record in the archives of the New York Stock Exchange, dated May 17, 1792, fixing the rate of brokerage. It was signed by twenty-four brokers for the sale of public stocks.

For some time the brokers do not seem to have had a settled place of meeting. Their favorite place was in the shade of a large button-wood tree, which stood on the north side of Wall street, between Pearl and William streets. When the Tontine Coffee House was completed, in 1792, it became not only the regular meeting place of the merchants of the city, but also the Stock Exchange of New York, and remained so for many years.

On October 21, 1791, a general meeting of the stockholders of the Bank of the United States was held in the City Hall, Philadelphia, and twenty-five directors were chosen. These directors met, October 25, to select the officers of the bank. The presidency was offered to Oliver Wolcott, who was at that time serving as Comptroller of the Currency under Hamilton, but he declined the office. Thomas Willing, who had been president of the Bank of North America from its first establishment, was then made president. John Kean was appointed cashier at a salary of \$2,700. Later Willing's salary was fixed at \$3,000.

Ten months after receiving its charter, the Bank of the United States opened for business in Carpenter's Hall, Philadelphia, on Chestnut street, between Third and Fourth streets. Under date of December 3, 1791, the cashier, John Kean, gave notice in the newspapers that the bank would open on Monday, December 5, and that it would begin to receive deposits the following Monday, December 12.

The directors decided to open branches at New York, Boston, and Charleston, as soon as possible after the first Monday in January, 1792. According to the plan proposed, the directors of the bank were to appoint, each year, not less than nine directors for each branch, a majority to constitute a board, one-fourth of them to be ineligible for the next year. The directors of the main bank were to appoint the cashiers of the several branches, the directors of the branches were to appoint their own president, tellers, and clerks.

At a meeting of the directors, January 12, 1792, thirteen directors were elected for each of the branches, at New York, Boston, and Charleston, and a month later a like number were chosen for the Baltimore branch. In time other branches were opened, at Norfolk, Savannah, and Washington, and in 1804 a branch was established at New Orleans, making in all eight branches. Contrary to the original arrangement, under which that part of the capital consisting of United States bonds was not to be divided among the branches, each branch was allowed a share of the whole capital. The capital reserved for the main or central bank at Philadelphia was \$4,700,000, the balance being distributed among the several branches as follows: New York, \$1,800,000; Boston, \$700,000; Baltimore, \$600,000; Norfolk, \$600,000; Charleston, \$600,000; Savannah, \$500,000; New Orleans, \$300,000; and Washington, \$200,000.

Even before the Bank of the United States went into operation there was considerable speculation in its scrip, which soon commanded a premium, and these speculations contributed largely to the financial disturbances of 1791 and 1792. It is said that the son of the president of the Bank of Massachusetts, and two others, borrowed from the bank to such an extent that discounting was discontinued for six or eight weeks, while they went to New York and speculated in government paper and bank stock. They sold out to William Duer, and the next day the stock fell twenty and thirty per cent. and he was financially ruined. He had good credit and had taken on deposit the savings of many poor people. He was put in jail, where he remained five years, and threats were made on his life.

During this period of speculation there were many failures in New York and a few in Philadelphia. In May, 1792, it was reported that the Bank of the United States, through these, had met with heavy losses. The directors of the bank denied these reports, and the newspapers stated: "The bank has not sustained the loss of a single dollar: foreseeing the evil tendency of the wild speculations, the directors took early precautions and by prudent management have secured the bank completely."

The following were appointed directors of the New York Branch: Thomas Buchanan, Richard Harrison, Philip Livingston, William Laight, John Delafield, John Atkinson, Gerard Bancker, David Gelston, George Service, Matthew Clarkson, Nicholas Hoffman, Thomas Pearsall, Cornelius Ray.

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Offices were engaged at No. 5 Queen street, and at a meeting of directors held there on March 7, 1792, they elected Philip Livingston president. Charles Wilkes, who became cashier and afterwards president of the Bank of New York, seems to have been first named as cashier of the New York Branch of the Bank of the United States, but for some reason did not take the position, and Jonathan Burrall became the first cashier. He gave notice, on March 27, 1792, that the office would be opened for the purpose of receiving deposits on Monday, the second day of April; that bills and notes not having more than thirty days to run would be received for discount on Wednesday, and discounts made on the day following.

Philip Livingston, the first president of the New York Branch of the Bank of the United States, was the son of Peter Van Brugh Livingston. He was born November 3, 1740. He died in New York and was buried from Trinity Church, May 12, 1810. He was secretary to Sir Henry Moore, Governor of New York, and was known as "Gentleman Phil," owing to his polished manners. He was a graduate of King's College in 1760, and a trustee of this college (Columbia) in 1797. He was register and principal surrogate of the prerogative court. He was a member of the convention to ratify the Constitution of the United States in 1788, and was a member of the Assembly in the twelfth Legislature in 1788-89, and of the State Senate from 1789 to 1798.

Jonathan Burrall was born in 1753. He joined the northern army under General Schuyler in 1776. He became assistant paymaster, and after the war served in the commission for settling the accounts of the commissary and quartermaster's departments. He then became assistant postmaster-general, and was made manager of the New York State lotteries at a time when public confidence in them had been shaken. He was cashier of the New York Branch of the Bank of the United States during the whole period of its existence. Upon its dissolution, and the chartering of the Bank of America, he was elected cashier of that bank, in which position he remained until 1815, when he became vice-president of that institution.

The subscription to five thousand shares of the stock of the Bank of the United States by the President, under the authority of the act of incorporation, was made and consummated in June and July, 1792, some time after the bank had begun business. The bank was to loan

the government \$2,000,000, and the price of the stock was a like amount, so that the practical result was simply that the government would hold the stock and the bank would hold the note of the government for the subscription price; but as the bank was forbidden by law to deal in its own stock, the process of issue was somewhat complicated.

By the plan adopted, the Treasurer of the United States drew bills of exchange on the American commissioners in Amsterdam for the amount required. These bills were purchased by the bank, and warrants in favor of the Treasurer upon the bank placed the proceeds in the Treasury. Other warrants were then issued upon the Treasury, in favor of the bank, for the amount of the subscription to the stock, which the bank receipted for as paid. The stock having thus been paid for, in accordance with law, the bank then loaned to the government \$2,000,000, in accordance with the act of incorporation, by surrendering to the Treasury the bills drawn on Amsterdam. Thus in reality the bank loaned to the government the money with which to purchase the stock of the bank. The example thus set by the government itself was in the next fifty years widely followed, and in numerous instances with disastrous results.

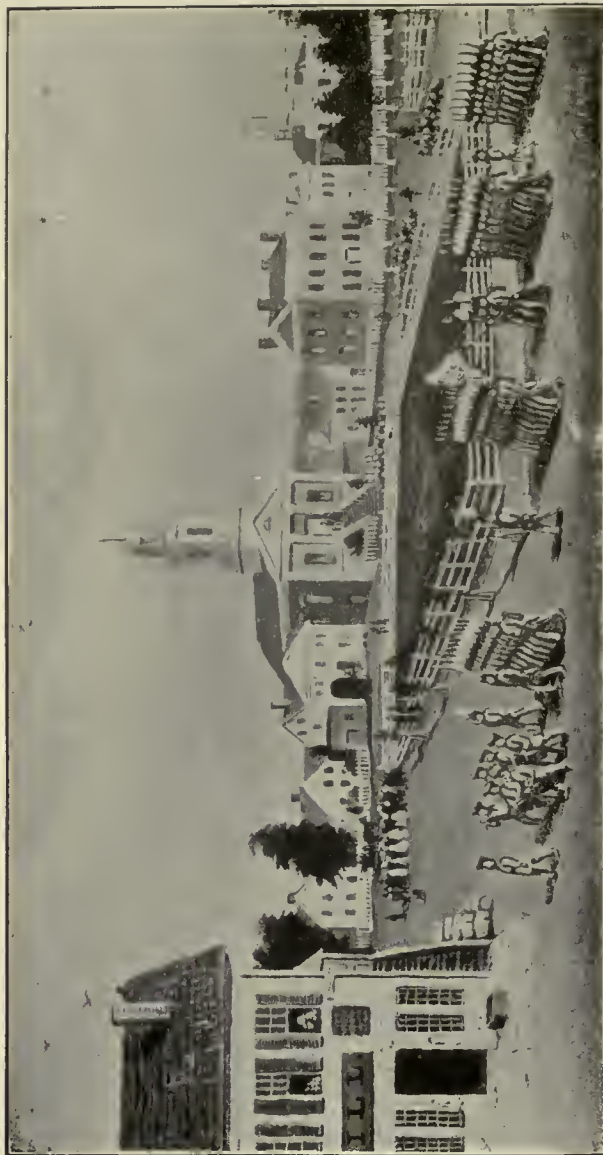
At a meeting of directors held in Philadelphia, March 30, 1792, it was resolved that the offices of discount and deposit, that is, the branch banks, be authorized to receive from stockholders the third and fourth payments on their shares by transfer of public debt sufficient to complete the payments, and that the cashiers of the branch offices give receipts for such payments, which receipts, accompanied with evidence of transfer, upon being produced at the bank, should entitle such stockholders to certificates for full shares, and to all the benefits thereof. Many may have availed themselves of this offer; at any rate, it was generally believed at the time that very little specie was ever paid on the shares, except the specie part of the first installment.

It was stated by Bollman, in 1810, that "no more, or little more, than the first installment of \$675,000 can be considered as having been received by the bank actually in hard money." In the proceedings of the Pennsylvania Legislature of 1793, the reports show that the declaration was made that one great source of profit to the Bank of the United States was the discounting of notes for stockholders, to



ALEXANDER HAMILTON

First Secretary of the Treasury and Originator and Founder of the Bank of New York



CITY HALL PARK, EARLY NEW YORK

On This Site Now Stands the City Hall of the City of New York, In Which Are the Offices of the Mayor in Which the City's Business is Transacted

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enable them to complete the payments for their stock. The fact that no one at that time came forward to defend the bank or to deny the statement, leads to the inference that the charge was true.

Early in its career the Bank of the United States made several loans to the government in anticipation of the revenue, which were not promptly paid. The debt of the government to the bank, at the end of the year 1792, was \$2,556,593. This increased, so that at the end of the year 1795 the indebtedness was \$6,200,000. Between the years 1797 and 1802 the government, to pay the balance due the bank on the original \$2,000,000 loan and other indebtedness, sold at different times its shares in the bank and ceased to be a stockholder. It is said that the government made a profit of \$671,860 on the sale of its shares, besides receiving dividends at the rate of eight and three-quarters per cent. annually. The aggregate amount paid by the government, including interest, was \$2,636,427, while the proceeds of the sale, together with the dividends, were \$3,773,580, making a profit to the government of nearly fifty-seven per cent. on the original investment.

At that time the government did not require the payment of customs duties on delivery of the goods imported, but accepted the bonds of the importers, payable at a future date, which the bank collected when due. At a meeting held by the merchants at the Coffee House, New York, March 30, 1792, a committee was appointed to prepare a memorial to Congress against an increase of duties on merchandise imported into the United States, and to petition for an extension of credit on duties already laid.

Great advantages and beneficial results were generally experienced by the government, and by every class of the community, by the establishment of a national bank. Aside from its services to the government, it exercised a very salutary influence upon the currency. Its own issues were not large, compared with its reserve in specie. It issued no notes under five dollars. It checked undue expansion on the part of the State banks by forcing redemption in specie when occasion warranted, and by refusing to receive the notes of non-specie-paying banks.

About the time the Bank of the United States went into operation the French Revolution broke out, which created a market at an increased price for our agricultural productions. An act was passed by Congress, July 20, 1790, imposing a duty of fifty cents a ton upon

all foreign vessels entering any port of the United States, while a duty of only six cents a ton was laid on American-built vessels owned wholly by a citizen or citizens of the United States. This encouragement to our commerce, about one-half of which had before been in the control of foreigners, turned it almost exclusively into the hands of our citizens; and the facilities afforded by the banks to the trading community produced a brisk and profitable business in the products of our soil. The system seemed to operate like magic in favor of the ship-owners of the United States.

Of all the branches of the Bank of the United States, the Office of Discount and Deposit established at New York City was by far the most important. The greater part of the foreign exchange business was transacted here, and most of the government bills on Amsterdam were sold at the New York Branch.

At the annual election of 1795, Philip Livingston retired from the presidency of the New York Branch of the Bank of the United States, and Cornelius Ray was chosen to fill the vacancy. He continued as its president until the business was closed by the expiration of the charter in 1811.

Cornelius Ray was the son of Richard Ray and Sarah Bogert, and was born in New York on April 25, 1755. During the Revolutionary War he retired to Albany, but returned to New York when peace had restored it to its own people. He was an active merchant, and was president of the Chamber of Commerce from May, 1806, to 1819, when he declined re-election.

Increase of business induced the directors of the Branch Bank to obtain a suitable site for a new building at 52 Wall street. Contracts were entered into with builders for the erection of the new edifice, and the corner-stone, "ornamented with a pertinent inscription," was laid with some ceremony by the president, Cornelius Ray, attended by the directors, cashier, and other invited guests, on June 13, 1797. It was said that "the president and directors deposited a very liberal sum of money for the use of the workmen engaged for the building."

On June 22d, less than ten days after this, and only two doors away on Wall street, the corner-stone of the new building to be erected for the accommodation of the business of the Bank of New York was laid with appropriate ceremonies by Gulian Verplanck, president of

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that bank, and George Doolet, the architect, in presence of the directors and a large assemblage of citizens.

The business of the Bank of New York had so increased that in 1796 better facilities were required and a more desirable location was thought necessary. Accordingly, in November of that year the house and lot on the northeast corner of Wall and William streets, where the bank is at present located, were purchased of William Constable for eleven thousand pounds, New York currency. In the following April it was decided to take down the house standing on the lot, and to erect a suitable building, with the necessary vaults, for the business of the bank. A committee was appointed to make the necessary contracts and superintend the construction of the building.

On Monday, April 23, 1798, the cash and books were removed and business was begun in the new building. The house of Francis B. Winthrop, in Wall street, was leased for eight years at an annual rent of three hundred and fifty pounds, and taxes, to be used as the residence of the cashier. Some years after the bank building was erected, in widening William street, seven feet were taken off that side of the building, and necessary alterations were made which resulted in the edifice that was so long familiar to the citizens of New York. The corporation allowed the bank \$35,000 as damages, which at the time was thought to be a very liberal allowance. The building previously occupied by the bank, in Pearl street, was sold by A. L. Bleeker & Sons, auctioneers, in January, 1798, at the Tontine Coffee House, for 10,600 pounds, New York currency.

Alexander Hamilton was in 1792 interested in the Society for Establishing Useful Manufactures, which had recently been organized in Philadelphia. To enable the society to carry out its plans for building factories at Paterson, New Jersey, it applied to the Bank of New York for a loan. Hamilton suggested that the loan should be made. In a letter on the subject to Seton he says: "I will add more, that in my opinion banks ought to afford accommodation in such cases upon easy terms of interest. I think five per cent. ought to suffice, for a direct public good is presented. And in situations of this kind, within reasonable limits, ought to consider it as a principal object to promote public purposes." A loan was made to the society of \$10,000 on pledge of United States deferred stock, with interest at five per cent. A few months later an additional loan was made to the society of \$35,000 on similar terms.

In reply to Hamilton's letter, Seton, on the 25th of June, shows the feelings of the officers of the bank towards Hamilton. "Our directors are informed of your sentiments respecting the loan to the Manufacturing Society. Be assured, my dear sir, that they have so much confidence in any measure pointed out by you, and take so much pleasure in promoting your views, which they are well convinced are ever intended for the public good, that by complying with your wishes they are glad to have an opportunity of retaliating the obligations this institution is under to you." There was evidently a very strong feeling of mutual confidence and respect.

When Philadelphia, in 1793, was visited by a terrible epidemic of yellow fever, to aid the poor and distressed people of that city, Richard Varick, the mayor of New York, presented to the Bank of New York a resolution of the Common Council asking for a loan of five thousand dollars, to which proposition the board of directors agreed, taking as security a bond of the corporation.

Previous to 1792, when there was no other bank in the city, checks of depositors on the Bank of New York were drawn simply on the "Cashier of the Bank" but after the establishment of the Branch Bank of the United States they were drawn on the "Cashier of the Bank of New York."

After the establishment of the Branch of the Bank of the United States in New York there was as much good feeling between the two banking institutions then in the city as under the circumstances could well be expected; but in August, 1792, there seems to have been some misunderstanding and some uncertainty as to cordial relations, of which Seton must have written to Hamilton. The latter, in reply, states that he trusts that certain appearances have in no degree proceeded from any unkind disposition. He explains that "large calls upon the Bank of the United States joined to liberal discounts had produced a considerable balance in favor of the Bank of North America, which rendered it expedient to draw a sum of specie from New York, not to leave the National Bank in any degree in the power of North America, which once manifested a very mischievous disposition, that was afterwards repaid by acts of kindness and generosity. The tide is now changing, and must speedily reverse the balance, and I mention it in confidence, because I wish by explaining to cherish the confidence between the two institutions at New York so necessary to their mutual interest."

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Besides the large loans from the Bank of the United States, the National Government was a borrower from the Bank of New York to a considerable extent. In response to the application of the Secretary of the Treasury, a loan of \$200,000 was made, October 6, 1794, to the United States for four months at five per cent. In January, 1795, an agreement was made to continue this loan for eight months from its maturity, and subsequently it was renewed for another year. At a meeting of the directors, on December 9, 1794, the president presented a letter from the Secretary of the Treasury requesting a loan of \$100,000 for one year at five per cent. interest, with the privilege of annual renewals for five years. Similar requests were sent to banks in other cities, the loans being required for the purpose of redeeming a part of the debt of the United States.

The directors of the Bank of New York promptly acquiesced in the plan, and Hamilton, in acknowledging notice of their acceptance of his proposition, said: "It gives me pleasure to have this fresh opportunity of bearing testimony to the liberal and patriotic zeal for the service of the United States which the Bank of New York has on every occasion evinced." Again the Secretary of the Treasury asked for a loan in August, 1795. This time \$120,000 was requested for six months, and it was also requested that the loan of \$200,000, which would fall due on October 8, should be continued to April 8, following. It was proposed that both loans should bear interest at the rate of six per cent., and should be secured by an equal amount of six per cent. stock, the bank to have the privilege of selling the stock at the market price on the maturity of the loan, in case of default in the payment thereof, which proposition was promptly granted by the bank.

At the annual meeting, in June, 1794, William Seton sent in his resignation as cashier of the bank, which position he had held since its organization, and Charles Wilkes was chosen in his stead. Seton had proved to be a capable and efficient officer, and his correspondence with Alexander Hamilton shows the regard felt for him by that eminent man and the confidence he placed in his judgment and integrity. Seton died in 1798, at the age of fifty-two.

Considerable United States stock was held by the State of New York. A part of this was redeemable in installments, not large enough at any one time to be of material assistance to the State

Treasury. Some of it was deferred stock, which bore no interest until 1800, the market value of which was far below par. To render the funds of the State more productive, the Governor, in accordance with an act of the Legislature, appointed a committee early in the year 1797 to meet a committee from the Bank of New York to confer with reference to the sale and purchase of these stocks.

It was finally agreed that the bank should purchase of the State \$566,463.70 of the United States six per cent. stock, and \$799,686.51 of United States deferred stock, the whole to be paid for at its nominal value on the second Tuesday in May, 1809, and that interest should be paid on the same at the rate of six per cent., the interest on the amount of the deferred stock not commencing until the year 1800. The bank further agreed to advance to the State from time to time such sums as should be required. The benefit obtained by the bank from this purchase was that it was permitted to increase its indebtedness to a proportionate amount beyond the limit fixed by its charter, and further that it became the financial depository of the State. It was thus allowed to increase the issue of its circulating notes.

In November, 1797, the president of the Bank of New York laid before the directors a letter from the Governor setting forth the need of the State for money to be used for its defence, and enclosing an act of the Legislature authorizing the Governor to borrow \$315,000 for that purpose on the faith of the State. Accordingly, in addition to loans already existing which amounted to \$128,000, a loan was made to the State of \$200,000, the amount of the loan being placed to its credit and interest at the rate of six per cent. charged on such sums as should be drawn.

In the summer of 1798 New York was smitten with the pestilence of yellow fever. It raged worse than at any previous visitation. Terror seized the inhabitants. Every one who could fled from the city. An early victim of the pestilence was one of the clerks of the Bank of New York. The directors presented five hundred dollars to his widow, and at the end of the year a gratuity of twenty per cent. on their salaries was given to all persons who had remained at their posts in the service of the bank during the prevalence of the epidemic.

Fearing that the fever might again appear the next year, it was thought prudent to provide against such an emergency by securing some place outside of the city to which they might retreat. Accord-

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ingly, both the Bank of New York and the Branch Bank of the United States purchased lots in the village of Greenwich, and a suitable building was erected by the Bank of New York on its lot. This proved to be a wise precaution, for the fever again visited the city in 1799, and it was found necessary to move to the new building in Greenwich, where the business of the bank was carried on until late in November. Notice was given in the newspapers that notes and bills for the bank, intended for discount, might be left for the cashier at the City Hotel on Broadway under sealed cover, on Mondays and Wednesdays, and would be offered for discount on the following days, and that a messenger would call at the City Hotel for letters directed to the cashier, any article of value enclosed being at the risk of the owner.

The Bank of New York had with great difficulty obtained its charter in 1791, and with this institution and the Branch of the Bank of the United States, it was generally considered that banking accommodations in New York City were sufficient. This condition continued until 1799, when suddenly and unexpectedly the Manhattan Company, which had been incorporated for the ostensible purpose of

supplying the city with water, announced that its charter permitted it to engage in banking business, and gave notice that the company would open offices for that purpose in September of that year, with a capital of \$500,000.

After the Revolution various proposals had been made for supplying the city with water, among them one from Christopher Colles, who had undertaken the work in



MANHATTAN BANK WATERWORKS

1774. There were strong objections to granting any exclusive franchise to individuals or private companies. A project for supplying the city with water from the Bronx River was proposed, which was favorably reported on by Mr. Western, an engineer. Other sources were suggested, and all appeared ready and ripe for the accomplishment by the corporation of the city of a work so long desired.

But in February, 1799, Aaron Burr, accompanied by John Murray, president of the Chamber of Commerce; Gulian Verplanck, presi-

dent of the Bank of New York; Peter H. Wendover, president of the Mechanics' Society, together with General Hamilton and John Broome, called on the mayor, Richard Varick, and represented to him that great difficulties had arisen in the minds of members of the Legislature touching the power requested to be vested in the Common Council by the bill for supplying the city with water, and that a company would be better adapted to the purpose. Hamilton, in a long communication to the mayor, advocated the incorporation of a company, with powers similar to those which the draft of the bill contemplated to be given to the city corporation. The Common Council resolved that they would "be perfectly satisfied if the objects in view are pursued in any way that the Legislature may think proper, by which their fellow-citizens may be benefited in the most easy and effectual method, and the charter rights of the city remain inviolable."

It was then that Aaron Burr, who was a member of the Assembly, presented a petition and introduced a bill to charter a company with a capital of two millions of dollars for the purpose of introducing pure water into the City of New York. As the entire capital might not be required for this purpose, a clause was inserted in the bill providing that the surplus might be "employed in the purchase of public or other stocks or in any other moneyed transactions or operations not inconsistent with the laws and constitution of the State of New York." This bill, incorporating the Manhattan Company, was accordingly passed by the Legislature without a suspicion, it is said, on the part of the greater number of those voting for it, that it contained a grant of banking privileges. It is hardly necessary to state that Alexander Hamilton and Gulian Verplanck would never have given their support to the project if they had had any suspicions of it.

When the bill came before the Council of Revision the Chief Justice objected that, under the clause quoted, the proposed corporation might engage in trade, but Burr had sufficient address and tact to prevent it from being stricken out. No one seems to have noticed that the corporation might engage in banking, which was the real intention. It was a shrewd and cunning scheme.

It was claimed that the Bank of New York, the only bank in the city except the Branch of the Bank of the United States, was entirely in the hands of Federalists, who, the Republicans alleged, used their control of it for the furtherance of the Federal cause. Both of these

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banks, to a great extent, owed their origin to Alexander Hamilton, and both were inclined to support and advance the author of their existence. The Republican merchants, it was said, had for a long time seen their Federal competitors accommodated while their own applications for aid were refused, and it was their earnest wish to establish a bank which should be as accommodating to them as the Bank of New York was supposed to be to the traders of the other party. This had not been an easy thing to bring about, for there was a strong prejudice among the people against banks in general, and the Federalists were in the majority in the Legislature, which alone could grant a charter.

Under these circumstances Aaron Burr had conceived the ingenious plan of organizing a company which, on the condition of supplying the city with pure and wholesome water, should obtain from the Legislature the concession in perpetuity of banking privileges. This successfully accomplished, the charter being granted under date of April 2, 1799, Daniel Ludlow was chosen president. On April 22d the Common Council of the city subscribed for the shares reserved for the corporation, and ordered that a loan of \$5,000 be secured from the Bank of New York to pay for the same.

It was soon found that the promise of a supply of water from the Manhattan Company was delusive. Although authorized to go over the whole island and into Westchester county in search of good water, the company sank a large well at the corner of Duane and Cross streets, in a thickly settled portion of the city, and pumped up into a reservoir such water as was found, but which could hardly be called pure and wholesome. Wooden pipes were laid down, and through these water was conveyed where it proved profitable to do so. This was continued for many years. Alderman Stevens reported in 1829 that "the water pipes of the Manhattan Company extend to such parts of the city as they may deem advisable to put them on the score of profit." The right of the company to do a banking business was tested and affirmed by the Supreme Court of the State.

A special meeting of the directors of the Bank of New York was called by the president on August 22 to consider the propriety of receiving the notes which might be issued by the Manhattan Company, and it was resolved that such notes should not be received. A change of policy on this matter was afterwards adopted, and on the 15th of April, 1800, the resolution was rescinded.



HAMILTON AND BURR DUELLING GROUNDS, WEEHAWKEN, NEW JERSEY

These Two Great Political Opponents, Hamilton and Burr, Were Also Banking Rivals, Being the Founders of the Two First Banks of New York, the Bank of New York and the Manhattan Company

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The sudden death of Gulian Verplanck, on November 20, 1799, deprived the Bank of New York of the services of that distinguished citizen, who had been its president during the previous eight years. At a meeting of the directors of the bank, on the 7th of the following December, Nicholas Gouverneur was elected President to fill the vacancy.

Nicholas Gouverneur was descended from Abraham Gouverneur and Mary, the daughter of Governor Leisler. He became a prominent merchant in New York City. He was a member of the Chamber of Commerce in 1768, and was a brother-in-law of its first president, John Cruger, whose sister, Sarah, he married in 1755. He was a member of the great commercial house of Gouverneur & Kemble, which was founded in 1787 at 26 Front street. He resided for many years opposite their store.

The directors of the Bank of New York, in view of the aid which the bank had rendered both to the United States and to the State of New York, felt justified in asking for some legislative action for its benefit. Accordingly, in February, 1801, the directors presented a petition to the Legislature asking that the limitation to the charter be rescinded (the charter granted to the Manhattan Company being perpetual); that the clause, which provided that four of the directors elected in any one year should be ineligible for one year after their term of office had expired, should be repealed; and that the clauses limiting the amount of property which the bank might hold, and prohibiting the bank from dealing in any species of stock that might be created under the act of the United States or of any particular State, should be repealed.

This petition was laid before the Legislature by Mr. Denning, who, at the request of the board of directors, urged that the bank should be allowed to pay a part of its indebtedness to the State in the bills of credit issued by the State. These bills, to the amount of \$103,000, being unsalable, had for a long time been in the possession of the bank. As a result of this petition, the Legislature amended the act of incorporation so far as it affected the ineligibility of directors, and also made it lawful for the Treasurer of the State to receive from the bank the bills of credit referred to.

On the death of Nicholas Gouverneur in 1802, Herman Le Roy was elected president of the Bank of New York on July 29 of that

year. He was the son of Jacob Le Roy, the head of the well-known house of Jacob Le Roy & Sons. He was born in New York in 1758, and in his youth was sent to Holland to receive a commercial education. He founded the house of Le Roy, Bayard & Co., which afterwards, as Le Roy, Bayard & McEvers, became the most important commercial establishment in the United States. Herman Le Roy's daughter married Daniel Webster.

The number of banks throughout the country had by this time greatly increased. In the year 1803 it was estimated that there were upwards of forty in active operation, and that many of them were profitable. The success of the Bank of New York induced a desire in the government of the city of New York to have a share in its prosperity. At a meeting of the directors, in February, 1803, a letter was presented from Edward Livingston, Mayor of the city, in which he requested the opinion of the directors as to the expediency of having the charter of the bank extended and its capital increased by one million dollars, the dividends on the new capital to be subject to a deduction of two per cent. on the amount of that capital, which should be appropriated to the use of the corporation. The directors did not approve of the proposition.

The Bank of New York had been and was pre-eminently a merchants' bank and was accustomed to make advances on merchandise. In 1804 this was made a special branch of its business and John Ellis was appointed to inspect and appraise, on the part of the bank, goods offered as security for loans. He received a commission of one-half of one per cent. on the loan, which was paid by the borrower.

Frontier Life in Southwest Kansas

BY

ROBERT M. WRIGHT

[Robert M. Wright was born at Bladensburg, Prince George County, Maryland, September 2, 1840. His father was born at Alexandria, Virginia, in 1800, and when a mere boy was on the battlefield of Bladensburg, administering to the wounded soldiers. His great-grandfather was a Presbyterian minister, and during the Revolutionary War raised a regiment of militant plowboys at Elizabethtown, New Jersey, of which he had command at the battle of the Meadows. The British set a price on his head and destroyed all his property. His wife was shot by a Hessian soldier as she sat at her window with a babe in her arms. Her husband was killed by Tories. His grandfather on his mother's side was Elias Boudinot Coldwell, for many years clerk of the United States Supreme Court, whose residence, and private library, which had been loaned to Congress, were destroyed by the British in the War of 1812. When sixteen years old, Robert M. Wright took a notion to come West. He settled in Missouri, and worked on a farm near St. Louis until 1859. He made an overland trip with oxen in that year, reaching the town of Denver in May. He crossed the plains four times by wagon and twice by coach. He worked for three years for Sanderson & Co., and then became a contractor for cutting hay, wood, and hauling grain. He was appointed post trader at Fort Dodge in 1867. He has been farmer, stockman, contractor, postmaster and merchant. He has four times represented Ford county in the legislature. In 1899 he was appointed commissioner of forestry, and was reappointed in 1901. He resides at Dodge City.]



will relate a few of the incidents of the early days in the state of Kansas as they present themselves to my mind.

In making my second trip across the plains, in the spring of 1863, I noticed that the country was dotted with bare chimneys and blackened ruins of houses along the old Santa Fe trail, from a few miles west of Westport to Council Grove. The day we reached Council Grove two men rode in on fine horses and, dismounting, one of them said: "I expect you know who we are, but I am suffering the torments of hell from the toothache, and if you will allow me to get relief we will not disturb your town; but if we are molested, I have a body of men near here who will burn your town." These men I learned afterward were Bill Anderson and Up. Hays. A friend by the name of

Chatfield with his family and I with my family were traveling together. We drove about ten miles from Council Grove that day and camped with an ox train going to Santa Fe. Chatfield and I had a very large tent between us. That night about midnight, during a heavy rainstorm, these two men with about fifty others rode up and dismounted, and as many of them as could enter our tent crowded in and asked for water. We happened to have a large keg full. After they drank, they saw that our wives as well as ourselves were much frightened, and they said: "Ladies, you need not be frightened; we are not making war on women and children, but on 'blue coats.'" When we reached Diamond Springs we saw what their purpose was. They had murdered the people and burned their houses. The place indeed presented a look of desolation and destruction. Not a living thing could be seen about the premises, and we were too scared to make an investigation. We learned afterward it was an old grudge they had against these people.

On the night of July 3, 1862, Bill and Jim Anderson killed Judge Baker and his father-in-law, George Segur, at Baker's home on Rock creek, a few miles east of Council Grove. Baker kept a supply store near the Santa Fe trail. The Andersons were hard characters from Missouri. At the commencement of the war they took to the brush. On one of their marauding expeditions in the spring of the year they stole two horses from Mr. Segur. Baker and friends gave chase, and, overtaking the party west of Council Grove, recovered the horses. Baker swore out a warrant for the arrest of the Andersons. Old man Anderson, hearing of this, swore he would take Baker's life, and, arming himself with a rifle, started for Baker's home. Baker had been informed, met him prepared, and getting the first shot, killed Anderson. July 2 the Andersons skulked around Baker's home, but the latter was at Emporia. He returned on the night of the 3d. Baker and Segur after dark were called out, both were wounded, and, retreating into the house, took refuge in the cellar. The house was fired, and Baker burned to death, and Segur, who escaped, died the next day.

The ranches in those days were few and far between. Beyond the Grove were Peacock's ranch, at Cow creek, Alison's ranch, at Walnut creek, and also that of William Griffinstein, with whom I afterward had the pleasure to serve in the house of representatives. The

following is a true story of the fate of Peacock, as related to me a few years after his death. Peacock kept a whisky ranch on Cow creek. He and Satank, the great war chief of the Kiowas, were great friends and chums, as Peacock knew the sign language well. He had quite a large ranch and traded with the Indians, and, of course, supplied them with whisky. In consequence, the soldiers were always after him. Satank was his confidential friend and lookout. He had to caché his whisky and hide it in every conceivable manner, so that the troops would not find it. In fact, he dreaded the incursions of the soldiers much more than he did the Indians. One day Satank said to him: "Peacock, write me a nice letter that I can show to the wagon bosses and get all the chuck I want. Tell them I am the great war chief of the Kiowas, and ask them to give me the very best in the shop."

Peacock said, "All right, Satank," and sat down and penned this epistle: "This is Satank, the biggest liar, beggar and thief on the plains. What he can't beg of you he will steal. Kick him out of your camp, as he is a lazy, good-for-nothing Indian."

Satank presented his letter several times to passing trains, and, of course, got a very cool reception, or rather a warm one. One wagon boss blacksnaked him, after which indignity he sought a friend, and said to him: "Look here; Peacock promised to write me a good letter, but I don't understand it. Every time I present it the wagon boss gives me the devil. Read it, and tell me just what it says." His friend did so, interpreting it literally. "All right," said Satank, and the next morning at daylight he took some of his braves and rode to Peacock's ranch. He called to Peacock, "Get up; the soldiers are coming." The summons was quickly obeyed. Seizing his field-glass, Peacock ran to the top of his lookout, and the instant he appeared, Satank shot him full of holes, exclaiming as he did so, "Good-by, Mr. Peacock; I guess you won't write any more letters."

Then they went into the building and killed every man present, except one, a sick individual, who was lying in one of the rooms, gored through the leg by a buffalo. All that saved him was that the Indians were very superstitious about entering apartments where sick men lay, for fear they might have smallpox, which disease they dreaded more than any other.

THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY

REPORT OF THE TREASURER OF THE NATIONAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Trial Balance of Ledger January 1, 1922

| | Debits | Credits |
|--|-------------|-------------|
| Cash Balance | \$ 312.47 | |
| General Summary Account (Transfer of Expense and Income Accounts from 1915 to 1922 | | \$11,135.70 |
| Frank Allaben Genealogical Company, Balance due on the purchase of the Magazine | | 15,471.00 |
| The National Historical Company..... | \$ 993.40 | |
| Publications (Magazines Inventory)..... | 3,149.15 | |
| Investments (Liberty Bonds)..... | 3,950.00 | |
| Notes Payable, (Secured by Liberty Bonds). | | \$ 3,000.00 |
| The Journal of American History (Purchase) | \$25,000.00 | |
| John Brown Memorial, $\frac{1}{4}$ Interest..... | \$ 50.00 | |
| Haskins & Sells Co., Advance on lease..... | 200.00 | |
| Dudley Butler | | \$ 6,538.00 |
| Accounts Receivable, Good | \$ 965.25 | |
| Accounts Receivable, Doubtful.. | 1,524.43 | \$ 2,489.68 |
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| | \$36,144.70 | \$36,144.70 |

Respectfully submitted,

DUDLEY BUTLER,
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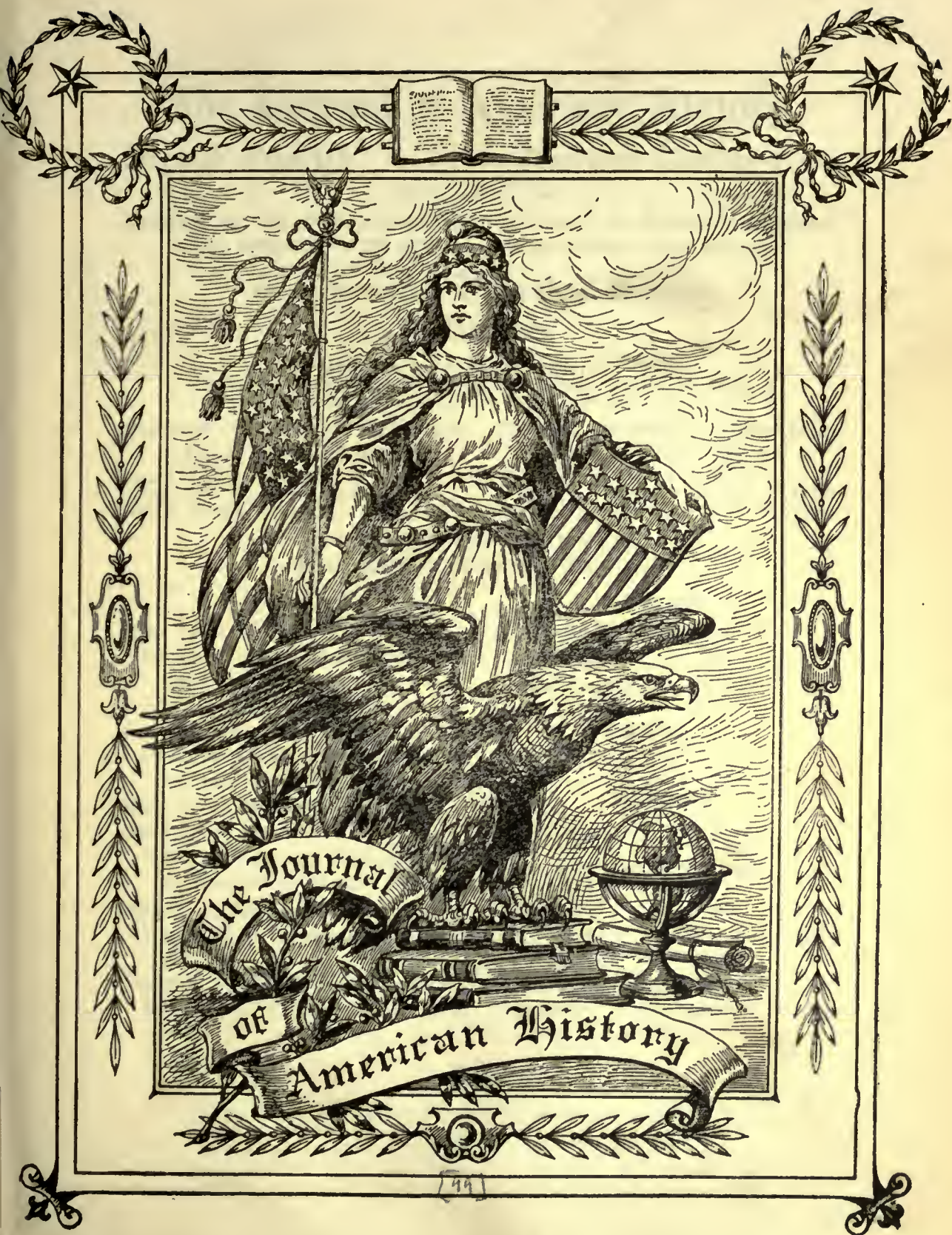
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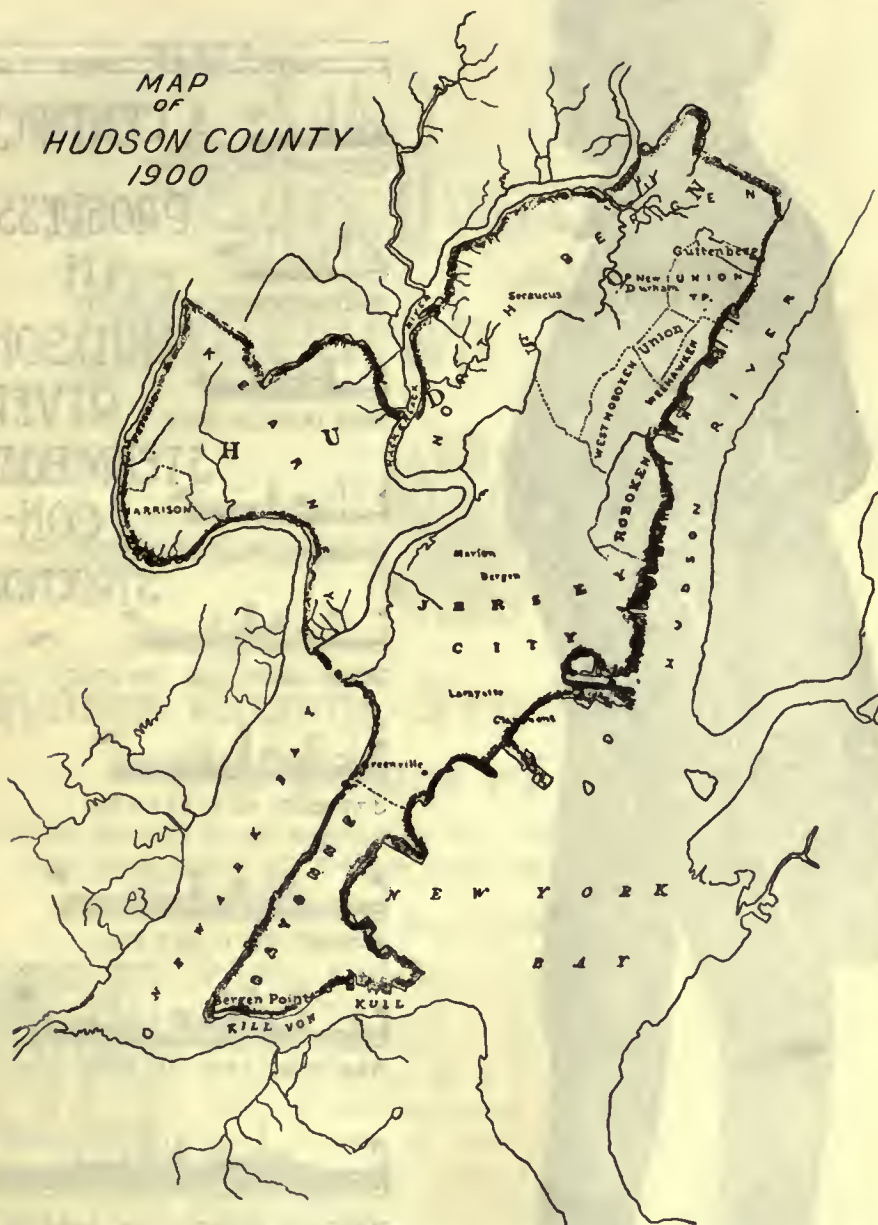
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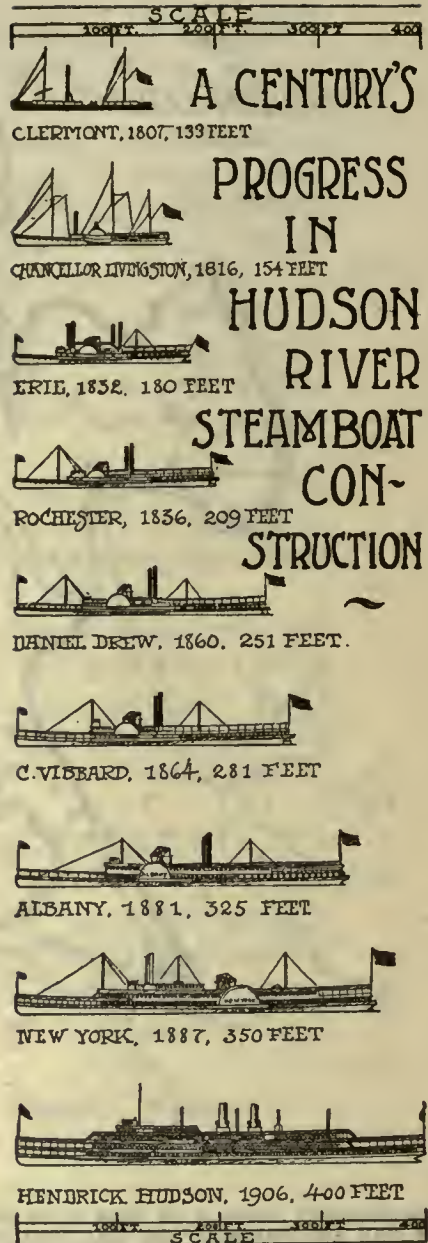
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MAP
OF
HUDSON COUNTY
1900



SEE OPENING ARTICLE IN THIS NUMBER FOR A BEAUTIFULLY ILLUSTRATED ACCOUNT OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE OLD DUTCH VILLAGES, OPPOSITE NEW AMSTERDAM, INTO MODERN JERSEY CITY, WITH POPULATION OF 297,864 IN 1920, THE WESTERN GATE OF NEW YORK CITY



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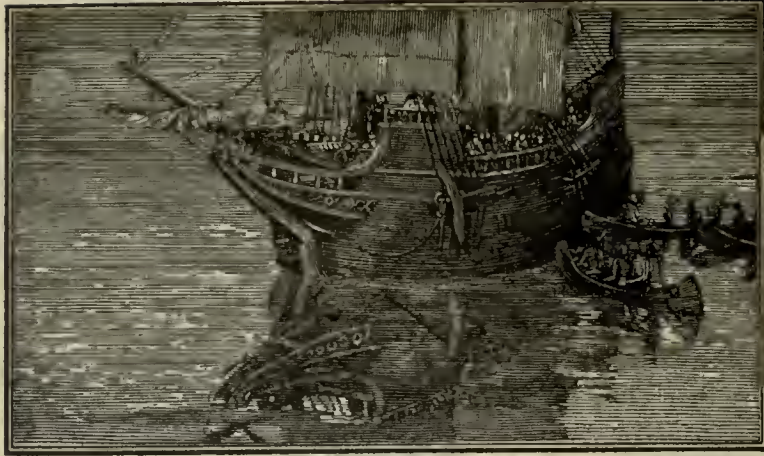
Hudson County, New Jersey, and the Old Village of Bergen

A Brief Account of the Foundation and Growth of What is Now Jersey
City, New Jersey, With a Population of Three Hundred Thousand

Introduction



THE article following, giving a very interesting account of the origin and growth of the old Dutch villages, on the west side of the Hudson River opposite the present City of New York, and which were consolidated in the Nineteenth Century into Jersey City, the west gateway of New York, is taken from a historic brochure recently issued by The Trust Company of New Jersey. The accompanying illustrations, interesting wood engravings, are also taken from the same brochure, and are reproduced in this issue of The Journal of American History through the courtesy of Mr. William C. Heppenheimer, President of The Trust Company of New Jersey.



THE COMING OF THE WHITE MEN TO THE HUDSON RIVER

We are also indebted to the courtesy of the Bartlett Orr Press of New York, the printers of the interesting historic brochure above mentioned.

Much has been written of early New Amsterdam, but less is known of the early history of its neighbors across the river, old Bergen and the adjacent villages, which slowly grew into Jersey City.—*The Editor.*



WHEN the first representatives of the Amsterdam Licensed Trading West India Company built four houses on Manhattan Island in 1610-1612, one could hardly consider the territory crowded. Because the Delaware was the South River, the river explored by Henry Hudson in 1609, which first was called Mauritius River in honor of Maurice of Nassau, Prince of Orange, came to be referred to as North River, which explains why we today call it Hudson River or North River, just as the words happen.

The performances of Captains Hendrick Christaen and Adrien Blok are recommended earnestly to the attention of those who imagine that the Dutchman is a large body that moves slowly.

HUDSON COUNTY, NEW JERSEY



FROM THE MURAL BY HOWARD PYLE, HUDSON COUNTY COURT HOUSE,
JERSEY CITY

Adrien Blok sailed from Holland in 1614. He arrived at Manhattan Island in 1614. His ship was destroyed there by fire in 1614 and he built himself another in 1614. Their handful of men built four houses, and for good measure a fort, Fort Amsterdam, on the land above what later was known as Castle Garden, and now is the site of the Aquarium. They sailed up the North River and established a trading post, Fort Orange, on an island below Albany. They sailed through Hell Gate, which even now is no place for timid navigators, though it is not one-tenth as dangerous as it was then. They explored the whole great Long Island Sound to Cape Cod. They looked thoroughly into that tract which afterward became the Rhode Island Plantations. They investigated the Connecticut River. And they started the opening up of New Jersey by establishing a trading-post on the west side of the North River opposite lower Manhattan, following it some years later with a small redoubt.

They might have left records as romantic as the narrative of Captain John Smith, for they explored and traded everywhere, from Cape Cod to the Delaware. But they were not men of the pen.

Only a few years after Adrien Blok built the first four dwellings, some New Amsterdammers moved westward over the river. They

selected a lovely wooded ridge that looked down on a green, water-cut foreland and temptingly across at the little Dutch houses of Manhattan.

Unfortunately these settlers did not leave a precise record, for they did not realize that they were making history by establishing the first settlement in New Jersey. Therefore we know only that "some-time between 1617 and 1620 settlements were made at Bergen, in the vicinity of the Esopus Indians and at Schenectady." We cannot even be sure that these first settlers in New Jersey were Dutch. "It is believed," says another historian, "that the first European settlement within the limits of New Jersey was made at Bergen about 1618, by a number of Danes and Norwegians who accompanied the Dutch to the New Netherland."

Various directors of the West India Company, among them Goodyn, Bloemart, Van Renselaer and Pauuw, obtained charters as Patroons, and sent ships with agents to select land and make settlements. The land granted to Pauuw was Staten Island and a large tract along the North River shore opposite Manhattan Island. This holding along the river, "Aharsimus and Arresinck, extending along the



IN THE OLD DUTCH DAYS

HUDSON COUNTY, NEW JERSEY

River Mauritius and Island Manhatta on the east side and the island Hobocanhackingh on the north," became the Patroonship of Pavonia. The name is said to have been based on the Latin equivalent for the Dutch word paaun, meaning peacock. Michael Pauuw, or Pauw as some records have it, was a burgher of Amsterdam and Baron of Achtienvoven in South Holland. Hobocanhackingh, which was Indian for "the place of the tobacco pipe," later became known as Hoe-buck, and is so referred to even in Revolutionary annals. Today it is Hoboken, and the tidal streams that made it an island have been long covered by streets.

After a few years, the Company sought to revoke Pauuw's Patroonship on the ground of non-fulfilment of contract; but they evidently found him a bird rather tougher than a mere peacock, for the records show that they had to buy him out, paying him 26,000 florins, or about \$10,000. We find what looks like echoes of that old dispute when we search through the meagre history of the period; such laudatory remarks, for instance, as that "the Boueries and Plantations on the west side of the river were in prosperous condition," and such

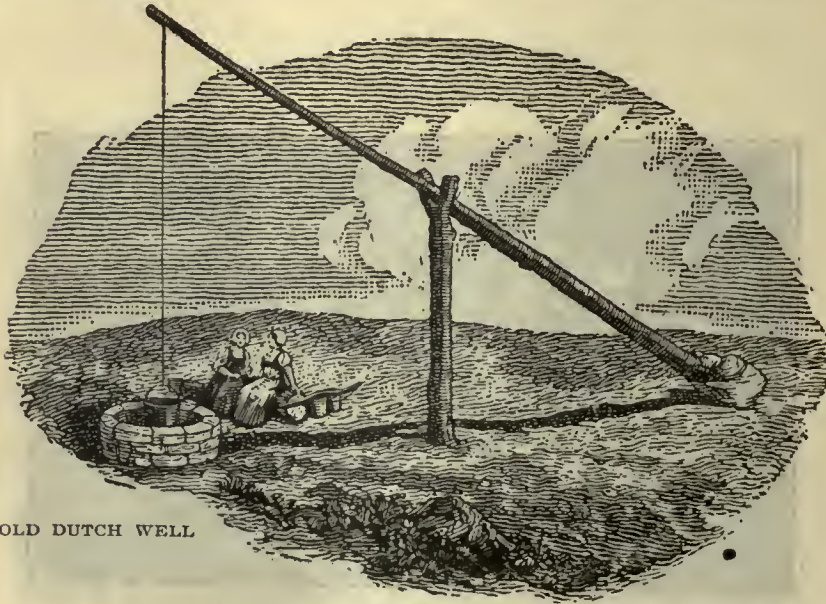


FROM THE MURAL BY HOWARD PYLE, HUDSON COUNTY COURT HOUSE,
JERSEY CITY

pessimistic reports as, "in 1633 there were only two houses in Pavonia, one at Communipau, later occupied by Jan Evertsen Bout (who had come over as Pauuw's representative), and one at Ahasimus, occupied by Cornelis Van Vorst," who was successor to Bout.

In that same year of 1633, Michael Paulus erected a hut on a shore front of sand hills as a government trading post where the Indians could bring their product by canoe. The place became known as Paulus Hoeck. Some records give this trader's name as Paulaz, others call him Paulusen. For a time the Dutch name of "Hoeck" was lost entirely, having been changed by ready spellers to "Powles's Hook." Then the original name came back, and that part of the shore was so known long after Jersey City was made into a municipality.

With the elimination of Patroon Pauuw, Paulus Hoeck was leased in 1638, to Abraham Isaacsen Verplanck. The sand hills covered about sixty-five acres, and they became popular for tobacco planting. In the past generations there has been so much filling in of shore front that the site of Paulus' trading post is more than a thousand feet inland.



OLD DUTCH WELL

HUDSON COUNTY, NEW JERSEY

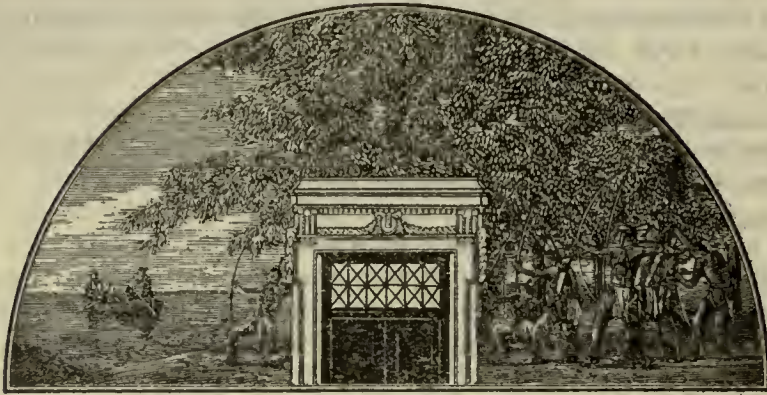
Jan Evertsen Bout, the lone house-holder of Communipau, got a lease of Communipau from the Dutch West India Company in the same year, 1638. His yearly rental was set as "one quarter of his crops, two tuns of strong beer and twelve capons." Presumably the New Amsterdam representatives of the Company knew what to do with the two last items. In 1641, Hobocanhackingh, or Hoebuck, was leased to Aert Teunisen Van Putten for twelve years, for a rental of "the fourth sheaf with which God Almighty shall favor the field." These, and a Bouerie in the Greenville section occupied by Dirck Straatmaker, were apparently the only notable settlements then existing in the large tract that afterward became the township of Bergen.

Dutch thrift never made the Dutchmen dull to the good art of living. They loved the straight wild cliffs of the Palisades. They loved the squall-darkened broad reach that they named the Tappan Zee. They loved the sweet tranquility of the vastly stretching sea meadows at its mouth, where flowed the rivers Hackensack and Passaic, the deep sound of the Kill von Kull, and many pleasant little streams that have been filled in long ago and are covered now by streets and towns.

The conveyances of the lands that had belonged to the Patroon-



PRIOR'S MILL, LOCATED NEAR WHAT IS NOW THE CORNER OF FREMONT STREET AND RAILROAD AVENUE, JERSEY CITY



"THERE CAME AN UPRISING OF TRIBES"

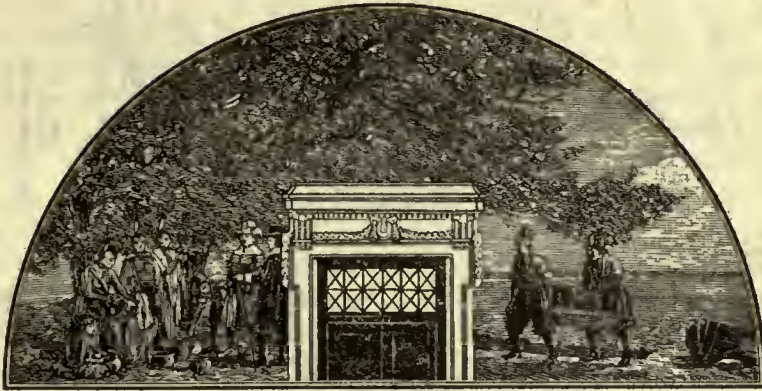
From the Lunette, by C. Y. Turner, Hudson County Court House, Jersey City

ship of Pavonia were made by Director-General William Kieft. When he went so far as to demand tribute of maize, furs and other supplies from the Indians, with threats of force if they refused, they responded in their own injudicious way by capturing or killing cattle. The peaceful intercourse of the past ceased, and mischief followed on mischief. Finally Kieft ordered an attack on an Indian encampment behind Communipaw, or rather Communipau, as it was called till well into the Nineteenth Century. The order was obeyed with unhappy punctuality.

According to the records, "eighty soldiers on the night of February 27, 1643, under Sergeant Rodolph attacked the sleeping Indians and massacred all." From the Raritan to the Connecticut, red runners carried the news. There came an uprising of tribes so sudden and so terrible that almost over night the whole territory was swept clear of white men, "not a house was left standing and all Boueries were devastated."

The settlers who succeeded in escaping made their miserable way into New Amsterdam with the plaint: "Every place is abandoned. We wretched people must skulk with wives and little ones that are

HUDSON COUNTY, NEW JERSEY



PAYING FOR THE LAND

From the Lunette by C. Y. Turner, Hudson County Court House, Jersey City

still left, in poverty together by and around the Fort at New Amsterdam."

Then in 1654 the killing of an Indian girl on Manhattan Island caused another war. The Indians brought it home to New Amsterdam itself. On the New Jersey side they swept the country almost as before. "Not one white person remained in Pavonia." Twenty Boueries were destroyed and three hundred families were collected in the Fort on Manhattan Island.

On January 30, 1658, Governor Stuyvesant and the Council of New Netherland acquired by purchase from the Indians a tract of land lying along the west side of the North River. This territory was signed over for the red men by the Indian chiefs Therincques, Wawapehack, Seghkor, Koghkenningh, Bomokan, Memiwockan, Sames and Wewenatokwee (which presumably was a casual approximation to the real names by the honest Dutch scribes and notaries) to "the noble Lord Director-General Pieter Stuyvesant and Council of New Netherlandt."

It is described as "beginning from the great Klip above Wiehachan and from there right through the land above the island Sikakes



BERGEN IN 1841, NOW A PART OF JERSEY CITY

and therefrom thence to the Kill von Coll, and so along to the Constable Hoeck, and from the Constable Hoeck again to the aforesaid Klip above Wiehachan."

The word "Klip" was Dutch for "cliff." It is hardly necessary to explain what places were meant by Wiehachan and Sikakes. Merely as a matter of superfluous accuracy we mention apologetically that they were Weehawken and Secaucus. Secaucus was scarcely an island. It was a strip of firm land surrounded by tidal marsh. For some reason it was highly prized by planters. Its name was Indian for "place of snakes" and it and Snake Hill or Rattlesnake Hill, appear frequently in subsequent land transfers.

For the territory thus sold, which included all the land between the North and Hackensack Rivers and the Kill von Kull, the Indians received "80 fathoms of wampum, 20 fathoms of cloth, 12 brass kettles, 1 double brass kettle, 6 guns, 2 blankets, and one-half barrel of strong beer." It does not seem much; but wampum was good Indian money, and 80 fathoms is 480 feet, and 480 feet of good money would seem not insignificant even today. One wonders, however, how the tribes divided the one "double brass kettle," and who drank the beer. In 1920, this territory was assessed for taxes on a valuation of \$671,-141,067. It seems to have been one of those excellent transactions that permanently satisfied both parties to the bargain.

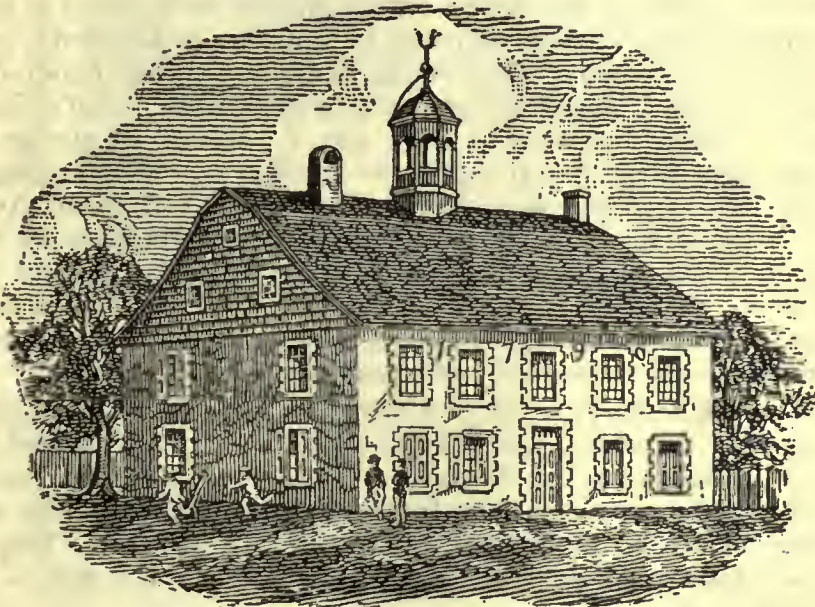
Despite the purchase, the concentration orders and the remission

HUDSON COUNTY, NEW JERSEY

of taxes remained in force, and on August 16, 1660, a petition for farming rights was granted to several families on condition that, first, a spot must be selected which could be defended easily; second, each settler to whom land was given free must begin to build his house within six weeks after drawing his lot; third, there must be at least one soldier enlisted from each house, able to bear arms to defend the village.

In November of the same year the village of Bergen was founded "by permission of Peter Stuyvesant, Director-General, and the Council of New Netherland," and thus Bergen (described as being "in the new maize land"), besides being the earliest settlement in New Jersey, also holds the honor of being the first permanent settlement in New Jersey.

The site of the original village is marked by the present Bergen Square and the four blocks surrounding it, the boundaries being New-



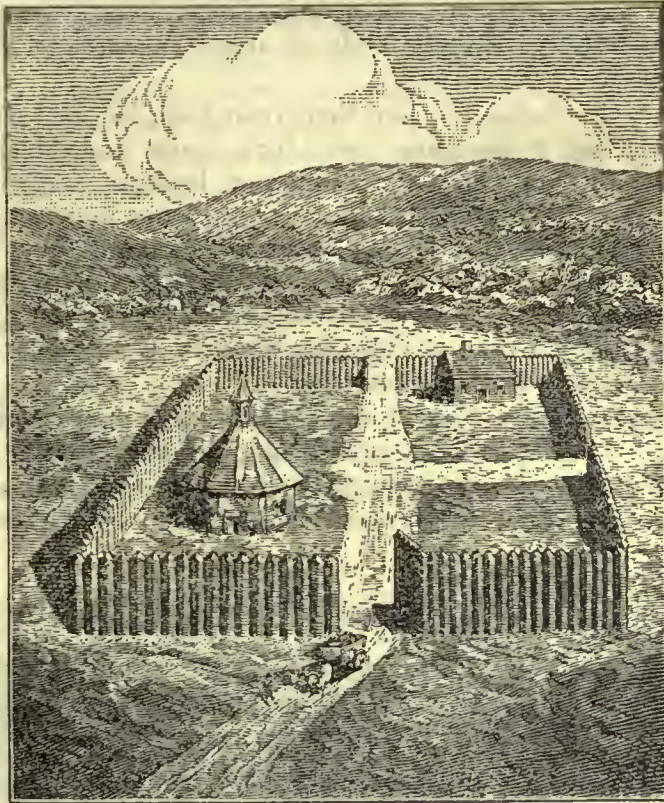
COLUMBIA ACADEMY, NORTHEAST CORNER, BERGEN SQUARE, JERSEY CITY

kirk and Vroom Streets north and south, Tuers Avenue east and Van Reypen Street west. There were two cross roads, and they are still represented today by existing streets. The present Bergen Avenue was the road to the Kill von Kull* and also to Bergen Woods, now known as North Hudson. Academy Street of today was then the Communipaw road. From their height the inhabitants looked over island-dotted and stream-divided meadows of tall sea-grass, swarming with wild fowl and rich with fish. Those bright unstained expanses gave them mighty crops of salt hay for no trouble save that of harvesting it. They were crops that could not fail so long as the tides ran. Everywhere the salt tides were the Dutchman's friend. He utilized high flood to bring craft close to his farms for easy loading or unloading. He used the ebb to help him to the bay and so to market at New Amsterdam. He used the flood to help him home again. Indeed, his very land roads were tidal; for the lower reaches to Paulus Hook and other shores were often under sea in the full-moon tides.

In the center of the village, which was in the form of a square eight hundred feet long on each side, its founders established a vacant space, recorded as being one hundred and sixty by two hundred and twenty-five feet. In great part this remains as today's Bergen Square. Around the whole village was a palisade of strong logs, with openings at the two cross roads. Daniel Van Winkle, Bergen's accomplished historian, says that Tuers Avenue and Idaho Avenue on the east and west, and Newkirk and Vroom Streets on the north and south, mark the line of these palisades. In the evening, or when there were rumors of Indian trouble, the cattle were driven in and the openings barred by heavy gates. The farms expanded throughout the surrounding country, and were called "Buytentuyn."

All around the handful of Europeans were Indians. Seacoast Indians came in canoes through the marsh thoroughfares and from the high lands beyond the Raritan. Warrior Indians came down the river in war canoes from their forests, where they were well accustomed to contest the hunting rights with other tribes. For a long time there was little strife between them and the Dutch. The men of Hol-

*The Kill von Kull is the strait between Staten Island (now Richmond Borough, New York) and the New Jersey shore, south of Jersey City.



THE FOUNDERS OF BERGEN ERECTED
A PALISADE OF LOGS AROUND THEIR
SETTLEMENT ON THE SITE OF WHAT
IS NOW BERGEN SQUARE, JERSEY CITY

THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY

land were sharp traders, but they were not robbers or tyrants. From the very first they purchased instead of taking, and so, though Indian wars finally came into even their quiet history, they were wars not caused by attempt to snatch lands or other possessions from their savage neighbors.

They left the Indians to live their own free life, and the red men were well satisfied to exchange their furs, maize and tobacco for the strange and tempting goods that had been brought across the great salt water. The Dutchmen smoked their long pipes in peace, cultivated tulips in the alien soil, drank their aromatic Hollands in taverns that were Holland transplanted, and walked forth in untroubled dignity with enormous guns to shoot the wild fowl whose wraithlike flights filled that sky which now is filled by wraiths of smoke from Sandy Hook to the Highlands of the Hudson.

The Dutch did not like to live in fear, and they did not like to live huddled. They were a sociable people but they wholly lacked the timid herd instinct. It was impossible for them to look over the rich valleys and bottom lands and remain content in close settlements. They



THE COMING OF THE ENGLISH

HUDSON COUNTY, NEW JERSEY

had stout bodies and stout weapons—two arguments generally recognized as excellent for acquiring title to coveted domain.

In 1664, Charles II of England, in his large, generous way granted his brother, the Duke of York, a royal charter for the "whole region from the west bank of the Connecticut River to the east shore of the Delaware." The Duke, without pausing for the trivial details of proving title, promptly conveyed to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret all the territory that now is New Jersey.

Colonel Richard Nichols with three ships of one hundred and thirty guns and with six hundred men appeared before New Amsterdam. Everybody knows how brave old Petrus wanted to blow up the fort and all within it rather than to surrender, and how the burgers declined to go to a glorious death.

The English took the place and immediately renamed it New York. It seems to have been the most important change that they made. The inhabitants remained Dutch in everything save the flag that flew over them, and they accepted that emblem philosophically, holding fast to their ways, their trade and their lands, and letting emblems be emblems. The new rulers were more concerned with



FROM THE MURAL BY HOWARD PYLE, HUDSON COUNTY COURT HOUSE,
JERSEY CITY

keeping the Colony than with changing it. They confirmed all the old grants, or most of them.

At first the New Jersey territory was called Nova Cesarea, but the name New Jersey soon became the common one. In a charter granted on September 22, 1668, by Sir Philip Carteret, brother of Sir George and Governor of the new province, he confirmed the original grants to "the Towne and Freeholders of Bergen and to the Villages and Plantations thereunto belonging." The township was estimated in this deed as comprising 11,520 acres, which was probably a mere guess since it seems to have been too little by half. It was about six-



BERGEN SQUARE, 1852, NOW A PART OF JERSEY CITY

teen miles long and four miles wide "including the said Towne of Bergen, Communipaw, Ahassimus, Minkacque, and Pembrepock, bounded on the east, south and west by New York and Newark Bays and the Hackensack River." By the conditions of the charter the freeholders were bound to pay "to the Lord's Proprietors and their successors on every twenty-fifth day of March fifteen pounds as quit rent forever." The boundaries fixed in this charter remained unchanged till the Act of Legislature that in 1843 constituted a new County of Hudson.

On July 30, 1673, during the second war between England and Holland, a Dutch fleet took New York, and re-christened it New Orange. Aside from changing the name and calling on all the in-

HUDSON COUNTY, NEW JERSEY

habitants to swear allegiance, which they did with cheerful good will, things remained as they had been; and when the peace of 1674 definitely turned over New Netherland to England, the colonists changed flags again unruffled and—remained Dutch. The record of the Oath of Allegiance to the Dutch government enumerates “78 inhabitants of Bergen and dependencies, of whom 69 appeared at drum beat.” A report of 1680 describes Bergen as “a compact town” containing about 40 families.

Gradually, to be sure, English people came in. New York was growing into a great town, and it drew merchants and adventurers from all parts, becoming indeed so metropolitan that even the pirates of the seven seas esteemed it as an excellent market for their plunder. But on the western bank of the river the old habits of Holland remained so fixed that we still find characteristic Dutch traits, Dutch architecture, even Dutch customs from the Hudson to the Ramapos.

In 1682, the Province of New Jersey was divided into four



OLD OCTAGONAL CHURCH, CORNER OF BERGEN AVENUE AND VROOM STREET, JERSEY CITY

counties—Bergen, Essex, Middlesex and Monmouth; and in 1693 each county was divided into townships. In 1714, an Act gave a new charter to "The Inhabitants of the Town of Bergen."

"By 1764, Paulus Hook was more than a mere ferry landing. It was the terminus of the stage routes from Philadelphia. In the *New York Mercury* of that year we find the announcement that "Sovereign Sybrandt informs the Public he has fitted up and completed in the neatest manner a new and genteel stage waggon which is to perform two stages in every week from Philadelphia to New York, from Philadelphia to Trenton, from Trenton to Brunswick and from Brunswick to the said Sybrandt's House and from said Sybrandt's House by the new and lately established Post Road (on Bergen which is now generally resorted to by the Populace, who prefer a passage by said Place, before the Danger of crossing the Bay) to Powles's Hook opposite to New York where it discharges the passengers. Each single person only paying at the rate of two pence half-penny per mile from said Powles's Hook to said Sybrandt's House and at the rate of two pence per mile after.—N. B. As said Sybrandt now dwells in the House known by the Sign of the Roebuck which House he has now furnished in a genteel manner and has laid in a choice assortment of wines and other liquors, where gentlemen passengers and others may at all times be assured of meeting with the best of entertainment."

Michael Cornelison also operated a stage line to and from Philadelphia and a ferry to New York. He had a tavern on Paulus Hook, and he was firm with passengers. They had to arrive from New York the day before. Between sunset and sunrise Cornelison considered the river officially closed.

Paulus Hook also had a race track. It was established in 1769 by Cornelius Van Vorst and it was pounded democratically by the hoofs of blooded horses belonging to New York sports and by the larger hoofs of the corpulent steeds belonging to the country side. There was a noble race in 1771, "round the course at Powles Hook, a match for thirty dollars between Booby, Mug and Quicksilver, to run twice around to a heat, to carry catch riders." In the Bergen woods, the gentry had regular fox hunts on horseback in English style. No greater things excited these peaceful people till the time of the Revolution.

After Long Island was evacuated by Washington's troops and



SECOND CHURCH, ERECTED 1773, BERGEN AVENUE AND VROOM STREET,
JERSEY CITY



WASHINGTON AND HIS OFFICERS
From the Lunette by C. Y. Turner, Hudson County Court House, Jersey City

it was decided impossible to hold New York, much of the artillery and stores and many wounded were taken to the New Jersey shore for transportation to Newark. An account dated "Paulus Hook, September 15, 1776," says: "Last night the sick were ordered to Newark in the Jersies, but most of them could be got no further than this place and Hoebuck, and as there is but one house at each of these places, many were obliged to lie in the open, whose distress when I walked out at daybreak gave me a livelier idea of the horror of war than anything I ever met with before. About 8 a. m., 3 large ships came to sail and made towards the Hook. They raked the place with grape and killed one horse. On the night of the 17th, the garrison tried to burn the ships which had anchored 3 miles above. They grappled the Renown of 50 guns but failed. She cannonaded us again later. Colonel Duyckinck this morning retired to Bergen leaving Colonel Durkee on the Hook with 300 men." After three days' cannonading by ships, the Americans withdrew and thereafter the British held Paulus Hook. Bergen remained the headquarters of the American forces till it too was evacuated.

The British were not permitted to hold even the Hook undisturbed. American parties made daring raids again and again, the most famous of these being known as the Battle of Paulus Hook. On the night of August 19, 1779, Major Lee (the celebrated Light Horse Harry of Revolutionary annals) brought his men across the Hacken-

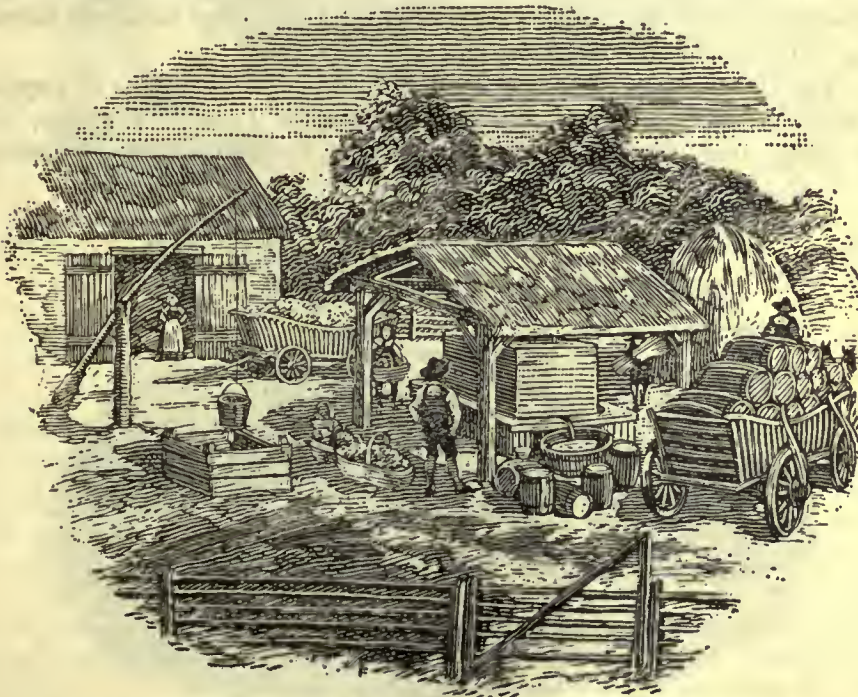
HUDSON COUNTY, NEW JERSEY

sack and through enemy territory along a perilous causeway through the swamps, falling on the British so suddenly and fiercely that he was able to carry back with him 7 officers and 100 privates.

The loyalist *New York Gazette* of August 28, 1780, said: "General Washington, the Marquis de la Fayette, Generals Greene and Wayne with many other officers and a large body of Rebels have been in the vicinity of Bergen for some days past. They have taken all the forage from the inhabitants of that place and left them destitute of almost everything for their present and winter subsistence."

"The Cow Chace" based on a raid by General Anthony Wayne on a British block house at Bull's Ferry near Hoboken, was the work of a young British officer named Major Andre.

He is said to have given the last canto of his epic to the editor of the *Royal Gazette* on the day before he left New York for his disastrous conference with Benedict Arnold at West Point. The final



VAN WAGENEN'S CIDER PRESS, ACADEMY STREET, WEST OF SQUARE,
JERSEY CITY

THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY

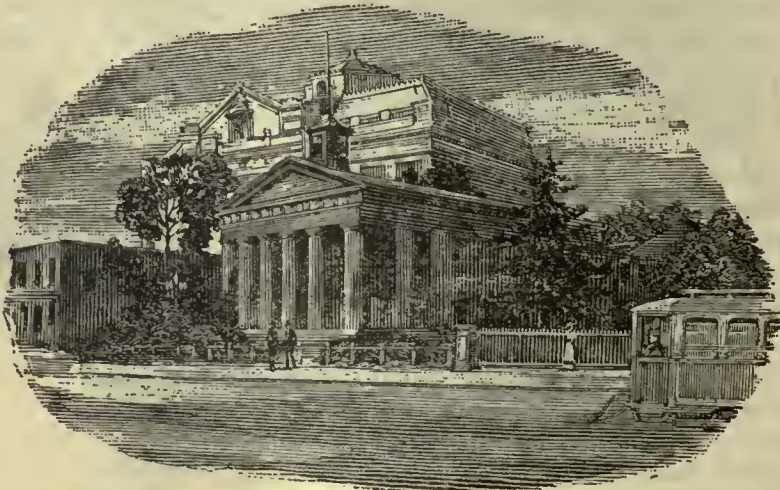
verses appeared in the edition that was published on the very morning when the gay, gallant young fellow was captured:

*"Yet Bergen cows still ruminatē
Unconscious in the stall
What mighty means were used to get
And lose them after all.*

*And now I've clos'd my epic strain
I tremble as I show it,
Lest this same warrior-drover, Wayne,
Shall ever catch the poet."*

The first important changes in Bergen and its surrounding territory were brought by the development of transportation, and this development was due chiefly to the rapidly growing business between New York and Philadelphia.

The main stage route to Philadelphia in early 1800 is supposed to have been about along the present line of Grand, Warren, York and Van Vorst Streets, crossing a marsh at Mill Creek, following a

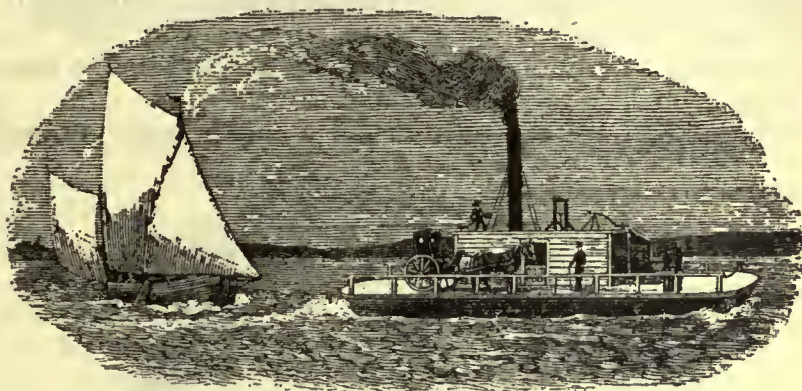


THE OLD AND NEW HUDSON COUNTY COURT HOUSES, JERSEY CITY

HUDSON COUNTY, NEW JERSEY

road to old Prior's Mill, and connecting with the Old Mill Road. An old Eighteenth Century plank causeway over the meadows to Newark that "trembled under foot" was replaced about this time by the Newark Turnpike. It had dangers of its own. The records show that the great cedar swamps on both sides had to be burned off to drive out robbers.

By 1813, four stage lines were in hot competition for the New York-Philadelphia business. The title "stage-waggon" became too tame for these fervid rivals, and one of them invented the title of



ONE OF THE EARLY STEAM FERRIES

"machine." Mightily stirred by this poetic imagery, another named his stages "flying machines." From that day so long as a stage survived, every self-respecting stage driver referred to himself as operating a flying machine. The fastest flying machine of 1813 left New York at 1 p. m. and did not fly into Philadelphia till 6 a. m. next day.

Stage route terminals on the North River meant short ferriage as against the bay ferriage involved in the alternative New Brunswick-Amboy-Staten Island route. The thoughtful ferrymen of Paulus Hook did not permit the public to remain blind to it.

As late as 1816, the mail was carried across in rowboats, and we

have a dramatic narrative of a twenty-four hours' battle to rescue a mail carrier and his negro boatman from the ice-pack. Another narrative, not so well authenticated, but so pleasing that it ought to be true, is that of a Dutch planter and his wife who were in mid-stream when "a large fish leaped into their skiff" and knocked a hole into it. With admirable intelligence the honestly built wife sat on the critical spot and by virtue of her many and vast petticoats defeated the river's passionate attempt to sink them.

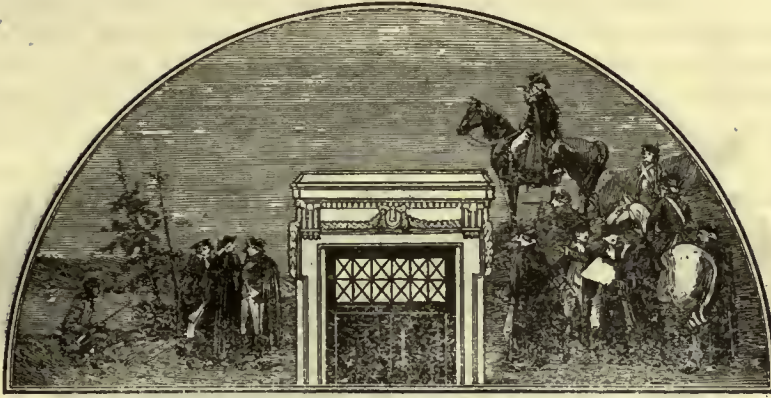
As traffic increased rowboats were supplemented, though not driven out, by sailing craft of a type known as *periagua*—a word presenting such difficulties to the casual spellers of the time that nearly every reference in early print enriches us with a different version from "*peraga*" to "*pettiaugre*." They were built of white wood, modelled largely on the plan of the dugout, and in time were made large enough to carry horses and carriages.

Early in 1800, the ferrymen installed "horse boats" propelled by



PARK'S HOMESTEAD, VROOM STREET AND BERGEN AVENUE, JERSEY CITY

HUDSON COUNTY, NEW JERSEY

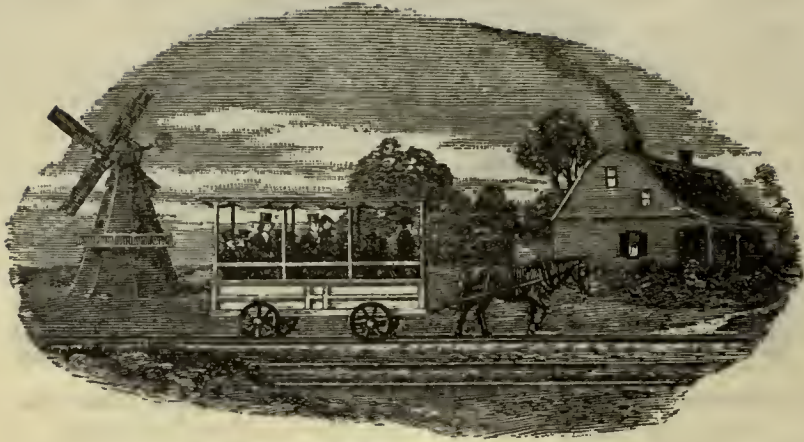


FIRST VOYAGE OF THE CLERMONT, 1807
From the Lunette by C. Y. Turner, Hudson County Court House, Jersey City

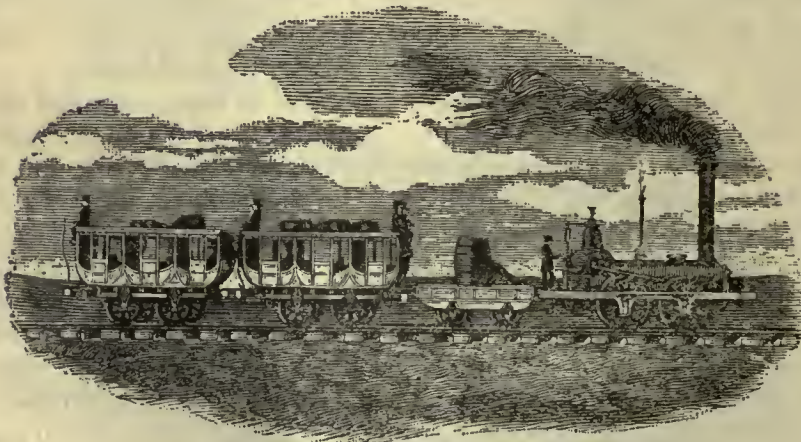
horse-driven machinery. They held their own for many years after the *Albany Gazette* announced that "The North River Steam Boat (Robert Fulton's Clermont) will leave Paulus Hook on the 4th of September (1807), at nine o'clock in the evening. Provisions, good berths, and accommodations are furnished. The charge for each passenger is as follows: Newburgh, fare \$3, time 14 hours; Po'keepsie, fare \$4, time 17 hours; Esopus, fare \$5, time 20 hours; Hudson, fare \$5 1/2, time 30 hours; Albany, fare \$7, time 36 hours."

John Stevens who had bought Hoboken in 1804, installed the first steam ferry in the world in 1811. It made its trial trip in September and ran between Hoboken and Barclay Street, New York, but before long the horse boat was reinstated. Similar lack of success attended the installation of the steam ferries "Jersey" and "York" built by Robert Fulton for the York and Jersey Steam Boat Ferry Company and put into operation in 1812. Although an enthusiastic account had it that "we crossed the river in 14 minutes in this safe machine," cynics alleged that the safe machines more often needed an hour, and that when the "York" and the "Jersey" met in mid-stream there was time for painfully long contemplation before they succeeded in passing.

These ferries were not small. Their length was eighty feet, only twenty less than that of the "Clermont" which was considered a great vessel. There were two hulls braced with the paddle-wheel suspended



A STUBBORN COMPETITOR OF STEAM, 1830



ONE OF THE FIRST STEAM TRAINS, 1831

HUDSON COUNTY, NEW JERSEY

between, and with a deck over all thirty feet wide. The passengers sat in the open, but there was a hold for refuge in bad weather.

In 1816, the company had succeeded in earning only one dividend (of five per cent.), which explains why Philip Howe who leased the West Hoboken or "Weehawk" ferry in 1821 contented himself with two sailboats and a horse boat. John Stevens also adhered to sail and horse after abandoning his first steam ferry, and did not try steam again till 1822. By that time, however, it had become practical. The Canal Street ferry-boat "Pioneer," which went into commission in 1823, had a ladies' cabin warmed with open fireplaces and was lavishly decorated.

In land transportation, steam met similar difficulties. In 1830, Peter Cooper's locomotive "Tom Thumb," with Peter Cooper himself in charge, was sadly defeated by a stubbornly unprogressive stage proprietor who raced it with a single horse hitched to the same kind of coach that was drawn by the locomotive. All the stage companies in the land spread the glad news. They also told with infinite joy how the foolish and heinously dangerous locomotives showered passengers with flaming wood embers so that they had to protect themselves with hoisted umbrellas which, alas! caught fire themselves. Therefore though optimists went on laying rails, the stage business continued to prosper so healthily that in 1832 at least twenty stage lines were crossing Bergen in all directions.

In that year the Paterson and Hudson Railroad completed its tracks and began operation with a rolling stock of "three splendid and commodious cars each capable of accommodating 30 passengers, drawn by fleet and gentle horses." Locomotives were introduced a little later, but with excellent caution the company announced that "the steam and horse cars are so intermixed that passengers may make their selection and the timid can avail themselves of the latter twice a day." This is the road that was absorbed by the Erie Railroad and served as its route to tide-water till the Erie Tunnel was pierced in 1861.

In 1820 the disintegration of Bergen Township began with the incorporation of the City of Jersey, re-incorporated in 1829 as Jersey City. Except for a moderate increase in population, the territory in that period was little different from its aspect and manner in the old days. There were comparatively few inhabitants not of Dutch de-

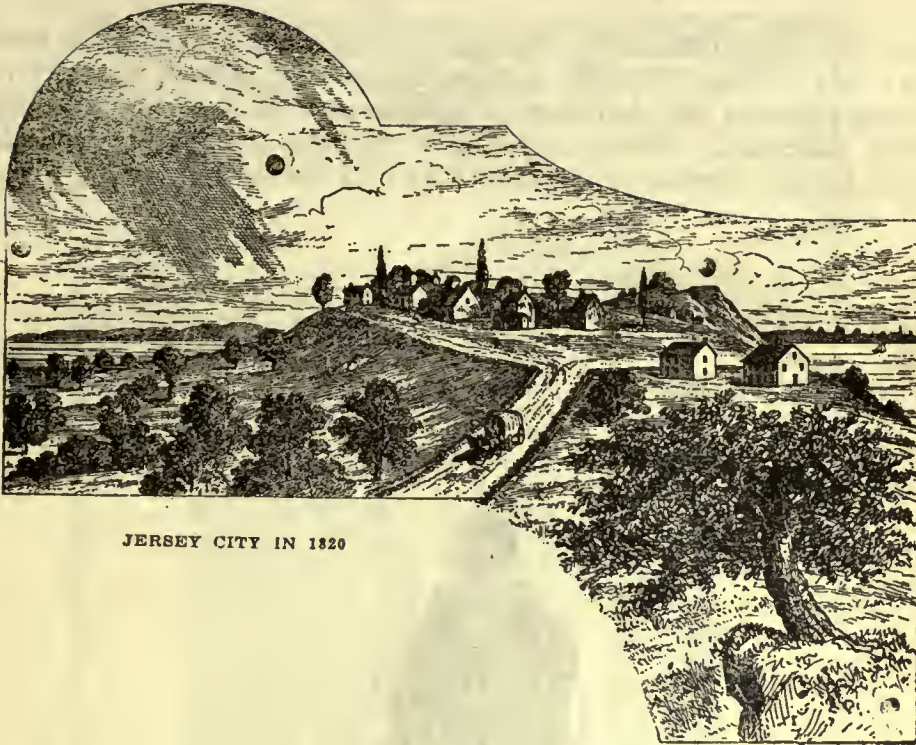
scent, and Dutch habit and thought were dominant. There were no buildings except dwellings and farm structures, and practically all the dwellings were of the stoutly typical long, low, comfortable Dutch style.

Steam was winning, however, and soon its early demands gave a great impetus to the mechanical handicrafts that it was destined to destroy. Jersey City, which had only about three hundred inhabitants at the time of its incorporation in 1820, is credited in a record of 1845 with having four thousand population at that date. Among its larger industries were the works of the American Pottery Company, the Jersey City Glass Company, employing about a hundred men, a famous fireworks establishment, a candle factory and many shops owned by individual mechanics. There were two foundries. One was Fulton's, at the corner of Morgan and Greene Streets, and it was at this foundry that some of the first ironclads for the Civil War were fabricated later.

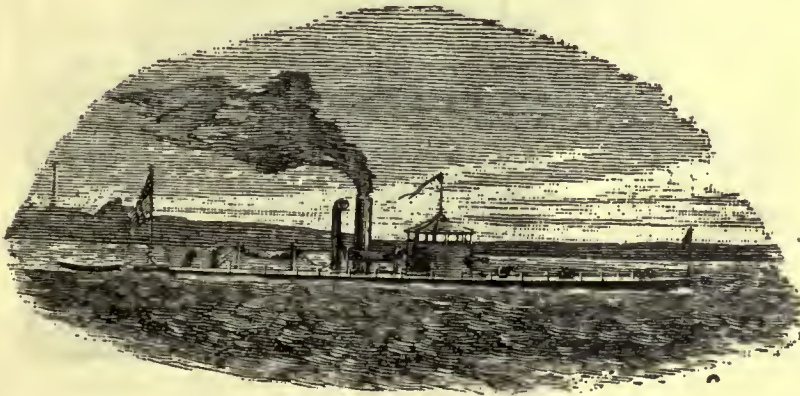
Bergen adhered to its agriculture and other old ways longer than the surrounding communities. Its inhabitants looked serenely down on Jersey City's accumulating factory chimneys and saw its increasing bustle and wealth without apparent desire to emulate it. Years after gas had made the streets below their height look like far-trailed strings of beads, they remained content with candles and sperm whale oil, and as late as 1858 there were only sixty gas consumers on the whole ridge.

Bit by bit its less restful constituent parts broke away, much as the offspring of the good old burghers themselves was breaking away from the good old customs. In 1837 Bergen County's opulent girth was sharply reduced by taking away enough to make Passaic County. In 1840 another legal operation set off the County of Hudson. Bergen Township was like a fine Dutch cheese exposed to busy mice.

It was nibbled at from all sides. In 1841, two years after full rail traffic had been opened between New York and Philadelphia by the New Jersey Railroad and Transportation Company, Van Vorst Township was nibbled off. Another nibble in 1842 bit off the part north of the Pennsylvania Railroad, and made North Bergen from which Hudson City and Hoboken were set off before 1860. By the time Bayonne and Greenville had been cut out of Bergen, it was in much the same condition as the old families whose ancestral planta-



JERSEY CITY IN 1820



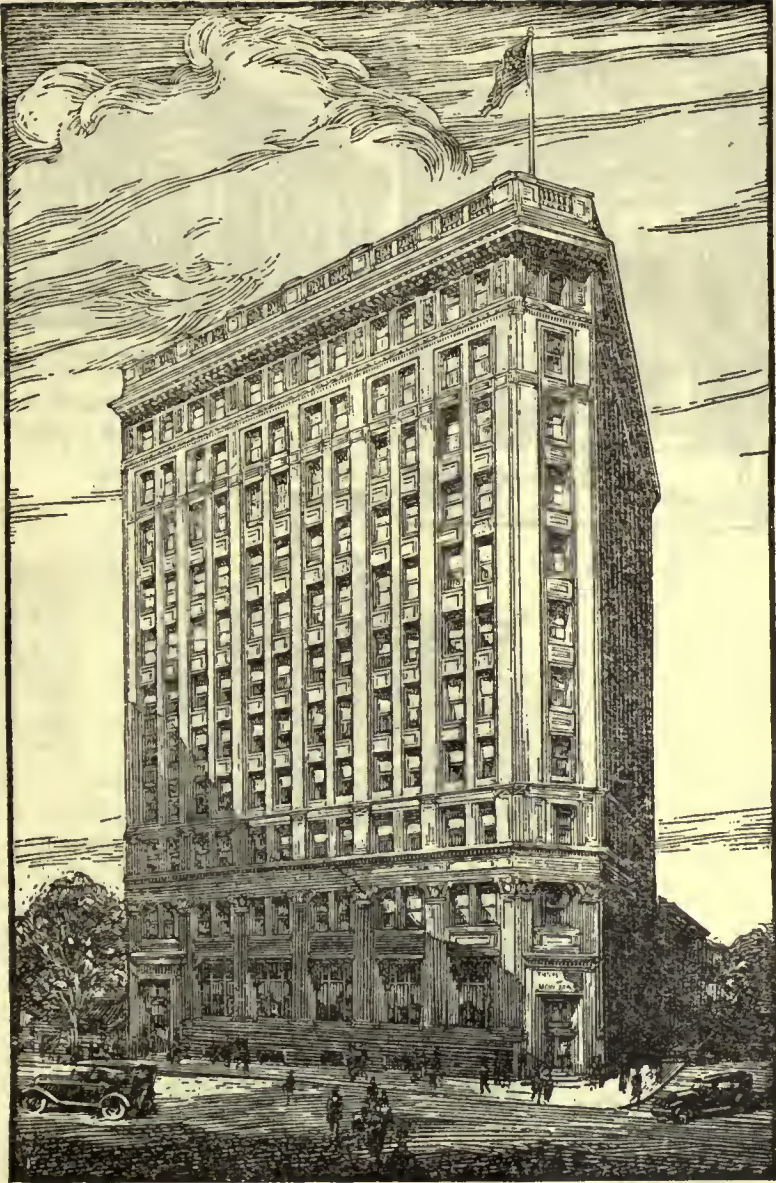
THE MONITOR, 1862

tions had been reduced by successive street encroachments to mere town lots. When, in 1868, a new charter was given to the City of Bergen, its area had decreased in inverse ratio to its wealth and real estate valuations. Finally, on March 17, 1870, popular vote consolidated Bergen, Hudson and Jersey City into the Greater Jersey City.

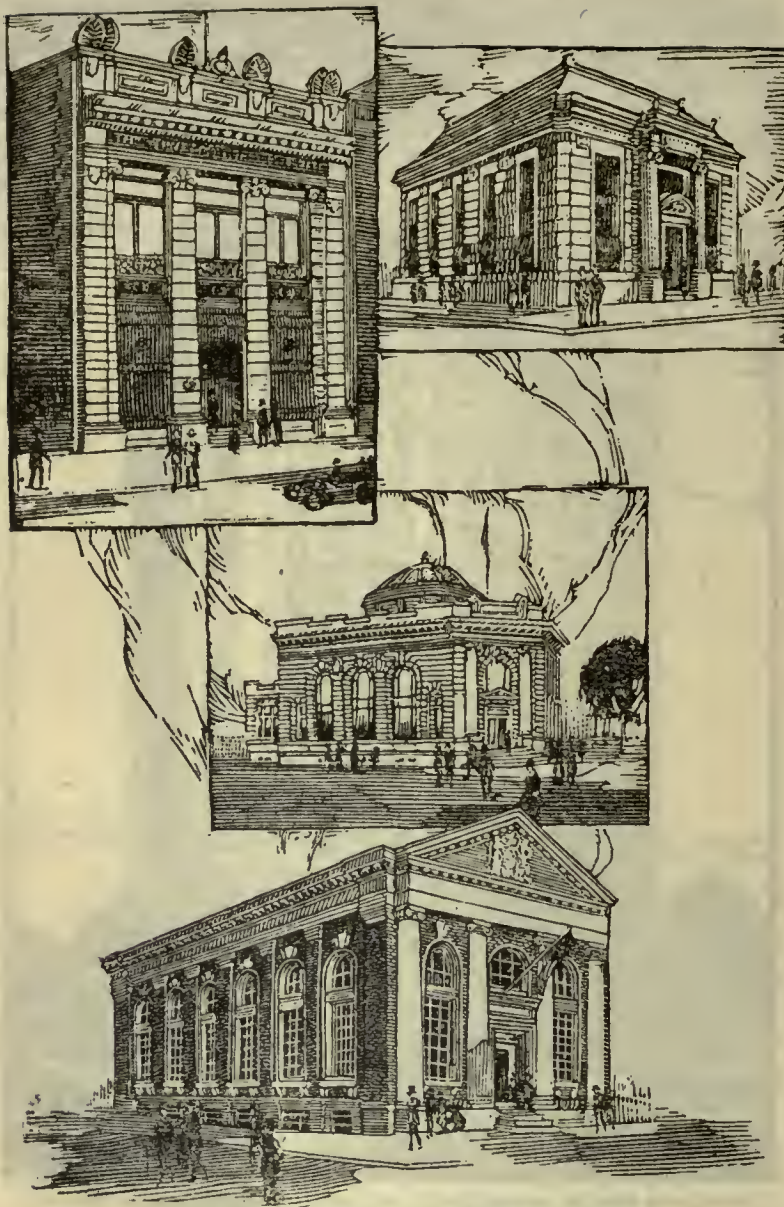


PETRUS STUYVESANT

"Petrus the hot-headed, Petrus the hot-hearted, Petrus who in his person exemplified in dramatic degree all that obstinacy side by side with tolerance, that courage mingled with liking for peaceful ways, that shrewdness grained with a deep honesty that has made the small Dutch nation a power in the world to be reckoned with, both in peace and war."



A BUILDING WHICH SYMBOLIZES THE GREAT CHANGE FROM THE OLD
DUTCH VILLAGE TO MODERN JERSEY CITY
"Towering from the crest of Bergen Hill, with command of view that includes the
whole panorama of the Island of Manhattan, the Hudson River, the great harbor, and
New Jersey inland to Newark and the Oranges, stands the new building of the Trust
Company of New Jersey."



BRANCH OFFICES OF THE TRUST COMPANY OF NEW JERSEY
 The Resources of This Trust Company, June 30, 1921, Were \$37,343,633.43. How Late
 in the Nineteenth Century Would That Amount Have Equalled the Entire Property
 Values of the Complete Area Now Embraced by Jersey City?

George Washington and George William Fairfax Survey the Lands of Thomas, Sixth Lord Fairfax

The following Extracts from the Diary of Washington, Which he Kept While Surveying the Virginia Lands of Lord Fairfax, Together with a Letter Written to a Friend, Serve to Give an Idea of the Dangers and Hardships Which the Young Surveyors Had to Encounter



TUESDAY, March 15th. We set out early, with intent to run round ye s'd land, but being taken in a rain, and it increasing very fast obliged us to return. It clearing about 1 o'clock and our time being too precious to lose, we a second time ventured out and worked hard till night, and then returned to Pennington. We got our suppers and was lighted into a room, and I not being so good a woodsman as ye rest of my company stripped myself very orderly and went into ye bed as they called it, when to my surprise I found it to be nothing but a little straw, matted together without sheets or anything else, but only one threadbare blanket, with double its weight of vermen, such as lice, fleas, &c. I was glad to get up; as soon as the light was carried from us I put on my clothes and lay as my companions. Had we not have been very tired I am sure we should not have sleepe'd much that night. I made a promise not to sleep so from that time forward, chusing rather to sleep in ye open air before a fire as will appear hereafter."

MARCH ye 15th. Surveyed a tract of land on Cate's marsh. Ye chain men were Henry Ashby and Richard Taylor. Ye marker Robert Ashby. Ye pilot Wm. Lindsay.

MARSH the 16th. We set out early and finished about one o'clock and then travell'd to Frederickstown now Winchester where our bag-

THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY

gage came to us. We cleaned ourselves to get rid of ye game we had caught night before, and took a review of ye town, and thence returned to our lodgings where we had a good dinner prepared for us, wine and rum punch in plenty, and a good feather bed with clean sheets which was a very agreeable regale.

MARCH 17th. Rained till ten o'clock, and then clearing up, we reached as far as Major Campbell's, one of the Burgesses, about 25 miles from town. Nothing remarkable this day nor night, but that we had a tolerable good bed to lie on.

MARCH 18th. We travelled up about 35 miles to Thomas Barwick's on Potomac where we found ye river so exceedingly high by reason of ye great rains that had fallen up about ye Allegany Mountains as they told us, which was then bringing down ye melted snow, and that it would not be fordable for several days; it was then six foot higher than usual and was rising, we agreed to stay till Monday—We this day called to see ye famed warm springs, we camped out in ye field this night. Nothing remarkable happened till ye 20th. When finding ye river much abated in ye evening swam our horses over and carried them to Charles Polk's in Maryland for pasturage till ye next morning.

MARCH 21st. Travell'd up ye Maryland side in a continued rain all ye day to Col Cresaps, right agains ye north branch, I believe ye worst roads ever travell'd by man or beast.

MARCH 22. Continued rain and ye freshet kept us at Cresaps.

MARCH 23. Rained till about 2 o'clock when we were surprised by thirty odd Indians coming from war with a scalp. We had some liquor with us of which we gave them part, it elevating their spirits, put them in a humor for dancing, of whom we had a war dance. Their manner of dancing is as follows: They clear a large circle and make a fire in ye middle, then seat themselves around it, ye speaker making a great speech telling them in what manner they are to dance. After he has finished, the best dancer jumps up as one awakened out of a sleep and runs and jumps about ye ring in a most comicle manner. He is followed by ye rest, then begins their musicians to play. Ye music is a pot half of water with a deerskin stretch'd over it as tight as it can and a gourd, with some shot in it to rattle, and a piece of a horse's tail tied to it to make it look fine. Ye one keeps rattling and ye other drumming all ye while ye others is dancing.

GEORGE WASHINGTON'S FAIRFAX SURVEY

MARCH 25th, 1748. Went up to ye mouth of Patterson's creek and swam our horses over; got over ourselves in a canoe and travell'd up the following part of ye day to Abram Johnstone's 15 miles from where we camped.

MARCH 26. Travell'd up ye creek to Solomon Hedges, esq., one of his majestie's justices of the peace for the county of Frederick, where we camped. When we came to supper there was neither a cloth upon ye table nor a knife to eat with, but as good luck would have it we had knives of our own."

MARCH 29. Went out this morning and surveyed 500 acres of land and went down to one Michael Stump's on ye south fork of ye branch; on our way shot two wild turkeys.

APRIL 2nd. Last night was a blowing, rainy night. Our straw catch'd fire y't we was laying upon and was luckily preserved by one of our men's awaking.

APRIL 3d. Last night was a much more blustering night than ye former; we had our tent quite carried off with ye wind, and was obliged to lie ye latter part of ye night without covering.

APRIL 6th. Last night was so intolerable smoky that we were obliged all hands to leave ye tent to ye mercy of ye wind and fire. This day on our journey was catch'd in a very heavy rain. We got under a straw house until ye worst of it was over and then continued our journey.

APRIL 7. Rained successively all last night. This morning one of our party killed a wild turkie that weighed 20 pounds. Slept in Cassey's house which was the first night I had slept in a house since I came to ye branch.

APRIL 8th. We camped this night in a wood near a wild meadow where was a large stack of hay.

After we had pitched our tent we made a very large fire. We pulled out our knapsacks in order to recruit ourselves. Every one was his own cook, our spits were forked sticks; our plates were large chips. As for dishes we had none.

APRIL 10th. We took our farewell of ye branch and travelled over hills and mountains to Coddy's on Great Cacapehon about 40 miles.

APRIL 11th. We travelled from Coddy's down to Frederick

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Town where we reached about 12 o'clock. We dined in town and then went to Captain Hite's and lodged.

APRIL 12th. Got over Wms. Gap and as low as Wm. West's in Fairfax county, 18 miles from ye top of ye ridge.

Dear Richard: The receipt of your kind favor of the 2nd. of this instant afforded me unspeakable pleasure as I am convinced I am still in the memory of so worthy a friend, a friendship I shall ever be proud of increasing. You gave me the more pleasure as I received your letter amongst a parcel of barbarians and an uncouth set of people. The like favor often repeated would give me pleasure altho I seem to be in a place where no real satisfaction is to be had. Since you received my letter in October I have not slept above three nights or four in a bed, but after walking a good deal all the day lay down before the fire upon a little hay, straw, fodder or bear-skins, whichever is to be had with men, wife and children like a parcel of dogs or cats, and happy is he that gets the berth nearest the fire. Ther's nothing would make it tolerable but a good reward.

A doubloon is my constant gain every day that the weather will permit my going out, and sometimes six pistoles. The coolness of the weather will not allow me making a long stay as the lodging is rather too cold for the time of the year. I have never had my cloths off, but lay and sleep in them like a negro, except the few nights I have layn in Frederick Town.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

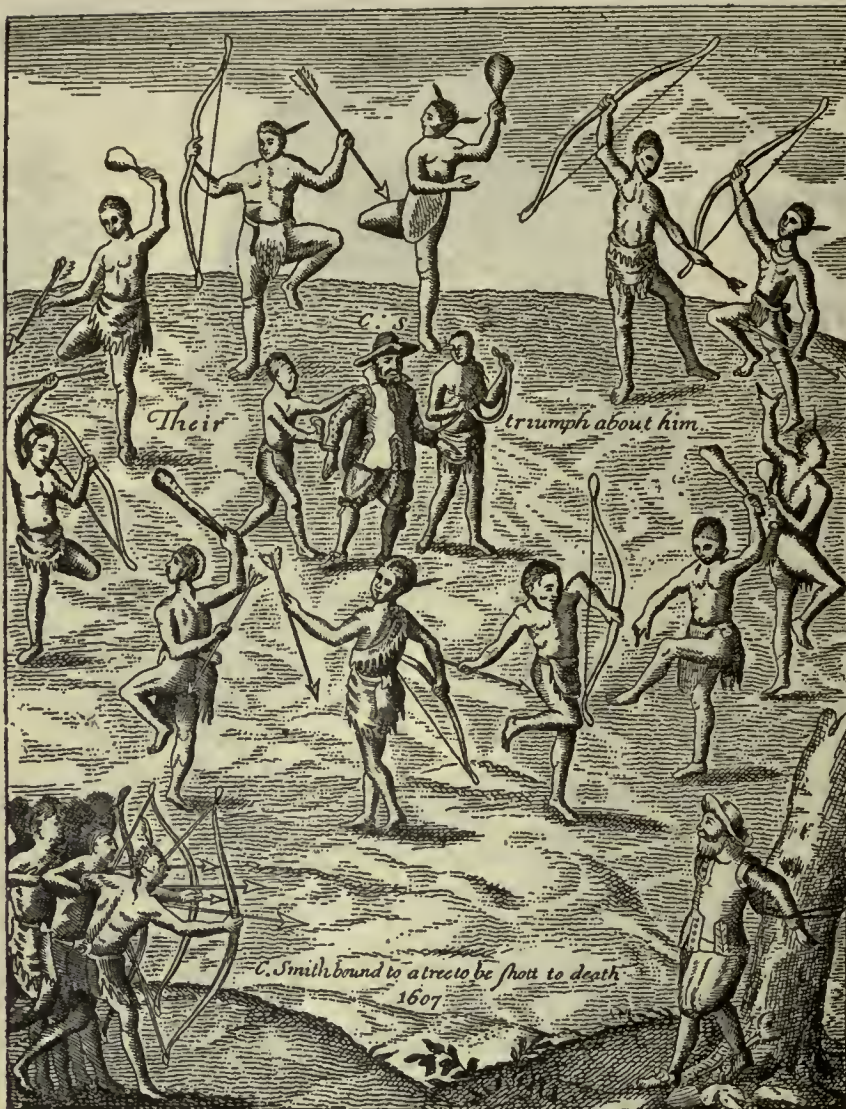


THE ANIMALS ON MANHATTAN ISLAND
From An Old Dutch Account of New Amsterdam,
Now New York City



THE VIRGINIA INDIANS IN 1607

As They Appeared in the Mind of the Artist Who Illustrated Captain John Smith's
"True Travels," 1629



CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH CAPTURED BY THE VIRGINIA INDIANS

From Captain John Smith's "True Travels," 1629

The Man Who Saved Illinois from Slavery

BY

J. STEPHEN BLOORE



HIS new volume* is a late addition to the Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library and is the first of a biographical series. It is made up of a collection of documents dealing with Edward Coles, the first of which is Elihu B. Washburne's "Sketch of Edward Coles," originally prepared for the Chicago Historical Society. The rest of the book is composed of an appendix of papers relating to the subject of the sketch.

Washburne mentions in his opening chapter that "The world knows nothing of its greatest men." Evidently the author has set himself the task of remedying this defect in so far, at least, as the anti-slavery advocates of Illinois are concerned. Coles is lauded to the skies and his actions show him to have been a most estimable character. The correspondence between him and some of his acquaintances reads like the minutes of a "mutual admiration society" and one cannot help but get the impression that it has been somewhat overdone. Perhaps in those times, however, men were less restrained in the expression of opinion and more given to such frank outbursts of admiration.

The writer is not merely satisfied to perform this service for the memory of Coles but highly praises many of his contemporaries and the book is replete with statements like the following: "There were fifteen members of the Legislature, Senators and Representatives—brave, conscientious and God-fearing men—who signed this noble and timely appeal to the people of Illinois. I give all their names for they deserve

*Governor Edward Coles. Edited with introduction and notes by Clarence Walworth Alvord. Springfield, Illinois. Illinois State Historical Society.

to be written in letters of gold on the tablets of the State's history." Not only are the names given, but brief sketches of the lives and families of each.

This minuteness of detail makes the book very valuable to any interested in the genealogy of the prominent people of Illinois at that time, and the numerous documents should delight those who desire authenticated historical statements, especially as many of them are reproduced as fac-similes. However, for the average reader of history these characteristics detract from the general readability of the book.

The story of the public life of Edward Coles is the story of the contest over slavery in Illinois, because he was the storm-center of the fight. He led the forces opposing the introduction of slavery and the spleen of the defeated pro-slavery element was vented on him.

Coles was born in Virginia and inherited slaves and large property from his father. As he grew up, his convictions about the wrong of slavery became so pronounced as to induce him to move to Illinois and there to free all of his negroes, and, further than that, a gift of one hundred and sixty acres of land was given to each by Coles, to enable them to support themselves.

Such acts of almost unprecedented generosity naturally brought him to the front of anti-slavery ranks. His first permanent public office was that of Registrar of the Land Office at Edwardsville, Illinois. Prior to this he had been private secretary to Madison and had been sent on a diplomatic mission to Russia. In 1822 he was elected Governor, not because of his universal popularity, but because his pro-slavery opponents nominated two strong men in the hope that one of them would detract sufficiently from Coles' vote to elect the candidate whom they desired. As has often happened, these two made such inroads on each other's votes as to defeat themselves, and Coles was elected. However, all the other officials were pro-slavery men: the Senate was two-thirds pro-slavery, and the House lacked one member of a two-thirds majority in favor of slavery.

Soon after the election of Coles his opponents on the slavery question managed, through political subterfuge, to unseat an anti-slavery member of the House and to seat a slavery advocate. The purpose of this intrigue was to gain the necessary two-thirds majority, in order to pass a resolution which would request a referendum on

the subject of calling a convention to consider changes in the State Constitution. Numerous reasons were given for making a change in the instrument, but it was generally understood that the primary purpose was to effect an amendment favorable to the introduction of slavery.

Governor Coles, knowing full well that, if the convention was called, the introduction of slavery would inevitably follow, bent his very effort to have the resolution unfavorably acted upon by the people. He was ably seconded by Roberts Vaux, a Quaker from Philadelphia, who is described in a letter from Nicholas Biddle, then President of the Bank of the United States, and a close friend of Coles. "It gives me peculiar pleasure, therefore to procure for you the correspondence of my friend, Mr. Roberts Vaux, to whom this note is intended to serve as an introduction. Mr. Vaux is a gentleman of education, talents, fortune, leisure and high standing in the community. He perceives the deep importance of defeating this first effort to extend to the northwestern country the misfortunes of the slave population, and he is disposed to co-operate warmly and zealously with you." Their efforts were successful and the move to amend the Constitution was defeated.

Coles was later sued by Madison County because of the fact that he had unwittingly violated a law when he failed to post a bond to guard the county against having his negroes become a public charge after he had freed them. This statute was passed a month before he entered Illinois, but was not promulgated until five months after his action. The suit was largely the result of spite, and through local prejudice and petty politics he was ordered to pay a fine of two thousand dollars. This verdict was reversed by the Supreme Court of the State, however, and Coles suffered no penalty.

After his Governorship expired he was defeated as a candidate for the House of Representatives and retired to private life.

These are the main events in the public life of Edward Coles as given by Washburne. Through all of it he differed greatly from the average politicians of that time, as the following extract from Washburne's "Sketch" will show. "In his (Coles') canvasses before the people he never descended to the ordinary tricks and subterfuges of the lower grade of politicians running for office. He showed himself as the highest type of a well-dressed and polished gen-

tleman. Always riding in his own carriage and driven by his negro servant, the people thought it an honor to vote for such a gentleman." The same author points out his difference from his associates in office and more particularly from Lieutenant Governor Hubbard (whom the Governor at one time dubbed a "simpleton") by quoting a speech which the Lieutenant Governor made, at a later time, when he was running for Governor. "As a picture of the times and as illustrative of what a candidate thought of himself and of the people, Governor Ford of Illinois gives one of his speeches in the canvass. 'Fellow-citizens,' says he, 'I offer myself as a candidate, before you, for the office of Governor. I do not pretend to be a man of extraordinary talents; nor to be equal to Julius Caesar or Napoleon Bonaparte, nor yet to be as great as my opponent Governor Edwards. Nevertheless I think I can govern you pretty well. I do not think it will require a very extraordinary smart man to govern you; for to tell the truth, fellow citizens, I do not believe you will be very hard to govern no how.'" In violent contrast, Coles was of refined and polished address. The freeing of his slaves gives a clue to his strength of character, for it must be remembered that in 1819 there was little anti-slavery opinion and that such action meant leaving his native State and his family to settle in a strange land.

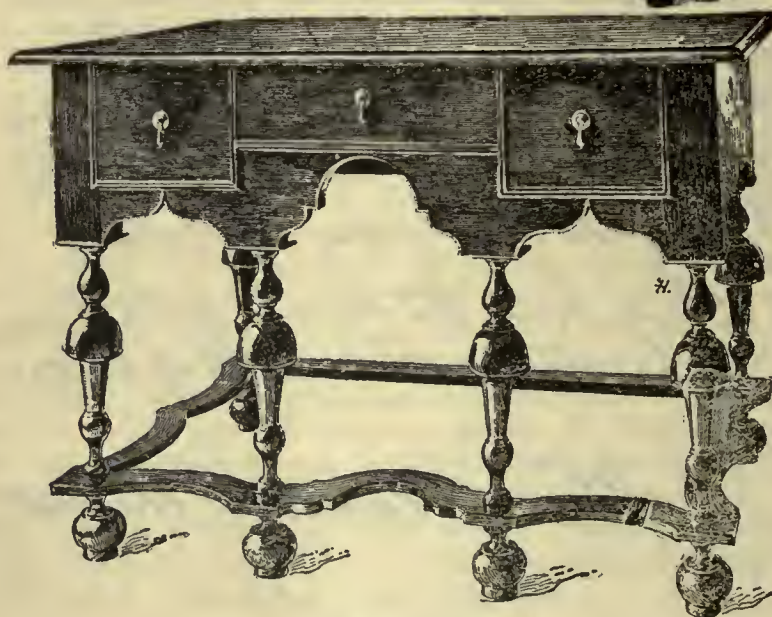
This action marked a turning point in his career. Had he lacked the courage or the generosity of heart to carry out his convictions, those who opposed slavery would have lost a staunch ally, and one fears to think what the effect on later events might have been had slavery crept into the Western States and they had been lost to the Union. Undoubtedly Coles' triumph in Illinois had a far reaching effect in saving the Northwest for the Union. In view of such considerations, the scene when Coles told his slaves that they were free, dramatic under any circumstances, takes on a new interest. Coles' own description is quoted by Washburne. "Being curious to see the effect of an instantaneous severing of the manacles of bondage, and letting loose of the buoyant wings of liberty the long pent up spirit of man, I called on the deck of the boats, which were lashed together, all the negroes and made them a short address, in which I . . . proclaimed in the shortest and fullest manner possible, that they were no longer slaves but free—free as I was, and were at liberty to proceed with me, or to go ashore at their pleasure.

MAN WHO SAVED ILLINOIS

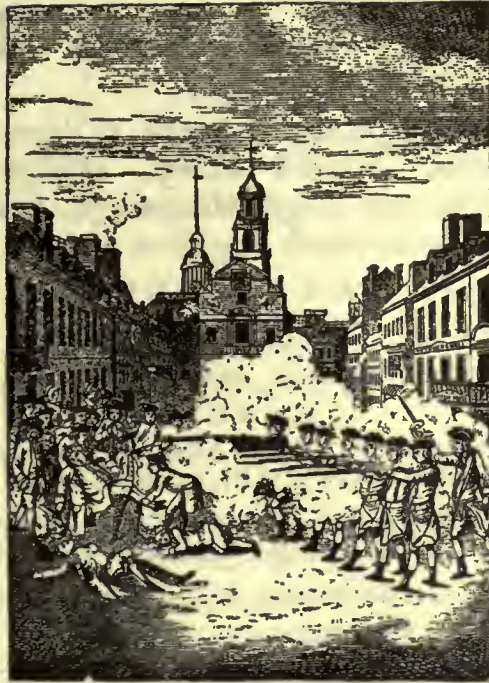
“The effect on them was electrical. They stared at me and at each other, as if doubting the accuracy or reality of what they had heard. In breathless silence they stood before me, unable to utter a word, but with countenances beaming with expression which no words could convey, and which no language can now describe. As they began to see the truth of what they had heard, and to realize their situation, there came on a kind of hysterical giggling laugh. After a pause of intense and unutterable emotion, bathed in tears, and with tremulous voices, they gave vent to their gratitude, and implored the blessings of God on me.” Doubtless the remembrance of that scene gave more satisfaction to the man who was responsible for it than any political victory which he ever gained.

*The sacred leaves, fair Freedom's flower,
Shall ever float on dome and tower,
To all their heavenly colors true
In blackening frost or crimson dew,
And God love us as we love thee,
Thrice holy Flower of Liberty!
Then hail the banner of the free,
The starry Flower of Liberty!*

Oliver Wendell Holmes



OLD COLONIAL FURNITURE



THE BOSTON MASSACRE, 1770
From an Old Print

This Day is published, No. 1. Price SIXPENCE, of

The Extraordinary Trial

O F

*William Wemms, James Hartegan, William M'Cauley,
Hugh White, Matthew Killroy, William Warren,
John Carrol, and Hugh Montgomery, Soldiers in 'his
Majesty's Twenty-ninth Regiment of Foot,*

F O R T H E M U R D E R O F

Crispus Attucks, Samuel Gray, Samuel Maverick,
James Caldwell, and Patrick Carr,

A T, T H E

Superior Court of Judicature, Court of Assize, and General Gaol Delivery,
Held at B O S T O N, by Adjournment,

Before the Hon. Benjamin Lynde, John Cushing, Peter Oliver, and
Edmund Trowbridge, Esqrs. Justices of the said Court.

Taken in Short Hand by John Hodgson, and published by Permission of the Court.

B O S T O N P R I N T E D,

L O N D O N reprinted, for T. EVANS, No. 54, Pater-noster Row; G. WOODFALL, at
Charing Cross; and E. COOKE, at the Royal Exchange.

TITLE-PAGE OF A NARRATIVE, CONTEMPORANEOUS WITH THE EVENT, OF
THE TRIAL OF THE BRITISH SOLDIERS WHO TOOK PART IN THE BOSTON
MASSACRE

A History of Banks and Banking and
of Banks and Banking in the City of
New York :: :: :: :: ::

BY

W. Harrison Bayles

and

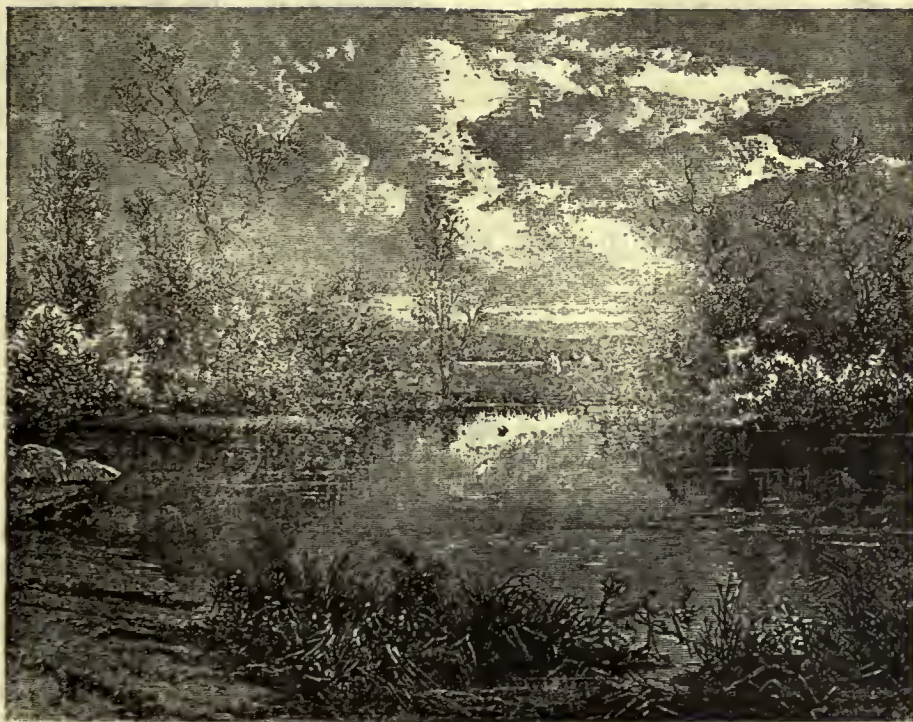
Frank Allaben

FRANK ALLABEN, Editor-in-Chief

CHAPTER VIII

SOME EARLY BANKS AND NEW YORK POLITICS

The Merchant's Bank Opened in New York City—Oliver Wolcott, the First President of the Merchants' Bank—Lynde Catlin, the First Cashier of the Merchants' Bank—The Bank Opens for Business 2 June, 1803—Opposition of the Republicans to the New Bank—Some Newspapers Fight the New Bank—A Meeting of Citizens Is Called—Two Petitions Sent to the Albany Legislature—An Act Restraining Banking by Private Individuals Passes the Legislature—The Merchants's Bank Renews Its Struggles to Obtain a Charter—The Bill Incorporating the Merchants' Bank Becomes a Law—The State of New York Subscribes to One Thousand Shares in the Merchant's Bank Without Cost to the State—The Philadelphia Bank Establishes a Mutual Credit and a Mutual Redemption of Notes with the Merchants' Bank—Joshua Sands Elected President of the Merchants' Bank—The Newark Banking and Insurance Company the First Bank Chartered in New Jersey—"The Jersey Bank" Established—The General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen Organized—They Obtain a Charter to Do Banking Business—"The Mechanics Bank of the City of New York"—The Charter of the Bank of New York Extended—The Jersey Bank Becomes the Union Bank of New York City, and Commences Business at 17 Wall Street.



THE FRESH WATER POND, ALSO CALLED COLLECT POND, WHICH FORMERLY OCCUPIED A SITE ON MANHATTAN ISLAND, ON CENTER STREET, NORTH OF CITY HALL, WHERE BUSINESS BUILDINGS OF NEW YORK AND HER COURTS OF JUSTICE ARE NOW ASSEMBLED

City of }
New York }
To Daniel Chenier Treas.
Pay the Corporation of the United German
Lutheran Church ninety four Dollars too for
the use of their Charity School
By order of the }
Common Council }
Robt Benson, Clk
Dated this 7th May 1800
Richard Varick Mayor

AUTOGRAPH OF RICHARD VARICK, MAYOR OF NEW YORK CITY, ONE OF THE
FOUNDERS OF THE MERCHANTS' BANK

| | | |
|---------------------------------|-------------------|--|
| ON BOARD THE EDWARD, | { 25th May - 1810 | Sloop EDWARD, JOHN FOSTER, Jun. Master, for the accommodation of Passen- gers on the North River, will sail from Poughkeepsie every Tuesday at 4 o'clock P. M. and from New-York every Friday, at 4 o'clock, throughout the season. |
| Capt. John Foster, Jun. | | |
| Dr. Rev. Thomas Halsted | | |
| FOR PASSAGE AND PROVISIONS FROM | | |
| 88 York St to Poughkeepsie | 3.11.00 | |
| SPIRITS, | | |
| WINES, | | |
| PORTER, | | |
| CIDER, | | |
| PUNCH, | | |
| Received Payment in full. | | John Foster, Jun. |

PASSENGER RECEIPT FOR A TRIP FROM NEW YORK TO POUGHKEEPSIE ON
ONE OF THE EARLIEST STEAMBOATS WHICH PLIED UP AND
DOWN THE HUDSON RIVER

III

Some Early Banks and New York Politics



IN 1803 the third bank, not including the Branch Bank of the United States, was opened in New York City. This was the Merchants' Bank, which was organized and started business as a company or association, the same as did the Bank of New York in 1784. The articles of association were drawn up by Alexander Hamilton, who had in 1784 performed the same service for the Bank of New York, and on April 7th, at a meeting held at No. 25 Wall street, they were signed by Oliver Wolcott, Richard Varick, Peter Jay Munro, Joshua Sands, William W. Woolsey, John Hone, John Kane, Isaac Bronson, James Roosevelt, Robert Gilchrist, Wynant Van Zandt, Jr., John Swartwout, Henry L. Wyckoff, Isaac Hicks, and later by Thomas Storm and Joshua Jones, who became the first directors of the bank. Oliver Wolcott was elected president, and Lyndé Catlin cashier.

By the terms of the articles of association the capital stock of the bank was fixed at \$1,250,000, divided into shares of fifty dollars each, and the association, by agreement, was to continue until the first Tuesday in June, 1815, unless the owners of two-thirds of the capital stock of the company should decide to dissolve the same at any period prior thereto. Each of the above-named directors was a subscriber to four hundred or more shares of stock.

A committee composed of Joshua Sands, Henry L. Wyckoff, and John Swartwout, was appointed to present the articles of association for their signatures, to those who had engaged to become members of the company, to receive the first installment, and to sign and deliver certificates for the shares subscribed. The committee was authorized to deposit the money so received in the names of the committee in one of the banks of the city. Another committee, composed of Isaac Bronson, Robert Gilchrist, and John Kane, was appointed to make inquiries

for and select a suitable building for the purpose of the company and make a report thereon.

Oliver Wolcott, the first president of the Merchants' Bank, was born at Litchfield, Connecticut, January 11, 1760. He was the son of Oliver Wolcott, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and was educated at Yale College, graduating in 1778. In 1781, having completed a course of law, he was admitted to the bar and removed to Hartford, where he was employed in the Financial Department of the State, and in 1784 was one of the two commissioners to settle the State claims against the Federal Government.

He was appointed by President Washington, in 1791, Comptroller of the Treasury. In 1795 he succeeded Alexander Hamilton as Secretary of the Treasury, which office he filled with signal ability during the remainder of Washington's administration and the whole of that of John Adams. When Wolcott resigned the office of Secretary of the Treasury, in November, 1800, President Adams appointed him Judge of the United States Supreme Court for the Second District, which office he retained until 1802, when he returned to private life in the city of New York, where he engaged in mercantile pursuits, became president of the Merchants' Bank, and served in that capacity until the annual election in 1804. In 1812 Oliver Wolcott became one of the founders and the first president of the Bank of America, which position he filled until 1814, when he removed to Connecticut. He was elected Democratic Governor of that State in 1817, and was re-elected for ten successive years. Upon the expiration of his official term in Connecticut he again made New York his home, where he died, June 1, 1833.

Lynde Catlin, the first cashier of the Merchants' Bank, was born in Litchfield, Connecticut, in 1768. He graduated from Yale College in 1786 and is said to have pursued a course of law, but probably never practiced that profession, for in 1792 he became second teller in the New York Branch of the Bank of the United States. In 1817 he left the Merchants' Bank to become cashier of the New York Branch of the second Bank of the United States, John Jacob Astor being president. In 1820 he became president of the Merchants' Bank, which position he held until his death in 1833.

At the second meeting of the directors of the Merchants' Bank, on April 9, the committee appointed to make inquiries for a building

suitable for a bank reported that they had agreed to purchase from William Henderson his house at 25 Wall street for the sum of \$31,750.

Before the bank was opened for business, provision was made for printing notes, and regulations and rules were adopted in regard to their preparation and issue. John Swartwout was appointed to superintend the making of the paper to be used, which was done at the Campbell Mills, near Milburn, New Jersey.

The bank was opened for business on the 2nd of June, 1803, and the first bills for discount were received the next day. It is reasonably inferred that the business was profitable from the start, for on November 18, 1803, a dividend of three per cent. was declared out of the profits of the company for the first six months, commencing the 1st of June and ending the 30th of November. This was the first of a series of dividends that have been continued without interruption for more than one hundred years, during which time the Merchants' Bank has paid to its stockholders over fifteen millions of dollars.

The promoters and organizers of the business of the Merchants' Bank had, no doubt, intended to apply to the State Legislature for a charter, and this was done, in combination with the State Bank of Albany and the Mercantile Company, also of Albany, these three companies with their friends agreeing to support each other's interests. By some means the State Bank succeeded in getting a charter, while the bills for chartering the other two companies failed of becoming laws, whereupon the friends of the State Bank were charged with bad faith.

The efforts of the Merchants' Bank to procure a charter stirred up much opposition, not only from those interested in the banks already established, but from members of the Republican party, who considered that the Merchants' Bank was being promoted by Federalists. The leading Republicans of New York, De Witt Clinton being one of the most prominent, some of whom were largely interested in and directors of the Manhattan Company, and also some of the influential Republicans of Albany, at the head of whom were John Taylor and Judge Spencer, warmly opposed the application of the Merchants' Bank. These men did not oppose an increase in the number of banks in New York City, because it would diminish the profits of existing institutions, but they alleged that no additional bank was needed for the public good, and, which was of the greatest importance, that the

granting of the application would be injurious to the Republican party. *The American Citizen* and *Albany Register* announced that the applicants were Federalists and Tories, and urged the Republican members of the Legislature, for that reason, not to vote for the application.

On March 14, 1804, the committee of the Assembly, to whom had been referred the petition of Oliver Wolcott and his associates of the city of New York praying that they might be incorporated as the Merchants' Bank, with other petitions to the same purport, and the memorial of Daniel Ludlow and others remonstrating against the incorporation of the said bank and praying that a law might be passed restraining the said association from transacting business in future and prohibiting other similar associations from being formed without obtaining the sanction of the Legislature,—reported that they had maturely considered the subject-matter of the several petitions and remonstrances and were of opinion that it was inexpedient to incorporate the Merchants' Bank, as the Assembly at the last session sanctioned an opinion that the banks then existing in the city of New York were sufficient for the commercial wants of the city and that no change had since occurred to induce an alteration of that opinion.

They also stated that they were also of the opinion that, in order to prevent the mischievous consequences to be apprehended from too great a number of banks, and with a view that institutions of this kind should only exist in pursuance of legislative authority, a law ought to be passed, to take effect at some future period, restraining all associations from transacting the ordinary business of banking, such as discounting bills and notes, issuing notes, etc., unless authorized so to do by an act of the Legislature. A bill was accordingly prepared entitled "An act to restrain unincorporated banking associations." Maturin Livingston, member of the Assembly and a director in the Manhattan Company, drew the bill, which was read a first time and ordered to a second reading.

Notice was given, on March 15, calling on all persons who were of opinion that the Merchants' Bank and all other unchartered institutions should be restrained from issuing bills of credit, to meet at the Union Hotel in William street, New York. Accordingly a vast concourse of citizens, supposed to be as many as eight hundred, gathered at that place. A chairman was elected and resolutions were offered and read, when there arose great confusion and disorder. The chair-

man, Samuel Osgood, a director of the Manhattan Company, was deposed, another was elected in his place, and counter resolutions were passed in favor of the Merchants' Bank by a great majority. Both sets of resolutions were sent to Albany, each party declaring that they represented the sentiments of the meeting.

A letter from Albany under date of March 17, 1804, says: "Maturin Livingston, as agent of the Manhattan Company, informed the committee of the Assembly that he was authorized, on behalf of the company, to make offers to the State as advantageous for the suppression of the Merchants' Bank as any which should or might be made on their part for a charter; and he actually offered to the State \$500,000 of Manhattan stock to be added to the capital of that bank at par. He also told the committee that it was the intention of the company he represented to propose connections with a certain other bank, with a view of consolidating what he called the Republican moneyed interest. He went on to observe that it was owing to the Manhattan Company that Mr. Jefferson was now President of the United States, and that the Merchants' Bank was a Federal institution and ought to be crushed."

A committee of the president and directors of the Merchants' Bank now came forward and submitted to the committee of the Assembly, to whom were referred the petitions for the incorporation of the bank, their proposals to the State. They stated that the existing present capital of the company was \$1,250,000 and they proposed that the State reserve the right to become interested in so much additional stock as the Legislature might judge expedient, a credit to be given to the State for the whole amount of its shares in the stock at five per cent. per annum, reimbursement for which was to be made in installments at such periods as should be agreed on and as should suit the interest of the State.

Or, if the Legislature should not be inclined to accept the above proposals, they offered as a consideration for the privilege of a charter for twenty-one years to pay into the treasury, for the use of the State, one hundred thousand dollars, or in lieu thereof to invest the State with two thousand shares of the increased stock of the bank estimated at par.

To insure the faithful and impartial administration of the affairs of the company, and the confidence of the public, the committee from

the bank also proposed that provision be made in the act of incorporation that the Legislature should appoint annually one-fourth of the whole number of directors, and that none but citizens of the United States should be stockholders in the bank.

In answer to the proposals of the Merchants' Bank, Maturin Livingston, the agent of the Manhattan Company, in behalf of that company, after declaring that the Manhattan Company had greatly contributed to the happy political change, stated that if an increase in the banking capital of the city of New York were necessary the Manhattan Company solicited the patronage of the State, and by extending its capital was willing that the State should be interested to the amount of half a million dollars. He declared that the difference between the par and the actual price of the stock would give a net profit to the State of about one hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

The petition of the president and directors of the Merchants' Bank, in 1804, was not successful, but instead, on April 11 of that year, the Legislature passed the celebrated restraining law, which provided "that no person unauthorized by law shall subscribe to, or become a member of, any association, institution or company, or proprietor of any bank or fund for the purpose of issuing notes, receiving deposits, making discounts, or transacting any other business which incorporated banks may, or do, transact by virtue of their respective acts of incorporation; and all notes and securities for the payment of money or the delivery of property made or given to any such association, institution, or company not authorized as aforesaid, shall be null and void." The act, however, provided "that nothing herein contained shall be held in any way to extend to the Mercantile Company of Albany or the Merchants' Bank of New York City, until the first Tuesday in May, 1805."

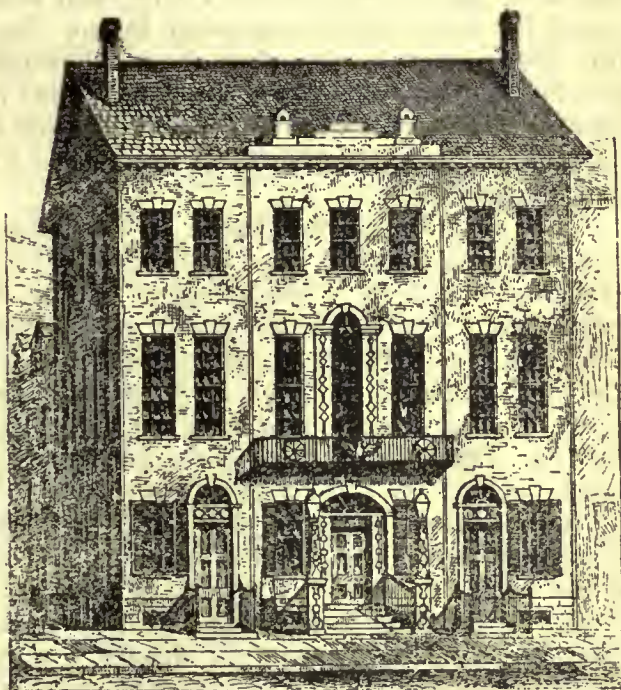
Although the president and directors of the Manhattan Company had taken an active part in promoting the passage of the restraining act, and although the bill was drawn by Maturin Livingston, a director of that company, it was found soon after it became a law that, in the opinion of some, it restrained the Manhattan Company as well as the Merchants' Bank. A rider was therefore tacked on another bill which passed both houses. This declared that the restraining act should not be construed to affect the corporation created by an act



Robert R. Livingston

THE LIVINGSTONS, POWERFUL LEADERS OF ANTI-FEDERAL POLITICS IN NEW YORK, WERE OPPOSED TO THE MERCHANTS' BANK, AS THEY HAD BEEN TO THE BANK OF NEW YORK, BECAUSE THE FOUNDERS OF THESE INSTITUTIONS WERE FEDERALISTS

THIS BUILDING, LONG AFTERWARD OCCUPIED BY THE NEW YORK SUN, WAS THE HEADQUARTERS OF THE ANTI-FEDERALISTS, LED BY THE CLINTON AND LIVINGSTON FAMILIES AND AARON BURR



TAMMANY HALL, ON PARK ROW, NEW YORK CITY

entitled "An Act for the supplying of the city of New York with pure and wholesome water,"—the Manhattan Company.

Up to this time the right of banking had been considered a common-law right, to be exercised at pleasure by individuals or associations of individuals, but, after the first restraining law, banking required a franchise derived from a grant of the Legislature, held and enjoyed by those only who could produce the grant. The object of the restraining act of 1804 was to guarantee to banks a monopoly of the rights and privileges granted to them, which had been encroached upon or infringed by private companies or associations.

Under the restraining act the Merchants' Bank, unless it could obtain a charter, would be compelled to wind up its business. The company, therefore, in 1805 again petitioned the Legislature for a charter, and the battle for its existence was renewed, and also the great political contest of the two parties over the chartering of this bank.

The application was based on the ground that more banking facilities were needed in New York City, and that, having invested their capital for banking purposes when by law they had a perfect right to thus use it, and having thus incurred considerable expense in the prosecution of their business, the subscribers claimed from the Legislature in justice either an act of incorporation or the privilege of using their money as by law they were authorized to do when they incurred their expenditures.

The question of the charter having assumed the character of a bitter political contest, the applicants were compelled to resort to strenuous measures. The struggle of the Merchants' Bank for a charter marks an important epoch in the annals of the banking history of the first decade of the nineteenth century. Isaac Kibbie was appointed agent of the bank at Albany. Peter Jay Munro and John Hone, directors, were especially active in their work for the bank. Ebenezer Purdy of the Senate was the bank's most ardent advocate in that branch of the Legislature. When the bill came up in the Assembly it was taken in charge principally by William W. Van Ness, the Federal member from Columbia county, and its discussion caused one of the bitterest strifes that ever took place in the Legislature of New York. Accusations were made that the company, by their agents, had attempted to bribe some of the members of both houses, and a committee was appointed to investigate the matter. The committee could

find no evidence to support the charge. During the proceedings in the Legislature, Judge Taylor became so excited that he committed a personal assault upon Judge Purdy by knocking him down as he was passing from the Senate chamber.

The bill incorporating the Merchants' Bank passed both houses of the Legislature and came before the Council of Revision on March 26, 1805. Judge Spencer objected to the passage of the bill on the ground that there were already banks sufficient in the city of New York for the public good, and that there had been bribery and corruption practiced in the Legislature. The objections, however, were overruled by the three other members of the council and the bill was returned to the Senate to become a law.

According to the act of incorporation, Abraham G. Lansing, the Treasurer of the State of New York, made a subscription for one thousand shares of the stock of the bank without expense to the State, for the payment of which the stockholders were assessed two dollars per share, and, as directed in the act, took his seat at the board as one of its directors.

According to the minutes of the Merchants' Bank, in the first year of its existence, only a few months after it opened its doors for business, a resolution was passed that the bank should be removed to Greenwich, owing to the prevalence in the city of yellow fever. The bank was opened at Greenwich on August 24th, and was returned to the city in the following November. It had become the custom, whenever the city was threatened with an epidemic of fever, for the banks and other business concerns of the city to transfer their business to the village of Greenwich and there remain until all danger was passed. This was almost a yearly occurrence, and so necessary was it considered that the Merchants' Bank, in 1806, purchased eight lots on Hudson street, between Horatio and Jane streets, and spent \$8,000 in erecting a suitable banking house. The whole expense for land and building amounted to \$15,887. For many years the business of the bank was transferred almost every summer to Greenwich. During the cholera epidemic of 1832 the banking house at Greenwich was rented to the city for an hospital. The Greenwich property was sold at auction by the bank in 1844 for \$11,000.

In October, 1803, the Philadelphia Bank proposed to the Merchants' Bank the establishment of a mutual credit and a mutual re-

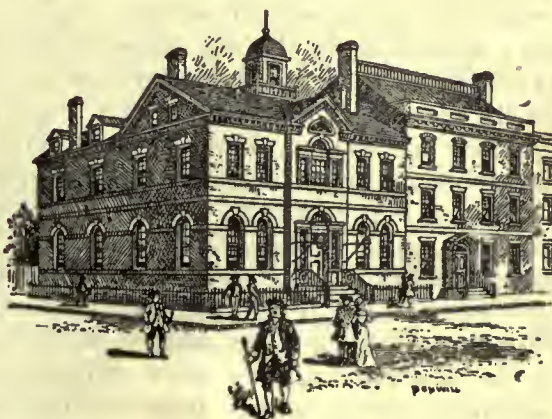
demption of notes. This proposition was accepted and it was agreed that the credit should be limited to a sum not exceeding \$30,000. In the later part of the same year the New York State Bank of Albany made inquiry to ascertain on what terms the Merchants' Bank would receive the notes of that bank. The committee of the Merchants' Bank, to whom this question was referred, recommended that the notes of the New York State Bank should be received to the amount of \$50,000, without charging the institution any interest; and that there should be a mutual credit between the two banks for a sum not exceeding \$20,000, provided the New York State Bank should agree to keep their account with the Merchants' Bank. The board of directors of the State Bank acted by authorizing the sending of \$20,000 in specie to the Merchants' Bank of New York as its first deposit.

Oliver Wolcott did not long remain president of the Merchants' Bank; even before the bank obtained its charter he resigned and was succeeded, June 12, 1804, by Joshua Sands, a prominent merchant, and at that time a representative in Congress from the third Congressional district of New York. Joshua Sands was born in 1757 at Cow Neck (subsequently called Sands' Point), Long Island, of which place his grandfather was an original settler. In 1776 he accepted a position in the commissary department of the American army with the rank of captain. He was engaged with his brothers in contracts for the supply of clothing and provisions, in which they were great sufferers, although afterwards partially reimbursed by a special act of Congress. At the close of the war Joshua became a partner with his brother, Comfort, in mercantile business and was for many years a man well known in the business life of the city, and held many important public offices.

In June, 1805, the Newark Banking and Insurance Company opened an account with the Merchants' Bank. This was the first bank chartered by the State of New Jersey, February 17, 1804, Elisha Boudinot being its first president and William Whitehead its first cashier. Besides banking, its ostensible purpose was to provide fire insurance, but few policies were ever issued by it. Not long after it was incorporated, application was made for a charter for a bank to be located at Paulus Hook, doubtless with the intention of obtaining its principal business for the city of New York. The directors of the Newark Bank remonstrated, claiming that the Legislature had given



THE KENNEDY AND WATTS HOUSES,
ON LOWER BROADWAY, OPPOSITE
BOWLING GREEN, NEW YORK. TWO
RESIDENCES NOTABLE IN THE
FASHIONABLE CIRCLES OF NEW
YORK AT THE BEGINNING OF THE
NINETEENTH CENTURY



this bank East Jersey as its territory, whereupon the Newark Banking and Insurance Company was authorized to establish a branch at Paulus Hook with the consent of the "Associates." The State reserved the right to subscribe \$50,000 to the stock of this branch bank, which privilege was afterwards sold to Colonel Aaron Ogden for \$4,000. The branch bank was established with the title of "The Jersey Bank," books were opened for subscription January 24, 1805, directors were elected, April 2, 1805, and a bank building was erected in the summer of 1805. Doctor Samuel L. Mitchill, in his "Picture of New York" in 1807, says that the Jersey Bank was virtually a New York establishment, though incorporated by an act of a neighboring State.

Both the Newark Bank and the Jersey Bank had agencies in the city of New York, where the notes of the Newark Bank circulated to a great extent. This fact is commented on as follows in the New York Directory of 1806-7:

"Every one who thinks must be fully sensible of the advantages resulting to banks from the circulation of their notes—especially those of small amount, as they are more easily lost. We have no hesitation to say that probably the whole expense of the establishment of the Newark Bank is *cleared* by the profit on their one dollar notes circulated in this city alone; these notes, it is not improper to remark, are executed on exceedingly bad paper, and consequently soon worn out. The property of our banks is in some measure our own, at least it is owned chiefly by persons who are daily contributing largely to the support as well as to the ornament of the city; then most certainly the profit resulting from the circulation of this kind of medium ought to be theirs, and if the directors of these establishments are prevented by their generosity, from discouraging this circulation, it becomes still more an important duty on each *good citizen* himself to discountenance it. We pretend not to argue this matter; for, convinced of the good sense of the public, we deem it sufficient to give this hint to induce them to act as their *own* interest demands."

In 1810 the Jersey Bank had an office at 30 Wall street, on the corner of William street, where, according to a lengthy advertisement in the newspapers, they were offering to insure against fire houses, buildings, goods, wares, merchandise, household goods, etc., in any part of the United States, at the lowest rates of premium; also vessels in port and their cargoes at rates specified.



THE CITY HOTEL, A PROMINENT SPOT ON LOWER BROADWAY, NEW YORK, IN THE EARLY PART OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY



THE LOWER MARKET, ON THE EAST RIVER, NEW YORK CITY, AS IT APPEARED IN EARLY TIMES

This was not the first bank that had attempted insurance business in New York City. In 1802 the Manhattan Company, in addition to their banking operations and the construction of waterworks, attempted to interest the public in the business of insuring lives and granting annuities on lives. They issued the following notice:

"The President and Directors of the Manhattan Company, anxious to employ their surplus capital to purposes useful to the public, as well as profitable to the company, have resolved to open an office for granting annuities on lives, either single or by survivorship, and also for insuring lives." This was then a novelty in New York, and although the rates of insurance published with the above notice were moderate, there is no record that the business assumed any great proportions.

A supplement to the act incorporating the Manhattan Company was passed in the year 1808, authorizing the company to sell or lease to the corporation of New York their real estate, waterworks, and water privileges, and in that case to employ their whole capital as they could their surplus capital. It provided that the charter should cease thirty years from the date of said sale or lease, and also that the State should be entitled to subscribe for one thousand shares of the stock of the company, equal to fifty thousand dollars. This subscription was made and thus the capital was increased to two million fifty thousand dollars.

The directors of the Manhattan Company have always been cautious with regard to any concessions which might impair their extraordinary powers, which, it had been contended, placed the company entirely above and beyond the control of the Legislature. Iron pipes were introduced about 1826. In 1840 the company had twenty-five miles of wooden pipes and fourteen miles of iron pipes, and the waterworks were considered a burden. It was soon after this that the Croton water was introduced, yet the Manhattan Company is still a water company, and their tank or reservoir is still standing on the corner of Reade and Lafayette streets, which they evidently consider it advisable to maintain.

In 1808 Henry Remsen, who had been cashier of the Manhattan Company from the time it first opened its doors for business, became president of that institution, and Whitehead Fish became cashier.

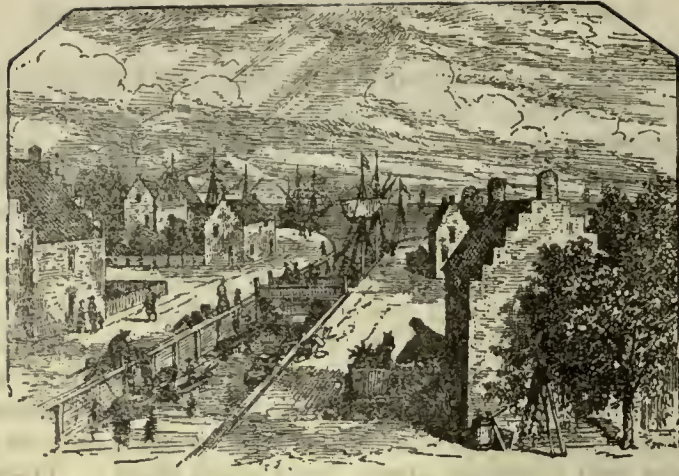
SOME EARLY BANKS AND NEW YORK POLITICS

The fourth bank chartered by the State and located in New York City was the Mechanics' Bank which went into operation in 1810.

The General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen was founded in 1785, and in 1786 thirty trades were represented in it, the objects being the support of trade and charitable assistance to needy tradesmen. The society was incorporated in 1792, at which time it had over two hundred members. It exercised great influence in the community, and, although it manifested much patriotism, it resolved to take no part as a society in politics. The members selected a prominent hotel for their headquarters, where their meetings were held and where they were served with a good dinner at their annual reunion and election of officers. The society in 1802 erected its own hall, on the corner of Broadway and Robinson street (now Park place). Here was held the first anniversary celebration, on the 6th of January, 1803. After the election of officers and the transaction of the other business before the society, the two hundred and fifteen members present sat down to an elegant dinner at which the mayor of the city was a guest. In 1803 the house was taken by Michael Little and soon became a popular place for balls and concerts. It was for some years one of the prominent hotels of the city, known as Mechanics' Hall.

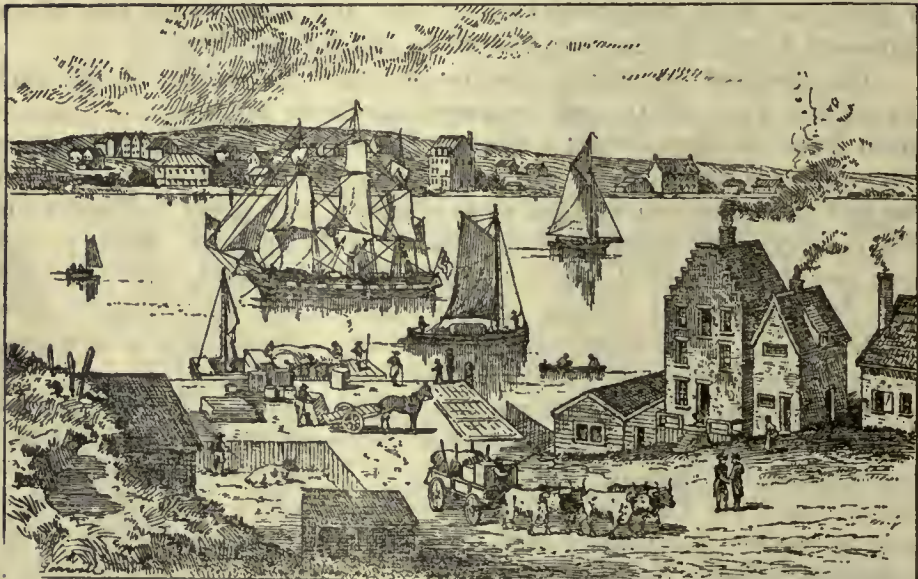
The General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen, in the early part of the year 1810, sent representatives or agents to Albany to obtain from the Legislature a charter for a bank. This seems to have been quietly accomplished, although bank charters, both before this time and for a few years after, were obtained with great difficulty and with considerable political agitation. On March 26, 1810, a New York newspaper stated that on board the steamboat, which arrived from Albany the day before, came as passengers the delegates from the Mechanics' Society, bringing with them a charter for a new bank entitled "The Mechanics' Bank of the City of New York."

The charter was granted on the 23d of March. The capital was to consist of one million, five hundred thousand dollars, and six hundred thousand dollars of the stock was to be offered to mechanics of the State of New York in preference to anyone else. The shares were made at twenty-five dollars each, to encourage members of the society to become holders, and each member was entitled to the privilege of subscribing to a certain number of shares. The society itself was allowed to take six thousand, with the privilege of paying for them



VIEW OF CANAL IN BROAD STREET

THIS PART OF NEW AMSTERDAM, SO CHARACTERISTICALLY DUTCH, HAS LONG SINCE BEEN GIVEN OVER TO FINANCIAL NEW YORK, CONGREGATED ABOUT WALL STREET, INTO WHICH BROAD STREET RUNS ON THE NORTH



THE OLD FERRY BETWEEN BROOKLYN AND MANHATTAN, GREATER NEW YORK—THE CONNECTING LINK BETWEEN THE TWO CITIES, NOW ONE, BEFORE THE FAMOUS BROOKLYN BRIDGES WERE SEEN EVEN IN DREAMS

within a certain time. This privilege was afterwards relinquished by the society, in consideration of one thousand shares made over to them by the bank without requiring any payment. By the terms of the charter it was required that seven of the directors of the bank should be members of the society, four of whom must actually follow a mechanical profession, the president of the society being *ex officio*, a member of the board. The first president of the bank was John Slidell, and the first cashier was Whitehead Fish, who for two years had occupied the same position in the Manhattan Company. He was succeeded in the Manhattan Company by Samuel Flewwelling.

In June, 1804, Herman Le Roy resigned the office of president of the Bank of New York and was succeeded by Matthew Clarkson.

General Matthew Clarkson was born in the city of New York, October 17, 1758. At the age of seventeen he entered the American army and served successively on the staffs of Arnold and Lincoln, with the rank of major. He participated in two of the greatest reverses of the war, the defeat on Long Island and the fall of Charleston and two of the most brilliant victories, the surrender of Burgoyne and of Lord Cornwallis.

At the close of the war he engaged in business in New York City. For a time he was associated with John Vanderbilt under the firm name of Vanderbilt & Clarkson. After dissolving his mercantile relations with Mr. Vanderbilt, he conducted business on his own account and at length became associated with his brothers' firm, known as S. & L. Clarkson & Co. General Clarkson, in the latter part of his life, was particularly known for his benevolent deeds. He remained president of the Bank of New York for more than twenty years.

In April, 1808, the Legislature of the State passed an act extending the charter of the Bank of New York, which would expire by limitation on the second Tuesday in May, 1811, to the second Tuesday in May, 1820. The act further provided that the Comptroller of the State should no longer be, *ex officio*, a director of the bank, but that instead the Governor, in behalf of the State, should appoint as directors two residents of the city of New York who should not be directors in any other bank, and that the State should not be entitled to vote at any election of directors. The Comptroller at the same time notified the bank that he was authorized by a recent act of the Legislature to borrow \$450,000 on the credit of the State, and possibly \$150,-

000 more. The bank then advanced \$200,000 of the amount required. On April 13 of the same year an additional loan of \$150,000 was made to the State at the request of the Comptroller.

As previously stated, the Bank of New York in 1797 purchased from the State of New York over \$1,300,000 of United States stock, then at a large discount, especially the deferred stock, which was unsaleable, agreeing to pay for it at par in May, 1809, and in the meantime to pay interest as agreed upon and lend the State as required. In April, 1809, the bank was able to sell \$100,000 of this stock at 102, \$21,000 in May at the same price, and in October \$200,000 at 104.

In January, 1810, a memorial and petition presented to the Legislature showed that the bank had paid on account of its purchase of bonds \$103,908 and had lent to the State \$460,000. The bank requested that the payment of the balance due might be postponed to the year 1818. The Legislature accordingly passed an act extending the time of payment to the second Tuesday of May, 1818, on condition that the bank should, if required, lend to the State not to exceed \$250,000.

In 1808 Joshua Sands resigned the presidency of the Merchants' Bank and was succeeded by Richard Varick. Lynde Catlin was still cashier. Colonel Richard Varick was born at Hackensack, New Jersey, March 25, 1753. He received a good education, studied law, was admitted to the bar, and practiced his profession in the city of New York. He joined the Revolutionary army in 1775 and was appointed a captain in the First New York Continental Infantry, under Colonel McDougal. He was inspector-general at West Point on the staff of General Arnold until the discovery of Arnold's treason, after which he was taken into the military family of General Washington, as secretary of his official and private correspondence, which position he held to the end of the war. At the close of the war he accepted the office of recorder of the city of New York, which he held until 1789. In May of that year he was appointed attorney-general and in the following September was elected mayor of the city of New York, which office he retained until succeeded by Edward Livingston in 1801.

November 2, 1810, the Legislature of New Jersey laid a tax of one-half of one per cent. on the capital of the Jersey Bank, located at Paulus Hook, but doing business in New York. The directors of the bank attempted to evade this tax and sold the bank building. The

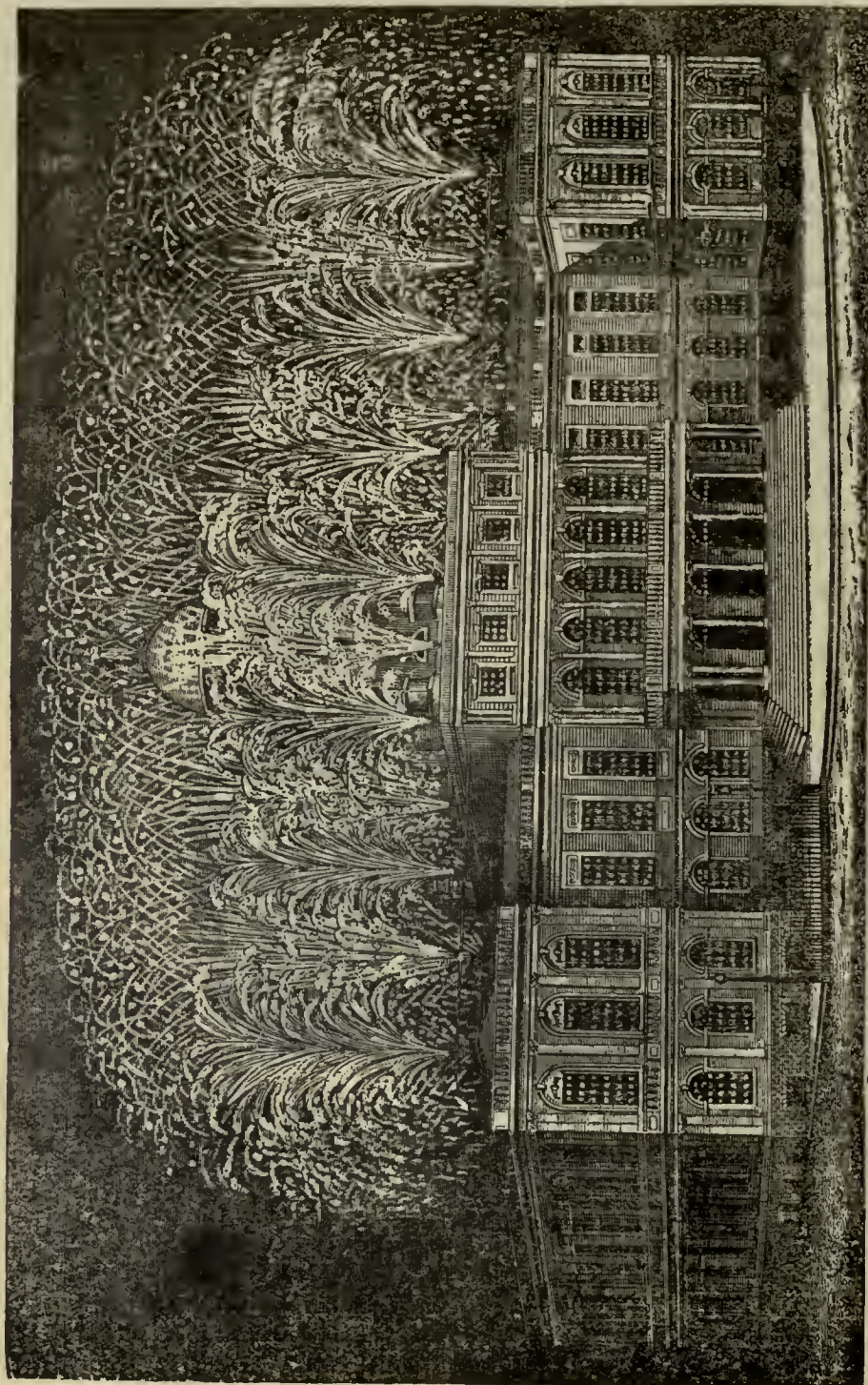
SOME EARLY BANKS AND NEW YORK POLITICS

sheriff, however, levied upon and sold it at public auction, the State being the purchaser, February 23, 1811. The directors, in March, 1811, obtained a charter from the State of New York as the Union Bank, with a capital of one million dollars, and commenced business at No. 17 Wall street. The first president was Amasa Jackson and the first cashier was John Low. They had previously served in these offices in the Jersey Bank, from which the Union Bank was created.



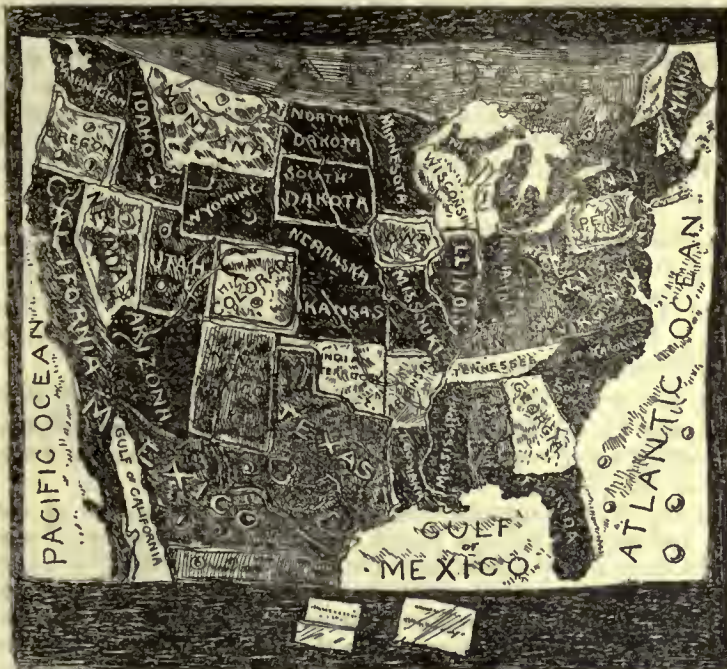
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A Landmark, in the Early Nineteenth Century, Which Long Ago
Went Down Before the Giant Sky-Scraper



ILLUMINATION OF CITY HALL, NEW YORK CITY, TO CELEBRATE THE COMPLETION
OF THE ERIE CANAL, OCTOBER, 1825

This is the City Building Still Standing in City Hall Park, Near the Manhattan End of the
Old Brooklyn Bridge



A PATCHWORK-QUILT MAP OF THE UNITED STATES

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912.

Of The Journal of American History published quarterly at Greenfield, Indiana for April, 1922.

State of New York, County of New York, ss.

Before me, a notary in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Frank Allaben, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the editor of The Journal of American History, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher The National Historical Society, 37 W. 39th St., New York, N. Y.; Editor, Frank Allaben, 37 W. 39th St., New York, N. Y.; Managing editor, none; Business managers, none.

2. That the owners are: The National Historical Society. No stockholders.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent. or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

FRANK ALLABEN.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 12th day of June, 1922.

(Seal)

E. J. GLIDDEN.

(My commission expires March 30, 1924.)

Articles of Incorporation of The National Historical Society

Incorporated under the Laws of the District of Columbia at Washington, on the Twenty-Sixth Day of April, in the Year of Our Lord, Nineteen Hundred and Fifteen, "For the Purpose of Promoting Historical Knowledge and Patriotism, and the Peace of Righteousness among Nations"



THE NAME by which the Society is to be known is "The National Historical Society."

The Society is to continue in perpetuity.

The particular business and objects of the Society will be:

(a) To discover, procure, preserve, and perpetuate whatever relates to History, the History of the Western Hemisphere, the History of the United States of America and their possessions, and the History of families.

(b) To inculcate and bulwark patriotism, in no partisan, sectional, nor narrowly national sense, but in recognition of man's high obligation toward civic righteousness, believing that human governments are divinely ordained to bear the sword and exercise police duty for good against evil, and not for evil against good, and recognizing, as between peoples and peoples, that "God has made of one blood all nations of men."

(c) To provide a national and international patriotic clearing-house and historical exchange, promoting by suitable means helpful forms of communication and co-operation between all historical organizations, patriotic orders, and kindred societies, local, state, national, and international, that the usefulness of all may be increased and their benefits extended toward education and patriotism.

(d) To promote the work of preserving historic landmarks and marking historic sites.

(e) To encourage the use of historical themes and the expression of patriotism in the arts.

(f) In the furtherance of the objects and purposes of the Society, and not as a commercial business, to acquire The Journal of American History, and to publish the same as the official organ of the Society, and to publish or promote the publication of whatever else may seem advisable in furtherance of the objects of the Society.

(g) To authorize the organization of members of the Society, resident in given localities, into associated branch societies, or chapters of the parent Society, and to promote by all other suitable means the purpose, objects, and work of the Society.

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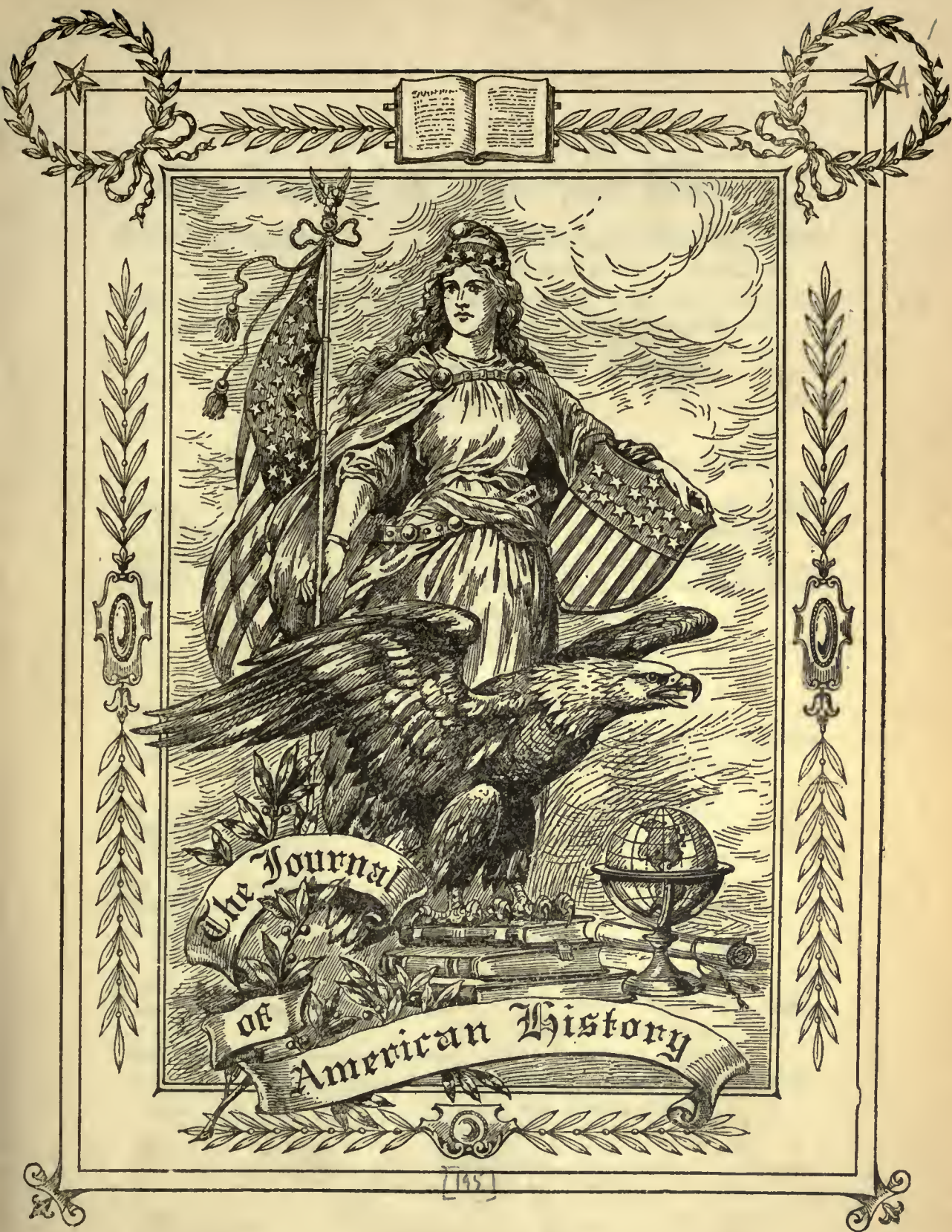
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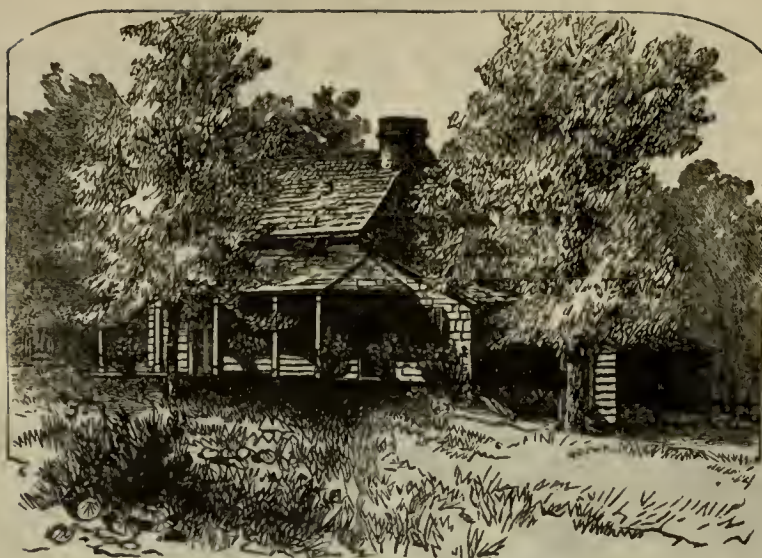
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THE HENRY GRINNELL RELIEF EXPEDITION SEARCHING THE ARCTIC REGION FOR
SIR JOHN FRANKLIN



EDGAR ALLAN POE'S COTTAGE, STILL STANDING AT FORDHAM,
BOROUGH OF THE BRONX, NEW YORK CITY



WASHINGTON IRVING'S HOME AT IRVINGTON-ON-THE-HUDSON, NORTH OF
NEW YORK CITY, AS IT APPEARED WHEN HE BOUGHT IT

The Journal of American History

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NINETEEN TWENTY-TWO



NUMBER 3
THIRD QUARTER

| UNION SECOND LINE | | | WAY-BILL | | |
|---------------------------------|--------|-----------------|--|----|---------------------------|
| From New-York, to Philadelphia. | | | Saturday January 10 th 1826 | | |
| PASSENGERS NAMES. | SEATS. | PHILADELPHIA. | D. | C. | BY WHOM RECEIVED. |
| Mr Richardson | 1 | Seaton | 3 | 00 | Mr Church to Philadelphia |
| Mr Ford | 1 | | 3 | 00 | from Seaton \$2.00 |
| Mr Storer | 1 | | 3 | 00 | Same by |
| Mr Downey | 1 | Philadelphia | 4 | 00 | druid |
| Major Butler | 1 | | 4 | 00 | Seaton from Seaton |
| Mr Bruce | 1 | | 4 | 00 | Seaton |
| Miss VanNort | 1 | Kingston | 2 | 25 | |
| Mr. Vohrich | 1 | Seaton | 3 | 00 | from Seaton \$2.00 |
| Mr. Warner | 1 | Seaton | 3 | 00 | from Seaton \$2.00 |
| Mr. Banta | 1 | Seaton Kingston | 2 | | Seaton |

PASSENGER WAY-BILL IN STAGE-COACH-DAYS ON THE OLD POST ROAD, BETWEEN BOSTON AND CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA, THROUGH NEW YORK AND PHILADELPHIA

America.

My country, - 'tis of thee,
Sweet land of liberty,
Of thee I sing;
Land where my fathers died,
Land of the pilgrims' pride,
From every mountain side
Let freedom ring.

My native country, - thee -
Land of the noble, free,
Thy name I love;
I love thy rocks and rills,
Thy woods and templed hills,
My heart with rapture thrills,
Like that above.

Let music swell the breeze,
And ring from all the trees
Sweet freedom's song;
Let mortal tongues awake;
Let all that breathe partake,
Let rocks their silence break,
The sound prolong.

Our fathers' God, to Thee,
Author of liberty,
To Thee we sing;
Long may our land be bright
With freedom's holy light,
Protect us by Thy might,
Great God, - our King.

Written in 1832.

S. F. Smith.

The Indian Inhabitants of the Niagara Frontier

The Niagara Frontier Was at Different Times Inhabited by the Neutral
Nation, the Sonnontouan, the Senecas, the Eries and the
Mencorohnon; Records of These Tribes Being Left
by the Jesuit Missionaries.

BY

FREDERICK HOUGHTON, M. S.



Used here, the term Niagara Frontier includes territory on both sides of the Niagara River from Lake Ontario to the southern shore of Lake Erie. It is crossed from east to west by the steep escarpment of the Niagara Limestone, which breaks the country abruptly into two plains. The country is noted for its fertility and its altogether delightful qualities, and as a result, from the earliest times, it has been the abode of a relatively numerous Indian population.

The river, in spite of its swift current and impassable falls and rapids, was at no time a boundary between Indian nations. Rather, it was a main highway and a very important thoroughfare for aboriginal travel between the east and the far west, and as such it persisted until recent historic times. Down this river swept the canoes of northern Indians, laden with furs for the store-houses at Oswego, at Albany and at Quebec, and hordes of Indians, whose head-dresses of buffalo horns and robes of buffalo hide proclaimed their origin on the far plains of the Dakotas, bound to join their French allies in their war against the Iroquois of New York or against the English before Fort Niagara. Yet there was a time when the river was closed as a highway, when, in the middle of the seventeenth century, the shadow of the Iroquois fell athwart it and no other nation presumed to travel on it through fear of this ferocious Confederacy.

The identity of the earliest Indian inhabitants of the Niagara Frontier is unknown to us. That there was a prolonged residence there by some Stone Age people is made evident by the occurrence all over the territory of scattered articles of primitive manufacture, axes and crude ornaments made of stone, and points of flint, such as might have been dropped by wandering bands of savages. As the materials from which these are made are mainly such as must have come either from the Canadian wilderness to the north and west of the Frontier, or from the mountains of Pennsylvania, and as the type of articles, also, is such as to remind us forcibly of the Algonkian tribes which, during early historic times, inhabited both those localities, it is probable that many of these early, primitive occupants were wandering bands of people in all respects similar to the modern Ojibways and Mississaugas of Canada, or the Delawares who inhabited Pennsylvania during the early historic period. These people, whoever they may have been, seem to have been turned back to the north and to the south by incoming nations of Iroquoian stock, which inhabited the Frontier when the first European appeared.

The Niagara Frontier was visited at a comparatively early time by European explores. The first of these, undoubtedly, was Steven Brule, who in 1615 was sent by his employer, Samuel de Champlain, from the Huron country across an unknown wilderness to the nation of the Carantouan, at the head waters of the Susquehanna River. At this time the Hurons were preparing to send a war party against the Iroquois of New York, and Brule was sent to ask the aid of the Carantouan nation in this war. He must have crossed the Niagara River, for he certainly penetrated the contiguous Seneca country, where he and his Huron guides captured a party of Senecas whom they carried with them to the Carantouan villages. But in the very brief account of his adventures, which he gave to Champlain several years later, he imparted no information regarding the river or the people along its banks.

Champlain never approached the Niagara region, but in 1615 he received from his Huron hosts a good deal of information about the people who lived on both sides of the river. These he named the "Nation Neutre," because they were neutral in the warfare then existing between the Hurons and the Iroquois. His designation, the Neutral Nation, has remained with this people, whose real tribal name is

INDIAN INHABITANTS OF THE NIAGARA FRONTIER

not known. The Hurons called them Attiwandarons, which merely meant "people who do not speak as we do."

In 1635, Father Brebeuf, at that time resident missionary amongst the Hurons, made a list of the Iroquois nations which seemed to him to offer a great field for missionary effort. This list includes several nations which occupied the Niagara Frontier. One of these was the Neutral Nation, which the good father continued to call by the name that Champlain had given it. Another, the Sonnontouan, was the nation which later came to be called the Senecas, and still another was the nation of the Eries, the Erierohton, which later was to give its name to the lake to the north of it. With these he listed a nation called the Wenrohton, about the identity of which there has been some doubt.

By 1635 the Neutral Nation had become fairly well known. In 1626 Father Joseph de la Roche Dallion had visited that nation and had proceeded eastward probably as far as the Niagara River, which he mentioned without describing. His reception was anything but cordial and his stay was very short, and it was not until 1640 that missionary effort was again attempted amongst this nation. In that year Father Brebeuf and Father Chaumonot set out from the Huron country to carry the gospel to the Neuters. After a winter spent there, under the most trying conditions of sullen hostility, starvation and cold, they returned without success to their Huron station.

From the descriptions of the Jesuit missionaries and from the archeologic work done in the country in which they lived, a great deal may be learned of the life, and somewhat of the history, of this Neutral Nation. It was of the Iroquoian stock, speaking a language in common with the Senecas, the Hurons and the Eries, and, like all their kin, they were sedentary village people dependent more upon farms than upon either hunting or fishing. They lived in twenty-eight villages, which stretched from the Detroit River to the Niagara, and eastward for twenty miles across the Niagara. These villages were groups of long communal houses made of bark, and were enclosed by palisades, beyond which stretched well-cultivated fields of corn, pumpkins, beans, sunflowers and tobacco. Like all their kindred they were fierce and warlike, and although, almost to the end of their national existence, they maintained neutrality in the never-ceasing

war between the New York Iroquois and their Huron kindred, they carried on an almost constant war with the tribes south and west of Lake Michigan; and the missionaries noted their success in bringing droves of captives to their villages as a result of their forays.

Their archeology shows that they came into the Niagara Peninsula from the westward across the Detroit River, for of all the village sites positively identified as belonging to these people, those in the western part of the peninsula, from the Detroit nearly to the Grand River, must be attributed to an early pre-historic period, but the villages from the Grand River eastward across the Niagara into New York are nearly all of a later, post-European period. Their history as occupants of the Niagara Frontier closed when they became involved in a war with the New York Iroquois, for after two years of fierce fighting when, for a time, their war parties pushed eastward almost to the Seneca villages, they were finally, in 1653, overpowered by the Confederacy and became, as the old French map-maker wrote, "A nation destroyed."

Allied to the Neutral Nation, and probably lying just to the east of them, was a nation called by the French the Wenrorohnons. This nation occupied the eastern frontiers of the Neuters and was in touch with the Senecas. In 1639, after several years of harrassing war, this nation applied for admission into the Huron Nation and migrated in a body across the Niagara to the Huron country, about the Georgian Bay, where they were colonized amongst the Huron villages. The archeology of western New York seems to indicate that this people occupied villages in the Buffalo Creek valley, and near Oakfield and Shelby, where some very interesting ancient sites can be attributed to this people only.

South of Lake Erie, and extending north-eastward towards the Niagara, was the territory of another Iroquoian nation, known to the French missionaries as Erierohnons. This nation was warlike, but sedentary, living in villages of bark houses, usually placed close to the lake shore. Their northeastern front bordered upon the southern portion of the territory of the Neutral Nation. Eastwardly, a wide wilderness separated them from their Seneca kindred, with whom, however, they seem to have been closely affiliated. There is no first-hand information regarding the customs or the location of these people, for they were never visited by white observers and their nation

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ceased to exist in 1655, in which year they were completely overwhelmed by the New York Confederacy.

Of all the Indian inhabitants of the Niagara Frontier, the Iroquois nation, which has become known to us as the Seneca Nation, has been the most conspicuous and dominating. When the Senecas became first known to the Europeans, they lived in villages in the beautiful and fertile land between the Genesee River and Canandaigua Lake. Research has shown that they had migrated into this country from the west, and circumstances drove them to migrate from this country after the American Revolution, and to take up their permanent abode mainly on the Niagara Frontier.

The nation known to us as the Seneca Nation became first known to the Europeans very shortly after the establishment of Fort Nassau, when parties of these people began to come eastward to barter furs with the Dutch traders there. The name, Seneca, dates from that period. The Algonkian nations along the Hudson River, with whom the Dutch had come in contact, designated (as Senecas) all the Iroquois nations of New York excepting the Mohawks. Later, as the different nations became known to the Dutch, this name was restricted more and more until it finally became settled upon the most distant and least known member of the Confederacy. When the Dutch posts were taken over by the English, the English adopted the Dutch names and, consequently, continued to call this western member the Seneca nation. A curious confusion has been caused by this name on a map made in Holland in 1614. This map followed details given by a trader named Kleynties, who left Fort Nassau, explored the hinterland south of the Mohawk, and was captured by, and ransomed from, the Susquehanna Indians. On his map the same Seneca occurs north of Otsego Lake, and occurring there, far from the known territory of the Senecas it caused a great deal of controversy until it was learned that the name was really applied, at that time, to another branch of the Iroquois confederacy, the Oneidas, who were then living there.

The French knew the Seneca nation as the Sonnontouan, their Iroquois appellation, which appears with variable spelling in all the old French records. This carries the meaning, "the people of the Great Hills," or, possibly, still better, "The Great Mountain People,"

a term derived, as the Seneca traditions have it, from their supposed origin in a great hill at the head of Canandaigua Lake.

The real origin of these people and their appearance in New York State has been satisfactorily accounted for through their archeology. A study of their village sites,* which has been carried on by the Lake. At this point their culture merges with that of a primitive, writer, has resulted in tracing them back from their post-European villages along the Honeoye, southward and westward up the Genesee valley to Wellsville, thence westward as far, probably, as Cassadaga pre-historic Iroquoian nation, presumably the ancestors of the Erie nation. There seems no doubt that the early prehistoric Senecas were derived from a band of Iroquoian people migrating eastward along the southern shore of Lake Erie from some point in Illinois or Michigan, and that another portion of this band crystallized into the Erie Nation.

This migration-path of the Senecas, eastward and northward into the Genesee Valley, is marked by Stone Age, pre-European village sites, showing certain characteristics which mark them as of Seneca origin. Of these characteristics, the most prominent is the situation of the villages. Essentially, all these early Seneca sites were hill-forts. Nearly every one is on a commanding eminence, usually being on the highest hill in its neighborhood. Nearly every one is enclosed by an earth embankment, indicating fortification by a palisade. In every one the primary reason for its situation was strong defense, nearness to water being a secondary consideration. There is no doubt that at this stage of their existence, the Seneca nation was migrating through a country occupied by hostile people, presumably by Algonkian nations of Delaware stock. It was not until after the Senecas had allied themselves with other Iroquois, to form the Confederacy, and had been further strengthened by a rapid influx of European fire-arms, that they felt strong enough to relinquish these strongly-defended situations and to emerge into the more open plain country of middle New York. Even as late as the middle of the seventeenth century, some of their largest villages were still hill-top forts, a good example of which occurs at Victor, in Ontario County, where Gana-

*The Seneca Nation from 1657-1687. The Stone Age Seneca and their kindred.

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garo, the village which LaSalle visited in 1669, was situated on a high hill and surrounded by strong palisades.

All Seneca village sites, as well as those of the other nations of Iroquoian stock, are marked by refuse heaps, deep deposits of blackened earth, the remains of garbage and ashes accumulated through long years of residence. In these refuse heaps occur practically all of the artifacts used by the villagers.

Another characteristic is the small, keen, triangular, un-notched, chert arrow-point. This distinguishes Iroquoian villages wherever it may be found, especially if it be in refuse heaps in conjunction with a large proportion of articles made of bone. There has been much misconception about these tiny points. In many places they have received the name of war-points. This, however, is entirely a wrong idea. They are distinctly an Iroquoian artifact. Every village site to be attributed to undoubted Iroquoian origin, whether this be amongst the Hurons in Canada, the Senecas or Mohawks in New York, or the Andastes of the Susquehanna, is distinguished by the presence on them of large numbers of these tiny triangular points, differing radically from the heavy-notched points of their Algonkian neighbors to the north and to the south.

Along with these triangular points, in all the Iroquoian and especially in Seneca sites, occurs a great preponderance of objects made of bone and of antler, for in manufacturing tools and weapons the Senecas were essentially a bone-using instead of a stone-using people.

The Seneca nation formed the western member of the strong Iroquoian Confederacy, known amongst themselves as the Ho-de-no-sau-ne, the strongest and most dominant Indian Confederacy ever produced in northern North America. Symbolically, this Confederacy was the "Long House," which stretched from the Hudson to the Genesee. Its western door was kept by the Seneca nation, which was known symbolically as the "great black door," through which came good and evil news. This Confederacy was formed at some time before the coming of the Europeans, and, according to tradition, through the efforts of three persons, Dekanahwideh, Hayonhwatha and a woman, Ji-kon-sah-seh, or the Great Peace Woman. The reason for the organization of the league was to form what the Indians called a "Great Peace," in an effort to do away with intertribal warfare.



THE INDIAN OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK AND THE EAST GENERALLY



ECON OH KOAN, KING OF THE RIVER
NATION, STATE OF NEW YORK



INDIAN TOTEMS OF VARIOUS NEW YORK TRIBES

Of the five confederated nations, the Senecas were last to enter the league, and then only after demanding and receiving privileges beyond those accorded to the other nations.

In an effort to maintain and extend peace, the Iroquoian Confederacy was obliged to make war upon neighboring nations, even upon those of kindred stock. As a consequence, the early European records are full of accounts of the wars of extermination waged by these terrible warriors. The Senecas forced their nearest neighbors, the Wenroes, to migrate from their ancient seats in the valley of the Buffalo Creek, and to flee in a body to the Huron Nation. After a long war, the Hurons, who lived about the southern extension of Georgian Bay, were utterly overwhelmed, their villages burned, their people hunted, scattered and dragged captive into the villages of the New York Confederacy. A Seneca war party treacherously massacred the inhabitants of the Neuter village of Aondironon, and in the war which resulted they scattered the Neutral Nation to the winds.

Two years later, in 1654, events forced the Erie Nation into conflict with the Senecas. As a result, in a short but terrible war, the Senecas overwhelmed them and completed the entire ruin of the nation, and it is a tradition of the Senecas that in the last battle the veteran Seneca warriors trod in blood to their ankles, and that after that battle a thousand Erie captives were burned at the stake. The remainder of the Erie Nation was incorporated in the various nations of the Confederacy, most of them, seemingly, into the Senecas, with whom they had many affiliations.

The result of this constant warfare along the Niagara Frontier resulted in the abandonment of a hitherto populous and, in some places, highly cultivated farming country, into a wilderness without human habitation, for the Senecas, after driving out the original inhabitants, never made any attempt to occupy the country. They did use it as hunting territory, and actually planted in it various small villages, which served as headquarters for hunting parties. From it they drew the stores of peltry which at that time had become the great staple of trade with the stores at Albany and Quebec.

The generation of Senecas, following the end of the Erie war, became involved in war with the French of Canada. For two generations the Senecas had been growing more arrogant and strong, and were beginning to appreciate to the full their commanding position as

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a buffer between the growing colonies of the English and the expanding colonies of France. In 1687 the Marquis Denonville, Governor of New France, determined to humble the Senecas, and, if possible, to make them allies. In furtherance of this plan he landed a force of Canadians in the Seneca country near Rochester. Here he was joined by hordes of barbarians, Ojibways, Sioux and others, brought from the far northwest by French Canadian partisan leaders. These streamed down the lakes and down the Niagara River to the rendezvous, passing our frontiers in great flotillas of long birch-bark canoes. The Senecas were caught completely by surprise and, as a result, Denonville burned their villages and devastated their country. He was unable to follow up this expedition and the Senecas at once resumed the occupation of their home territory.

For nearly a century after this the Senecas continued to occupy their delectable country in the Genesee Valley, but colonies drifted into the Allegany Valley, the Buffalo Creek Valley, the Cattaraugus Valley and even as far as the Susquehanna. When the first sign of revolt appeared amongst the American colonies, leading up to the American Revolution, the English of New York were very anxious that the Six Nations of New York should be allied to the English in the coming conflict. Through the influence of Sir William Johnson, the Mohawks, the Onondagas, the Cayugas and especially the Senecas, threw their weight against the American colonies and became active participants in the warfare which followed. As a result of this, a punitive force under General John Sullivan was dispatched to the Seneca country in 1779. This force devastated the country from Elmira to the Genesee River, destroying their villages, and ruining the corn-fields upon which the Senecas depended for livelihood.

As a result of this terrible catastrophe, the hostile Iroquois, of whom the Senecas formed the greater part, fled almost in a body to the Niagara Frontier, where, since the beginning of the Revolution English Military headquarters had been established at Fort Niagara. During the terrible winter of 1779 thousand of these refugees camped about the fort and along the river bank on both sides, and hundreds of them died there of starvation and cold. The following spring the English government, which had been sorely taxed to support this huge influx, broke up the great body of miserable refugees into several groups. One of these groups, which had uniformly followed Joseph

Brant and which was composed mainly of his Mohawks, remained on the Canadian side of the river and eventually removed to a reservation set apart for them on the Grand River. The Tuscaroras, who in 1714 had migrated northward from North Carolina to become a member of the Iroquois Confederacy, and who had thrown in their lot with the Senecas, their adopted fathers, established themselves in a group on the brow of the Niagara escarpment, just east of the river, and this settlement, eventually, was formed into the reservation which still persists there.

Most of the Senecas, the Onondagas and some Cayugas were induced to move to the Buffalo Creek valley, where from earliest prehistoric times there had been clearings on a large scale. These clearings seem to have been well known to the Senecas who certainly had hunting bases or possibly villages there from the time when they had driven out the original Wenro occupants. There still remained a few Seneca villages on the Cattaraugus Creek and on the Tonawanda Creek, also of much earlier occupancy. These had not been affected by the misfortune which had attended the villages in the Genesee country and still remained, as they had been for many years, small but thriving communities. At the end, therefore, of the eighteenth century, there were on the Niagara Frontier three great groups of Indian inhabitants, all of them being of the Iroquoian stock and well established in numerous villages. One occupied the brow of the Niagara escarpment, just west of the river; one large group had built straggling villages of log cabins in the Buffalo Creek valley, extending from the mouth of the river nearly to what is now East Aurora; and a small group had for many years lived on the Tonawanda, where now still exists the Tonawanda Reservation. Farther away, but still near enough to be included in the frontier, was the already existing settlement along the Cattaraugus Creek and a similar one on the Allegheny, both of these finally forming the reservations which still exists there.

After the Neutral Nation had been driven from the Canadian Peninsula, the surrounding country seems to have been allowed to alpe into a wilderness. There is no doubt that Senecas used this as a hunting country, and certainly they had there hunting headquarters, small villages in which lived Senecas for a part or all of the year. But with these exceptions the country was given over to wild animals. Into this well-stocked country came hunters from the north, the Mis-

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sissaugus, bands of whom had wandered for generations along the inhospitable eastern shore of the Georgian Bay. In the half century following the expulsion of the Neuters these people drifted eastward to the Niagara and across the Niagara possibly nearly to the Genesee.

These Mississaugus were of an Algonkian stock, and it is extremely probable that it was their ancestors who originally had occupied the peninsula and who had been expelled by the Neuters as they migrated eastward. Until recent historic times bands of these people roamed along the Niagara Frontier. They formed no permanent villages, and were not farmers, as were their Iroquoian neighbors. Hunters and fisherman, berry-pickers and maple-sugar gatherers, they set up their little conical wigwams for the season and drifted on, much as do the Ojibways or Crees of northern Canada. Eventually, these people were settled upon reservations by the Canadian government. A few still live on a corner of the Grand River Reservation.

The decade following the declaration of peace, which closed the American Revolution, was a period of adjustment between the white colonists and the Iroquois nations. The New York Confederacy, by sheer force of arms, had conquered the Indian nations as far west as the Mississippi River, and because of this conquest claimed all the land thus conquered. It was the wise policy of General Washington to make equitable arrangements with these people, by which the land could definitely be put under the jurisdiction of the United States. Accordingly, by several treaties, a line was established just east of the Niagara River and extending thence to the Ohio, west of which the Iroquois gave up their sovereignty, and east of which, within certain other bounds, they continued ownership. By other treaties this land, which lay between the Niagara River and the Mohawk, was purchased from them, they, however, being allowed to retain certain parcels of land which surrounded their villages.

There were ten such reservations. Of these, the largest and most important lay within the Niagara Frontier; one, the largest, being that in the Buffalo Creek valley, another surrounding the villages on the Tonawanda, and a third extending, at first, in a long strip along the shore of Lake Erie from Eighteen-mile Creek to beyond Dunkirk. This latter, with its long lake frontage, was very soon exchanged for a strip occupying the Cattaraugus valley. To the Tuscaroras was ceded a small tract surrounding their settlement of the Niagara escarp-

ment, and to this reservation, eventually, came a long separated body who, in the original migration of the tribe, had remained in North Carolina. On this reservation are today the re-united units of the entire Tuscarora Nation.

For the Indians on these reservations, the period of forty years following their establishment was a time of trouble. Contact with the very lowest type of white colonists had brought into the nations drunkenness and licentiousness and terrible sicknesses. Piece by piece, their lands had been stripped from them, and actual want, due to their inability to obtain a livelihood, had weakened the nation physically and morally. Family life was of the most casual nature. The religious rites, which had been observed from the earliest Stone-Age times, were falling into disuse, and, because amongst these people there had been always the greatest hostility toward Christian missionaries, they had not yet embraced the Christian faith.

Two influences wrought to regenerate the nation. The just, equitable and humane policy of the United States government towards these Indians, whose position was anomalous in the extreme, can hardly be praised too much. Under able Indian agents, they were extended a fair dealing, which went a great way toward transforming the savage, sullen, conquered, yet still arrogant Iroquois Confederacy, into firm friends of the new and growing republic of the United States. So honorable was this dealing and so marked its effect that, at the declaration of war with England in 1812, the Senecas threw in their lot enthusiastically with the United States against their former allies and friends. And it is a commentary upon this policy that, in the new religion which was to have its effect in a marked degree upon the Senecas, only one white man was accorded the privilege of even approaching the Indian heaven, that man being, as the Senecas called him, "The destroyer of towns," General George Washington.

Another influence which had an immense effect upon the regeneration of the Seneca nation was this new religion. In 1800 a Seneca named Handsome Lake received in a vision a summons to preach a message to his people. Handsome Lake was a member of the Hoyane, one of the ruling families of the Iroquois Confederacy, a man at that time sixty-five years of age, and in a dying condition from a long life of debauchery. With so much effect did he expound this message that for a generation thereafter drunkenness and immorality, the

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cardinal vices of the Seneca Nation, declined. Their family life was resumed upon the ancient basis, and the nation re-crystalized with a renewed vigor.

In most ways the expansion of life which marked the close of the Revolution had little effect upon these far-flung Indian reservations, and for years they formed a back-water, undisturbed by the stirring events which were going on all about them. At the foot of Lake Erie a great city was growing up, and streams of immigrants were crowding through its streets for transportation to the West. All about the reservations the gloomy forests were opening up into a smiling farming country. Yet on the reservations the simple and primitive Indian life went on undisturbed. The natural result of this was a demand of their neighbors that these lands be thrown open to white settlement. A sale was eventually made by which the Senecas transferred their holdings in the Buffalo Creek valley and removed to other reservations, mainly the Cattaraugus Reservation, where most of them and their descendants still live.

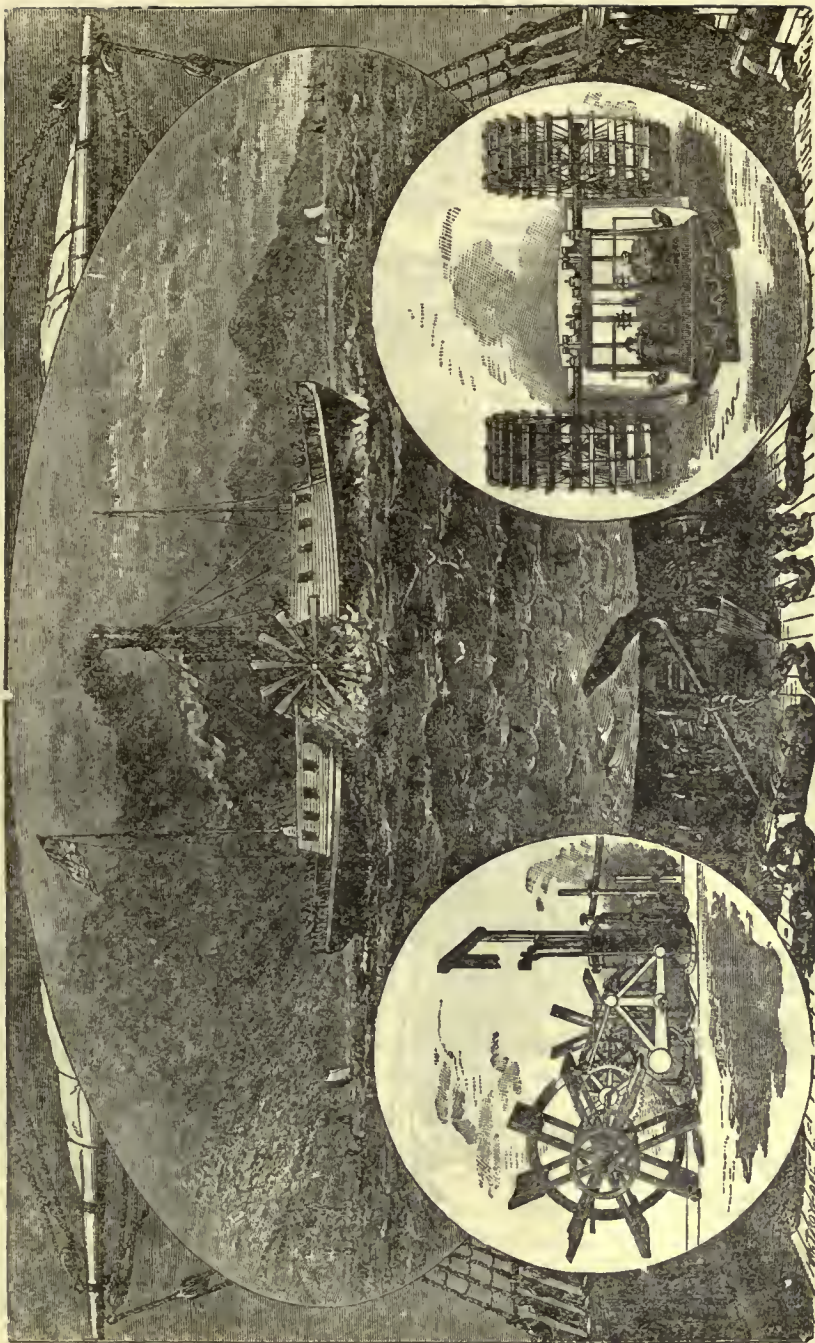
It is hardly appreciated, even by the present day inhabitants of the Frontier, that there exists side by side with our civilization these little relics of primitive life. There are today, within thirty miles of the great city of Buffalo, three Indian reservations. And while on these the life of the inhabitants more or less resembles that of their white neighbors, there are still many survivals of the old-time primitive and barbarous life. The long bark houses of the Stone-Age Senecas have given place to the log cabin, and in most families this has been replaced by the modern well-built farm house. Farming is the main occupation of all of the people on the reservations. When the reservations were exempted from the general sale of lands, the Indians had already selected land beautifully adapted to farming; and some of the farms of the Cattaraugus Reservation will equal in productiveness any of the best of their surrounding white neighbors.

They have churches with large congregations, and schools from which pupils go to higher schools, even to Carlyle; yet there still persists, along with these things, an adherence by many to the Handsome Lake religion with its attendant conservatism in adopting white men's ways. On the Cattaraugus and Tonawanda reservations, especially, there must be at present about twelve hundred of what is known there as the Pagan party, followers of Handsome Lake. These people still

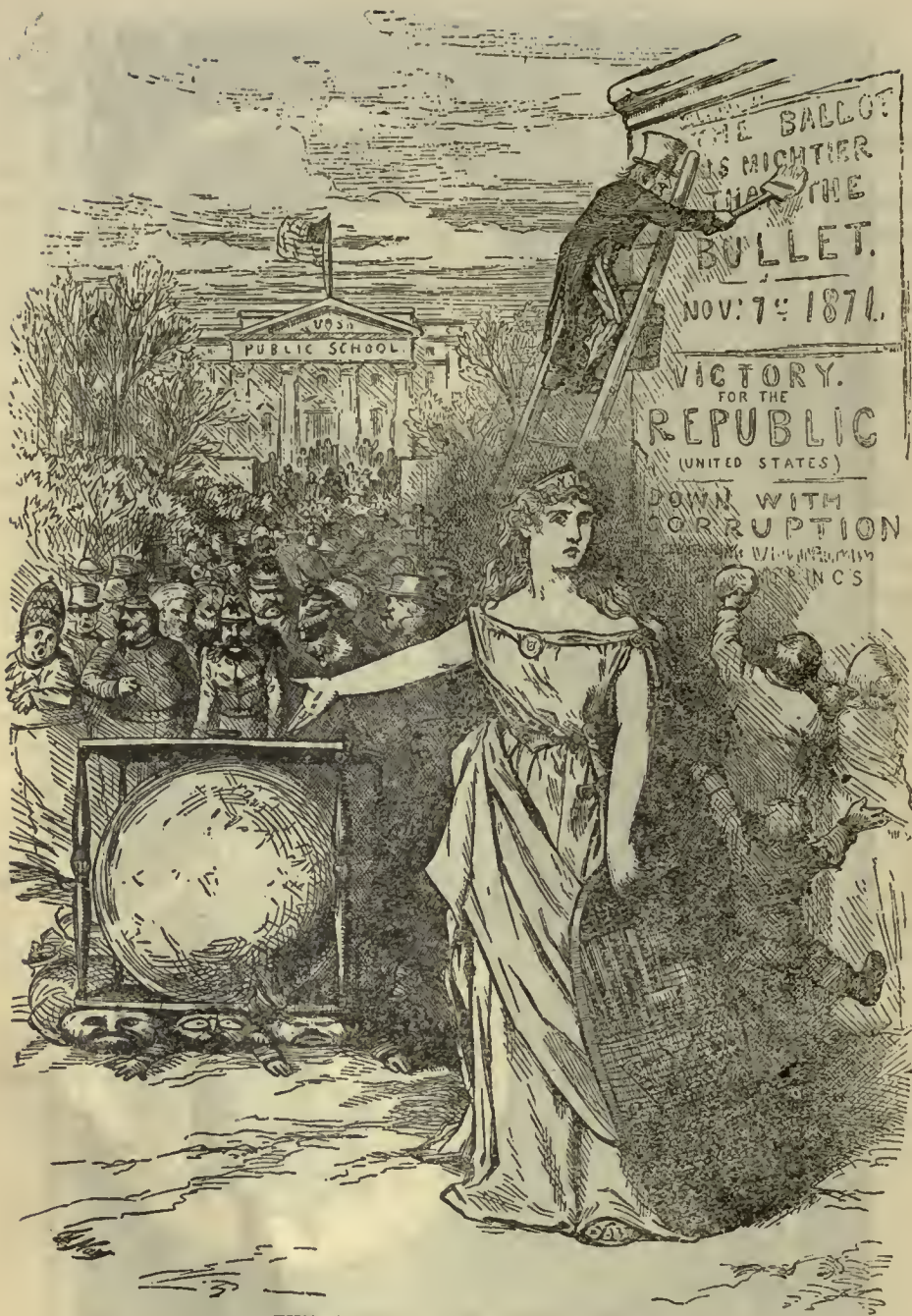
hold to his teachings, and, as part of their rites, still hold their ceremonial dances and pagan festivals. The Senecas at the present time are formed into a "Seneca Nation of Indians," which has been incorporated under the State of New York. They elect their own president and court officers and govern themselves as a separate little republic inside the existing political boundaries of the state. In spite of some diseases, of which tuberculosis seems to be the most important, and a very high infant death rate, the Senecas seem to be increasing in number.

The future of the Seneca Nation and of the Tuscarora Nation is problematical. There is no doubt in the mind of anyone at all familiar with the people, that a large majority are perfectly fitted for citizenship in the United States; and there is no doubt also that the policy of the government toward them just now, in allowing them to retain their lands and towns, tends to perpetuate the very qualities which unfit them to be citizens. There are, however, two rather strong factors which determine this policy. In the first place, the government of the nation seems for most of the time to be in the hands of the pagan party, which is bound to hold to its old ways, including holding land in common. In the second place, their reservations are held under a peculiar title. When Massachusetts and New York agreed to compromise their claims on land in western New York, Massachusetts retained what was known as the preemption rights to all lands there. This meant that they retained the first right to purchase land from the Indians. This preemption right was passed from the State of Massachusetts to the various large purchasers of Indian lands, until today this right of first-purchase of the reservations rests in the heirs of the last trustee of the Ogden Land Company; and these heirs are the only persons who can legally buy land from the Seneca Nation.

The last few years of immense industrial expansion has had a very decided influence upon the life of the Seneca Nation, and I think upon their future. Many, even of the conservative pagan party, have obtained work in the industrial plants of the neighboring great cities, and instead of becoming farmers, they have become industrial workers, not to be distinguished in any way from their fellow workmen.



THE "CLERMONT," ROBERT FULTON'S FIRST STEAMBOAT, 1807, AND THE MACHINERY WHICH PROPELLED HER UP AND DOWN THE HUDSON RIVER.



THE VICTORY OVER CORRUPTION

One of Thomas Nast's Famous Cartoons in the Campaign to Down "Boss" Tweed of New York City in the Eighteen-Seventies

The Belles of Cherry Street

BY

PETER HAWES



SOME years ago, I came across an original autograph poem of my grandfather's which needs a word of explanation. It is entitled "The Belles of Cherry Street." Cherry Street was then the Court end of New York filled with elegant and fashionable residences. Conspicuous among these was the house built by Jotham Post, a respected and wealthy citizen. The doors were of solid mahogany, with silver knobs, and the stairs had solid mahogany balusters. His daughter Nancy was acknowledged to be the handsomest girl on Manhattan Island, and the belle of New York. Many were the suitors that thronged her father's house, and sought to carry off the prize. But, sad to say, she was inclined to be coquetish, as maidens sometimes are, even to this day. Scores of broken hearts were laid at her feet, but still she did not relent. Serenades were sung before her window, and sonnets composed to her beauty and charms, but without avail. At last my grandfather, who was a persistent man, and quite set in his ways, like his Puritan ancestors, determined that he must win her. He wrote a number of verses which did not have the desired effect of securing his lady's affections. She only laughed him to scorn. Finally he prepared this chef d'oeuvre, wherein she is addressed personally as "Nancy" and also apostrophised under the pseudonym of "Eliza," the name by which she was known in many of these effusions. All the other belles of Cherry Street are mentioned in turn, only to be rejected. The final verse sets forth the pre-eminent attractions of "Eliza." There are many personal allusions which cannot be appreciated at this distant day. But the poem is sprightly and clever, and in its present state of preservation we can hardly realize that it was written in the 18th century, more than one hundred years ago. Whether it was this poem which caused her to smile upon him with favor, deponent saith not. But certain it is that after a long and arduous courtship, on the 11th day

of May, 1797, Peter Hawes was able to lead Nancy Post, a fair and blushing bride, to the altar, and the twain were made one.

After this somewhat lengthy but necessary prelude, allow me to quote the poem in question:

THE BELLES OF CHERRY STREET

Erato, sweetest Muse, assist my lays,
While I advent'rous sound the chord of praise,
Or dare proclaim the beauties of the fair,
The winning Virtues, or the modest air,
The matchless persons, and their forms replete
With ev'ry grace, who dwell in Ch——y S——t.
Rash Youth, forbear! Methinks the Muse reply'd,
Nor dare attempt each beauty to describe;
Tho' sweet th' employ, with worth to fill the page
To count E——'s charms would cost an age.
Life is too short to sound her praises forth,
Volumes too small to mention half her worth;
Still would I rashly the fond theme pursue,
And strive to paint those beauties to the view;
For this, once more, oh Muse! thy pow'r I ask,
Then aid my fancy in this pleasing task.

But, say, whose beauties first wilt thou rehearse,
Who most from virtuous merit claims thy verse?
Or her, whose face, whose form in ev'ry part
Proclaims her nature's master-piece or art?
Or wilt thou like yon glorious Orb of light,
That forms our day, or points our path by night,
Rise in the East, and with descriptive force,
Pursue the street, as he pursues his course?

Then first, oh, Jane! Thy beauties meet our eyes,
Beauties which B——n knows how much to prize,
And while he fondly gazes on thy charms,
Thy rapturous glow of love his bosom warms;
Thy gentle manners void of ev'ry art,
Thy graceful smile has bound his gen'rous heart;

THE BELLES OF CHERRY STREET

Intent on these he knows no other fair;
Thou art his life, his thoughts, his joy, his care.

Next Ellen, whom the muses oft have sung,
Whose charms so oft have thro' the museum rung;
Who flippant Crito, anxious for to please,
Portray'd with "*grace, wit, sense and sparkling ease*,"
But well might Crito thus exulting praise,
And proudly tune his best, his fondest lays,
For Ellen, such thy face, thy form, thy air,
Few greater beauties boast, few half so fair.
Whoe'er those lovely sable tresses sees,
In graceful ringlets kiss the passing breeze;
Thy form angelic, or those lovely eyes,
Feels the warm wish, the fond effusion rise.

But why 'midst those who to thy beauty bow,
Has no fond Youth proffered the nuptial vow;
Why not, enraptur'd by thy winning charms,
Eigh'd to enclose you in his longing arms;
Do they inconstant from the nuptial bow'r
Fly off like insects when they taste the flow'r?
Or can no sighs or tears your pity move,
Warm your cold heart, or wake your soul to love?
Consider, Ellen, lest those vain delays
Should waste your charms and steal your youthful days.
And thou be doomed in Pluto's drear domain
To lead a cap-ring ape in silken chain.

But hark! what cruel nymph could cause to rise
Those piercing groans, or wake those mournful sighs,
Rebecca! say, art thou the cruel fair,
And M——e the swain that rends with sighs the air?
Ah, Hog! too much I fear this mournful strain
Those sighs, those tears, alas! are all in vain;
You gaze in vain with rapture on her charms—
In vain your bosom beats in soft alarms;
Some happier Youth possesses all her care,
Her love—and leaves thee nought but sad despair.

THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Since then is banish'd ev'ry ray of hope,
Use that sure cure for love—*an end of rope*.
Miss ——— now with measured pace is seen,
With tortur'd features, studied gait and mien;
Of self importance, affectation full,
Formal and serious, phlegmatic and dull;
Pity, alas! That we so often find,
Vain affectation taint the female mind

Lovely as morn that ushers in the day,
When choirs of warblers hail returning May;
And Nature lavish o'er her carpet strews
Her opening flowers of various hues;
Blythe as the lark that wakes to early love,
Meek as the lamb, and harmless as the dove,
Does lovely R—d—n meet our wandering eyes,
Raise the fond wish, and fill us with surprise.

Those baneful passions which so often are
Unhap'ly nurs'd in bosoms of the fair,
In that dear breast could ne'er an entrance find,
Nor e'er contaminate that virtuous mind;
Nor affectation with her stiffen'd mien,
And tortur'd features, ever could be seen;
But following nature, all her actions tend
To charm the lover, or to fix the friend.
These praises Nancy equally thy due,
For all the gentler Virtues dwell with you;
Thy form is grace replete in ev'ry part,
But far much nobler graces fill thy heart;
These, these shall far outlive frail beauty's ray,
Smile e'en in age, and never know decay.

Eliza, formed with every charm to please,
Win the soft heart and mould it at her ease,
Now claims my lay—and I Pope's tuneful lyre,
His fertile genius, his poetic fire,
The sweetest voice of love should fondly flow,
The heart exult, the best idea glow.

Done in Convention, by the unanimous consent of the States present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our Names.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, President,
And Deputy from VIRGINIA.

| | | | | |
|----------------|--|-----------------|--|--|
| NEW-HAMPSHIRE. | { John Langdon, Nicholas Gilman. | | | { George Read, Gunning Bedford, Junior, |
| MASSACHUSETTS. | { Nathaniel Gorham, Rufus King. | DELAWARE. | | { John Dickinson, Richard Bassett, |
| CONNECTICUT | { William Samuel Johnson, Roger Sherman. | | | { Jacob Broom. |
| NEW-YORK. | { Alexander Hamilton. William Livingston, | MARYLAND. | | { James M. Henry, Daniel of St. Tho. Jenifer, |
| | { David Brearley, William Paterfon, | VIRGINIA. | | { Daniel Carroll. |
| NEW-JERSEY. | { Jonathan Dayton. Benjamin Franklin, | | | { John Blair, James Madison, Junior. |
| | { Thomas M.ffin, Robert Morris, | NORTH-CAROLINA | | { William Blount, Richard Dobbs Spaight, |
| PENNSYLVANIA. | { George Clymer, Thomas Fitzsimons, | | | { Hugh Williamson. |
| | { Jared Ingersoll, James Wilson, | SOUTH-CAROLINA. | | { John Rutledge, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney |
| | Gouverneur Morris. | | | { Charles Pinckney. |
| | | GEORGIA. | | { Pierce Butler. |
| | | | | { William Few, |
| | | | | { Abraham Baldwin. |

Attest, William Jackson, SECRETARY.

IN CONVENTION, Monday September 17th, 1787.
P R E S E N T

The States of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Mr. Hamilton from New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, South-Carolina and Georgia :

RESOLVED,

T H A T the preceding Constitution be laid before the United States in Congress assembled, and that it is the opinion of this Convention, that it should afterwards be submitted to a Convention of Delegates, chosen in each State by the People thereof, under the recommendation of its Legislature, for their assent and ratification; and that each Convention assenting to, and ratifying the same, should give Notice thereof to the United States in Congress assembled.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Convention, that as soon as the Conventions of nine States shall have ratified this Constitution, the United States in Congress assembled should fix a day on which Electors should be appointed by the States which shall have ratified the same, and a day on which the Electors should assemble to vote for the President, and the time and place for commencing proceedings under this Constitution. That after such publication the Electors should be appointed, and the Senators and Representatives elected: That the Electors should meet on the day fixed for the Election of the President, and should transmit their votes certified, signed, sealed and directed, as the Constitution requires, to the Secretary of the United States in Congress assembled, that the Senators and Representatives should convene at the time and place assigned; that the Senators should appoint a President of the Senate, for the sole purpose of receiving, opening and counting the votes for President; and, that after he shall be chosen, the Congress, together with the President, should, without delay, proceed to execute this Constitution.

By the unanimous Order of the Convention,

GEORGE WASHINGTON, President.

William Jackson, Secretary

THE SIGNERS OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES, FROM THE FIRST PRINTED RECORD



Gambier



Henry Goulburn



William Adams



John Quincy Adams



J. A. Bayard



W. Clay



Jon^a Piuselle



Albert Gallatin

SIGNATURES AND SEALS OF THE SIGNERS OF THE
TREATY OF GHENT, DECEMBER 24, 1814, ENDING THE
WAR OF 1812

Henry Clay and Liberia

Interesting Incidents Which Have Been Handed Down
in the Clay Family

BY

LUCRETIA CLAY SIMPSON



NEVITABLY, progress means the destruction of cherished landmarks. So it happens, Cheapside is the only picturesque survival of old Lexington, Kentucky. It lost much of its prestige and privilege when, a few years ago, the powers that be, decreed that the April Horse Show, must be held at Grätz Park, and the cattle sales removed to the stockyards. Then there was such a storm of indignant protest from an outraged county that Lexington was stirred to its depths. For, although in the heart of the city, Cheapside belongs to the county, and it is not only a social centre, where town and county meet to pass the time of day, but their most diversified business interests are settled there.

There is no spot in Lexington so rich in historic associations. Were there "tongues in stones," what entrancing music from great voices long silent could these shabby old walls give forth!

For Cheapside is the time honored gathering place for patriotic and political celebrations. The first school house in the west stood here—and the first court house. Here the Liberty Pole was conspicuous during the alien and sedition excitement of 1788. Along this short broad street, Captain Mat Hart's heroic but ill-fated company of "Silk Stocking" boys, the Lexington Light Infantry of glorious memory, made their last parade on their way to face the tomahawks and scalping knives of the River Raison.

Near the old town pump was the first market house, and on County Court day, the great business day of the month, Cheapside was—and still is—one of the sights of the town, and the mart where anything from a dozen eggs to a motor car is bought and sold. It

was here free Charlotte sat selling cakes and pies, after buying King Solomon of Kentucky. And it was here, one County Court day in the olden time, that Henry Clay, passing through the motley crowd, heard above the lowing of cattle and the babble and barter of traffic, the strident voice of an auctioneer selling—human flesh. Standing there was a small black boy, clinging to his mother, weeping piteously. "What is the matter, little fellow," the great Commoner asked, with such divine compassion in his voice that the child was emboldened to take the kind hand extended and sob, "I'se skeard; I'se skeard dey gwine to sell me away from my mammie." "I will buy you and your mammie too," was the ready promise. And this is how little Harvey, —old uncle Harve, when I knew him,—came into the Clay family, to which, to his dying day, he was faithful, even ignoring the emancipation proclamation of Mr. Lincoln.

Of pure African descent, with the exaggerated features of his type, uncle Harve was a grotesque figure. On week days we wondered at the forest of fantastic pig-tails, latticed with twine, standing up over his head. On Sundays we wondered more at the billowing expanse of kinky hair, which a bushel basket would hardly have covered.

Perhaps on account of the manner of his coming into the family, uncle Harve was treated with unusual indulgence, and he usurped and was conceded many privileges. Heaven had not bestowed upon him a high order of intellect, but he adhered to his own convictions rigidly, making it clear to the lowest understanding that his "ways" were immutably his own. His drollery and quaint sayings were a perennial source of amusement to the family, and became household words. At one time some fine sheep being on Ashland, one of uncle Harve's duties was to make a daily count and report.

As ordinary arithmetic reckons, three was as high as he could go, and there were eight sheep. Unerringly his count was correct, arrived at by an extraordinary system of his own. This is how he soared above conventions: "Dis one, dat one, tudder one, old gray sheep, black ram, two udders and er nudder one." When grandfather Clay's ancient coachman, uncle Aaron, died, in commemoration of long and faithful service, my father gave him that *summum bonum* of the colored race, a grand funeral. Uncle Harve, in the white gloves and crape streamers of pall-bearer, was a complacent and conspicuous

figure at the funeral. He returned from the cemetery, an image of woe, which he thus explained: "I don los dem crapes and ribans. Comin home I jes stepped in Mars Squire Bassett's s'to to buy a par of shoes, and when I tuck my hat off, I seed dey had drapped off unbeknownst, and was gone tetotally. I was a fool nigger to drap em, but I never was poll parrot befo."

His interest in the thoroughbred stock on the place was very great, and he never failed to attend a race meeting when "one of ourn" was to start. To witness, first under the wire, the colors, buff and blue, was his greatest joy, and he always tarried to celebrate the victory. But a day came when he arrived home, not only prematurely, but in a great state of excitement, which he thus explained: "Waterloo, he win de race, but the honery nex horse's he claims a foul—and den Mars John Clay riz right up and he say, 'Sho as Waterloo is ruled off, men would drap round dar like shelled corn.' I knowed dey fambly, I knowed dey could shoot, so I lef."

Uncle Harve was a genius, when it came to seizing the "skirts of happy chance." It befell one morning, just as the cook was sitting down to a table, beside an open window, to enjoy a breakfast of steaming, well-buttered buckwheat cakes, that Harve passed by and looked in with glistening eyes, as a cat looks at cream, and, muttering "I like batters myself," suddenly reached out a long arm and snatched the tempting dainties from her very mouth, as it were. Wild and furious was her outcry, but waving her away, as he nimbly skipped around the corner, he reprovngly called back, "Ooman hush, de good book says, 'Let not your heart be troubled.'"

When my father was away from home, uncle Harve would report each morning for orders to my mother, and this is a conversation I would often hear: "Have you fed the brood mares this morning, Harve?" "Oh yes, Miss Josie, long go." "What did you give them?" "Quart and a half hominy, two quarts oats, arm ful er hay—I mus go and feed dem mars right now."

One day my mother told Harve to gather potatoes, piling those gathered in the field. Some hours later she was surprised to see him putting potatoes in the cellar. "Uncle Harve," she remonstrated, "I told you to gather potatoes and leave them in the field." "You did, Miss Josie," he replied dogmatically, "but the clouds is bilin up like rain, and I'se jes gwine to secure what am secured."

One of uncle Harve's most dramatic stories was how he had once saved Mars John Clay's life, when the mare he was driving ran away, through the thick woods back of Ashland—but let him tell it: "I had sot down under a big tree to res my bones when I seed Mars John—I seed him comin', and I jes ris up, and pinted my finger and said "dah"! And believe me, dat buggy mar drapped right in her tracks."

But the tale he best loved to tell us children was of the time when, passing the drawing-room window at Ashland, he saw "a big black nigger setting dar, drinking champion wine wid Mars Henry Clay." And how there soon gathered outside an excited circle of dark faces, peering in to verify this amazing and dazzling story.

That negro was the President of Liberia, who made a pilgrimage to Ashland to express the gratitude of his people for influential support of their struggling colony. My mother remembered, when a child, visiting at Ashland, hearing grandfather Clay ask if the coffee they were drinking was that sent him as a present from Liberia.

Of all of the stories of my grandfather which have come down to us, I best love the story of uncle Harve. It is so human-hearted, so expressive of that warm, broad sympathy for the weak and oppressed, that made him the best loved of all public men,—a feeling that has lasted to this day, as witnessed by the magnificent bronze wreath, placed upon his tomb, in May, 1921, by an especial Commission from Venezuela, in grateful remembrance of the championship, a hundred years ago in United States Congress, which secured recognition for the struggling South American Republics.

Henry Clay was a life-long opponent of slavery. He said: "If I could be instrumental in removing this foul blot from the revered State that gave me birth, and the not less beloved State which so kindly adopted me, I would not exchange the proud satisfaction I should enjoy for the honor of all the triumphs decreed the most successful conqueror." He believed that to be just alike to slave and slave-owners, and to guard the interest and security of the State, not sudden and immediate, but gradual emancipation, was the only feasible means of dealing with this problem. With his plan for gradual emancipation, was always a beneficent and practical plan for the education and establishment of those set free. This included total separation of the races, for he believed that, morally, physically and socially, each was

better off without the other, and "Amalgamation so offensive to God and man, no human power could enforce a union between the two races."

It required signal courage and a strong conviction to impel an ambitious young man, beginning his political career, to champion an unpopular cause. But in 1797 he unhesitatingly arrayed himself on the side of those trying to revise the constitution of Kentucky, by a provision for gradual emancipation. When this measure failed, he took the still more unpopular stand of volunteering as advocate for any slave who brought action at law for his liberty. From early manhood to old age his position upon this question was fearless and clearly defined; yet, on one occasion, while making a speech in Indiana, an opponent tried to embarrass Mr. Clay by springing upon him a petition to emancipate his own slaves. Receiving the petition with a stern reprimand at this indignity to an invited guest, he completely turned the tables, by asking the wealthy abolitionist, who presented it, if he would pledge himself to raise fifteen thousand dollars for the maintenance of those fifty slaves, should they be liberated. Many of them were old and infirm; some were children, whom it would be cruel to turn loose without means of support. Needless to say, the petition was dropped.

Provision for these unfortunate creatures, whose position in this country must always be equivocal, was ever in his mind. Colonization in Africa, their mother country, made a strong appeal to him. The average life of a white man, on the Western Coast of Africa, was four years; the negro, after he was acclimated, lived out his natural span. There seemed a peculiar and moral fitness in returning to the land of their fathers, civilized and Christian, those who left it savages; thus transplanting each year, not one, but thousands of missionaries, and missionaries of the same race and color, whose success would not be limited by the instinctive distrust towards foreigners which repels and rejects. So it logically follows that Henry Clay was one of the founders, and at one time President, of the American Colonization Society, whose object was to send, with their own consent, not slaves, but free negroes to Liberia, benefiting them and removing an evil and a menace from the United States. Under the spell of his eloquence many masters liberated their slaves and transported them to Liberia. Donations poured in. A gentleman from Maryland gave thirty-six

thousand dollars to buy a transport to be named the "Mary Carolina Stevens," a memorial to his daughter.

A Southern gentleman, one whom my grandfather did not know, devised to him thirty slaves, with no condition attached. He was surprised, but supposed the donor wished him to send them to Liberia, which he did.

It is interesting and significant to note the cordial and active support of the South in this beneficent work. Many large slave owners tried the experiment of voluntarily emancipating their slaves, and found it a failure, because of the frightful evils inevitable from an admixture of races. So they welcomed the establishment of a home for emancipated slaves in Africa, and thought that colonies of negro freeman, along six hundred miles of Coast line, the wisest and surest method of breaking up the slave trade.

The saintly and eloquent Bishop Meade of Virginia emancipated and colonized his slaves, and was an ardent supporter of the American Colonization Society. David Hunt, of Mississippi, gave the Society the handsome sum of twenty-five thousand dollars; John McDonough, of Louisiana, devised to them thirty-nine thousand dollars. The Maryland State Colonization Society sent one thousand emancipated slaves to the Colony of Maryland in Liberia, and many, many slave-owners thought this the solution of a problem of serious responsibility thrust upon them by inheritance and environment.

Religion was the corner stone of the American Colonization Society. Its great work, it was hoped, would be civilizing and evangelizing to Africa. To this end, children of the chiefs of the native tribes were placed in the families of the immigrants, to learn the English language, and acquire civilized habits. Each family of emigrants was given transportation, about ten acres of land, and supported six months by the Society. As new settlements were made some of the old residents would accompany and guide the strangers, and initiate them into their new life. One of these interior settlements was called Clay-Ashland. Churches and schools were built. The people of Boston built, equipped and endowed Monrovia College, all of the professors of which were negroes. Sugar-cane and coffee plantations were set out; cotton was produced, and as the richest products of the tropics grew abundantly, a respectable export trade was begun.

It seems an accepted idea that the work of the Colonization

Society was like "the baseless fabric of a dream," beautiful, but intangible in its results. The other day I came across a sheaf of the "African Repository," a little magazine devoted to the reports of the Society. Turning the time-stained page, I was amazed to find how much had been accomplished by a Society sustained entirely by donations, bequests and collections in churches.

The names, Liberia (the land of the free) and its capital, Monrovia (for President Monroe), were suggested by Colonel Harper of Maryland, one of the charter members. It was founded in 1822, and limited by its constitution to free persons of color. Its mother tongue was English; its Government was modeled on that of the United States. In twenty-five years 4,500 free negroes were sent out by the Society, at a cost of twenty dollars per capita. At first, under a Government appointed by the Society, it was called the Commonwealth of Liberia, but the duties and port dues, instituted to finance the administration led to trouble with the British Government, which refused to recognize "sovereign powers" in "a mere commercial experiment of a philanthropic society." Consequently, it was decided best that relations between colonists and the American Colonization Society should cease. On July 26, 1847, a Declaration of Independence was made, a Constitution was adopted, and the Republic of Liberia came into existence. It was promptly recognized by the powers, and for a time seemed to be steadily growing into a prosperous and well ordered state.

The Civil War, which threw the United States into chaos, was disastrous to Liberia, diverting money and interest from the infant state and staying immigration. Even through these troubles of his own, the protecting arm of Uncle Sam was never entirely withdrawn. Liberia constantly appealed for assistance to straighten out her boundary disputes, her financial troubles, and the serious international difficulties arising from her inability to control the native tribes who took refuge in Liberia, from there raiding French and British territories. In 1905 the Government was bankrupt, and Liberia would have lost her independence had not the United States come to her rescue and with the consent of the other powers, reorganized her military and police forces and established an international commission, with an American at its head to take charge of its revenues.

Following the lead of the United States, Liberia declared war on

Germany in 1918, sending hundreds of laborers to France as her contribution to the cause of her Allies. For this, Monrovia, her capital, was bombarded, and a Liberian armed vessel sunk by the Germans. The war over, Liberia asked a voice in the Peace Conference, and that the principle of self-determination should be applied to the African Colonies. Liberia is now the only part of Africa under negro control, and the electors must be exclusively of African blood. After a hundred years, the question as to whether the experiment of a negro state has been a success, may be fairly asked. The original purpose of its founders, to remove from the United States the serious problem of the free negro, and to send missionaries to Africa, has been accomplished. Their good work is still a living thing, for the Rev. Theophilus Momolu Gardiner, educated at the Cuttington School of Divinity in Liberia, and the first native Liberian to be consecrated, has just been elected Suffragan Bishop of Liberia. But can Liberia, from any view point, be called a successful modern state? Her prosperous Colonial neighbors under European control, with the same geographical situation and the same wealth of natural resources, have all developed to a high point of efficiency, having good roads, railroads, telephones, and magnificent export trade. Liberia has only kept her foothold and her independence because she is a protégé of the United States. Her Hinterland comprises some twenty wild tribes, over which the civilized nucleus along the Coasts exercises no effective control.

In 1911 the French and English Colonies adjoining "rectified" their frontier, each taking a slice of this Hinterland. In 1913 a British Monopoly leased for five dollars an acre, about one-fourth of Liberia, with exclusive privileges. Germany protested this as equivalent to a transfer of sovereignty, and an infringement of her treaty rights. But in the Allied Treaty of Peace at Versailles, Germany gives up these treaty rights in Liberia; also her right to appoint a Collector of Customs.

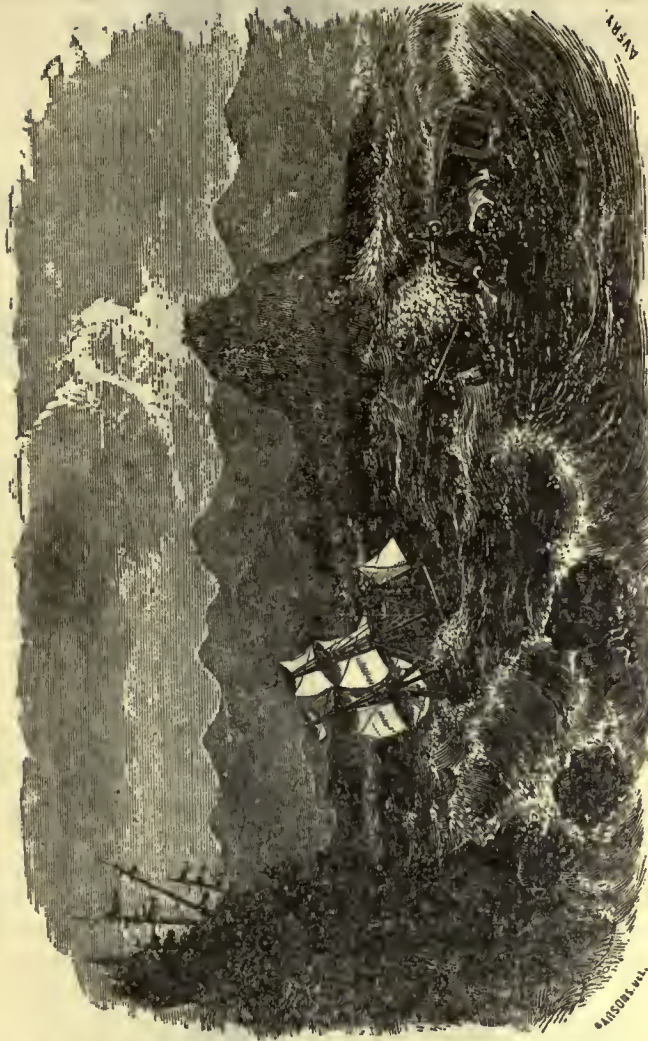
The President-elect of Liberia has recently come to this country to raise a loan of \$5,000,000 for improvements; and his country surely needs them. Monrovia, the capital, has no harbor, no streets, no sewerage system, no water works, no electric lights, no wheeled vehicles, and all traffic to the back country is by the small native boats, or by the native porters, for there are no roads and no railroads.

HENRY CLAY AND LIBERIA

Should the plans of Garvey, the negro Moses, materialize, who, rejecting all white aid would engineer an exodus to Liberia and make it the nucleus for a black Empire of Africa, this tale of philanthropy and a Negro State will assume a new character.



HOBOKEN, NEW JERSEY, OPPOSITE NEW YORK CITY, AT THE BEGINNING OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR—NEW YORK IN THE DISTANCE, ACROSS THE HUDSON RIVER



ENTRANCE OF THE COLUMBIA RIVER.
Ship Tonquin, crossing the bar, 25th March, 1811.



DUEL OF THE CONFEDERATE RAM, MERRIMACK, AND ERICSON'S MONITOR, IN HAMPTON ROADS, VIRGINIA, 9 MARCH, 1862
The Famous Sea-Fight Which Marked the Transition from Wooden to Steel Vessels in the Navies of the World

From Rhode Island to Ohio in 1815

Journal of a Trip Through New York, Philadelphia, Harrisburg, and
Pittsburg to the Pioneer Towns of the State of Ohio

BY

JOHN COTTON, M. D.

(Continued from Volume 16, Number 1)



MARIETTA was the first settled town of the State, and is not quite thirty years old. It was first settled by a company of enterprising New Englanders under the direction of General Rufus Putnam. The town lies on a level flat, which was once probably washed by the river. From the situation it is frequently overflowed by winter and spring freshets, which sometimes are productive of considerable damage. The last spring, in particular, drove the inhabitants from their houses to the adjacent hills to avoid inundation. This circumstance together with the roughness of the country in the neighborhood has much impeded the growth of Marietta and brought its population to a stand. Our New England brethren who made the Ohio purchase were not very judicious in the selection of their land. Indeed they seemed rather to have consulted the purposes of commerce than of agriculture, which should have been their leading principle, as they have chosen the roughest and least fertile part of the whole State, that has nothing to recommend it but the number of tributary streams and creeks that intersect it. The bottom lands, however, are very good, and in some instances yield 100 bushels of corn to an acre.

The town is laid out in regular squares upon a large scale, but most of the streets were never filled up. Marietta, from the former habits of its inhabitants, has been somewhat engaged in ship-building, which was entirely broken up by the embargo and war; while Cincinnati and other towns which were engaged only in ship-navigation have been much benefited thereby.

We procured boarding on our first arrival at three dollars per week. Provisions are very cheap here. Corn is 20 cts. and wheat 75 cts. a bushel, beef 4 cts. and butter 12½ cts. per pound, and other things proportionally low, though board is quite high. I soon called on Mr. Robbins, the Congregational minister of the town, a very

worthy and pious man, to whom I had a letter of introduction, and was very politely received. Mr. Robbins is the only regular clergyman now in town. There is a Presbyterian Church here, but the society is broken up and generally attend Mr. Robbins' preaching. There is, besides, a Methodist society, together with many individuals that follow any kind of doctrine, as Universalists, Halcyonists, &c.

In the town of Marietta there are several remains of ancient forts, mounds, etc., that astonish and amuse the beholder. They contain many vestiges of ancient weapons and utensils, etc., which indicate a race of men vastly superior in skill and industry to the aboriginal inhabitants of this country. The country is full of these forts and mounds, each of which is a prodigy of labor. The ingenuity of the curious and the sagacity of the learned have been exerted in vain on this singular subject. Their origin is enveloped in mystery, which surpasses the memory and defies the researches of man.

On Monday, October 16th, Doctor Whittredge and myself set off on a tour through the country. Our course lay along the Muskingum. We found the country rough and possessed of but a small proportion of bottom-land. There are many handsome houses and fine farms on both sides of the river. A short distance from town resides the venerable General Putnam, the friend and confidant of Washington. He was commander of the first company of immigrants and for many years retained the principal management of the affairs of the settlement.

Tuesday evening, we reached Zanesville, a very flourishing town on the east bank of the Muskingum, about sixty miles, by land, above Marietta. The town is yet small, containing from 200 to 300 inhabitants. The people are very active and busy and remarkable for enterprise. Many of them are New Englanders, but some are Pennsylvanians and Virginians. The people here are engaged in digging a canal, 800 yards in length, through solid rock, so as to command the water of the whole Muskingum. The canal is designed for manufactories and water-works of all kinds, and if they succeed in completing it, will prove wonderfully eligible for that purpose. In their mode of digging the canal, we saw something of Yankee contrivance, which is so everywhere spoken of in the country. The proprietors, I understand, have scarcely any capital except the land where the canal is situated, yet they have many laborers constantly employed on the canal.

They are regularly paid, and without borrowing. How can this be? They have established a private bank, which any person may, and defray all canal expenses by issuing their bills. These are in good credit, equal perhaps to any other. In process of time, should the canal be completed according to their wishes, which will probably be the cases, they will be enabled to redeem their bills and make their fortunes; should they fail they have not much to lose. This the people here call Yankee contrivance.

Besides the canal, there are two bridges over the Muskingum, one of which is very handsome, but not yet completed. In the vicinity of Zanesville is a good coal mine, which in this country is considered a great natural advantage. Coal is exclusively used for fuel in Zanesville. They have a Presbyterian minister but no meeting-house. They have a handsome court-house, which will do for the present. House lots are extremely dear in this town. Provisions also are very high, owing to the great number of strangers constantly passing through the town, as it lies on the great post road from Pittsburgh to St. Louis. The country in the neighborhood of Zanesville is generally of the third rate and settled by people of the poorer class. It is, however, peopling rapidly.

Wednesday afternoon, we left Zanesville and forded the Muskingum, which is here quite shallow, though of considerable breadth. Opposite Zanesville is Springfield, now called Putnam in honor of General Putnam, a pleasant town, settled principally by New Englanders. From Zanesville to Lancaster is a tolerable carriage road, which is the first we have seen in the State. Here we met a Kentucky carriage, proceeding in the true Kentucky style. This consists in having three or four great negroes of both sexes trudging after it on horseback.

At night we put up at a German tavern. Our landlord was very pleasant at the expense of the Yankees, not knowing us to be such. "The Yainkees," says he, "are fool of their contrivances, and not a bit too onest, naither." He continued, "When mairn saes he is a fool-blooded Yairnkees then said I to Molly, 'Molly, taike kayer of your teaspoons and tin wayer.'" He further observed that a man came there and spent a day who called himself a "full-blooded Yankee." His bill amounted to a dollar, which, like an honest man, he paid and continued his journey. But this is not all. After he had gone, it was

found that he had carried off a handkerchief, which cost a dollar and a half. This he related to us as a specimen of Yankee honesty. Indeed, the prejudices of the Germans and Virginians against the New England people are very strong, and no doubt in many instances well founded, though probably much of it arises from their superior ingenuity and success.

The next morning we breakfasted at New Lancaster, about half way between Zanesville and Chillicothe. New Lancaster is a flourishing town in Fairfield county, containing from 600 to 1,000 inhabitants, who are mostly Germans. The county of Fairfield is one of the most populous and thriving counties in the State of Ohio, containing about 20,000 inhabitants within an area of sixteen miles square. Except the town of Lancaster, the people are almost exclusively German, each family of which is possessed of a productive farm. The face of the country is generally flat and fertile. At Lancaster there is a Presbyterian minister, but the inhabitants are much divided in opinion on religious subjects. Meeting is held in the courthouse, which is a very handsome building. Peach orchards are very abundant in this county, but in this part of the State apples are scarce, the orchards being young. They are exceedingly plentiful on the Ohio, especially near Marietta.

Through all the German settlements we passed, and especially at New Lancaster, all the signs and advertisements we saw were written first in English and then in German or High Dutch, as many of the old Germans are unable to read English. The number of persons traveling westward in wagons is immensely great. At night they halt, build a fire and station themselves around it like so many Indians. It is rare, I believe, that such travelers, who are generally indigent, put up at taverns in fair weather.

Friday morning, October 30th, we arrived at Chillicothe, the present seat of government for the State of Ohio, seventy miles from Zanesville. Chillicothe is finely situated on the Scioto river, forty-five miles by land and seventy by water from its mouth. On the appearance of no town in the western country have I been more agreeably disappointed than in that of Chillicothe. It has been represented as low and sickly in its situation, but the truth seems to be far otherwise. The country on the Scioto, though extremely fertile, is generally flat and unhealthful; but the town of Chillicothe seems to be an

exception. It stands on a high bank and is nearly surrounded by lofty hills. The Scioto flows gently around the town so as to nearly surround it. It is regularly laid out in squares so as to exhibit a handsome appearance, and contains, as we are informed, from 3,000 to 4,000 inhabitants, principally Virginians. The town contains three meeting-houses, a stone court-house and jail. On the whole, Chillicothe exhibits the finest appearance of any town I have seen in the State, and is second in size and beauty only to Cincinnati. The back country is well settled, remarkably fertile, and provisions cheaper than I have found them in any other town.

At Chillicothe, we called on Doctor Delano, a respectable merchant, with whom we dined. In the afternoon, we resumed our journey and proceeded to the northward along the banks of the Scioto, through a level, rich and well settled country. At night we slept at a private house and found excellent accommodations. The people here seem wealthy and independent, though generally democratic. Throughout the whole State, taverns are distinguished by their patriotic signs. Nothing less than General Washington, Jackson, or some other illustrious hero will serve to grace a tippling house.

In our way we traversed a part of the Pickaway plains, which are indeed a great curiosity. For many miles the face of the earth is as level as a die and perfectly free by Nature from a tree, or even shrubs, though the whole is exuberant. On this plain are many fine farms and one considerable town, called Jefferson, in honor of that renowned character. As we approached, we recognized the "Sage of Monticello" himself, portrayed at full length, for the purpose of designating a tavern.

During the whole distance we have traveled from Marietta, we have scarcely seen a stone; indeed, the bottoms are entirely free from them.

On Saturday morning we breakfasted at Circleville, a town of only five years' growth, so-called from the remarkable circumstance of its being enclosed within one of these old forts of which I have before spoken. The fort is circular and contains a mound. Circleville is exceedingly unhealthful, owing to several stagnant ponds in the neighborhood. It is said to be quite a dissipated and immoral place. It contains thirteen stores, which will convey some idea of its size.

In the afternoon we reached Columbus, the town selected by the

Legislature for the future seat of government of the State. It is situated on the east bank of the Scioto river, forty-eight miles by land above Chillicothe. It is of only three years' growth, and yet strange to tell it contains 200 houses and 700 inhabitants. The situation of Columbus is quite elevated and pleasant, although surrounded by a very flat and marshy country. This circumstance renders the adjacent towns quite sickly, while Columbus is considered healthful. The streets are filled up with stumps and environed with woods, which gives the town the appearance of having just emerged from the forest. The houses are generally small and indifferent and, as the town was laid out on a large scale, considerably scattered.

The people are collected from every quarter and exhibit great diversity of habits and manners; of course they are not very agreeable companions. An elegant State House is being erected here, about 80 feet square, constructed of brick and finished with elegant white marble. One thing respecting it seems truly ridiculous: Inscriptions are set up over the doors, on elegant slabs of white marble, taken from "Joel Barlow's Columbaid," and holding forth the detestable principles of the French Revolution. Another large building is likewise going up for the purpose of State offices. There is, also, a State Prison, or, as it is here called, a Penitentiary, for convicts, though one would be apt to judge it quite too small for the purpose. The building that contains the cells can not much exceed the size of a common dwelling house, notwithstanding a considerable part of it is occupied by the keeper's family. Opposite to Columbus is Franklinton, a town of considerable size and beauty, though quite unhealthful. In this part of the State they have what are called prairies, or natural meadows of large dimensions, most of which are high enough for cultivation, but not for health.

These prairies were found full of large herds of buffaloes, but they are nearly if not quite extinct. Throughout the whole of our journey we have found silver change very scarce. There are no cents to be met with in the country and few pieces less than a quarter of a dollar. Their mode of obtaining small change is to quarter halves and quarters of dollars and thus to manufacture ninepence and fourpence—half-pennies. There is one inconvenience attending this practice, which is that persons while making this change are apt to take a little piece to themselves as some compensation for their trouble.

FROM RHODE ISLAND TO OHIO

On Monday morning I set out on my return. The roads are very indifferent, at the best, in the State of Ohio, as many of them pass through beech bottoms, where the beech trees, with their extensive boughs, shade the roads so as to render them constantly muddy. At the dryest time they are muddy and in wet almost impassable. This is found to be particularly the case on the road from Columbus to Marietta, which is about 100 miles. My way lay near Athens, which I visited, but felt much disappointed in its appearance. It is a small, indifferent town, increasing very gradually in size or wealth. Its situation is, in some respects, eligible, as it stands on a high sandy bluff. A college has been here established, and the town of Athens, with a contiguous township given to it as funds. At present there is only an academy here, but the trustees talk of erecting a college 166 feet in length. When this will be accomplished is quite problematical. They have an excellent man for President, who is also Minister of the Parish.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

First in regard to climate. The State of Ohio is situated between the 30th and 41st degrees of North Latitude and, of course, extends through different climates. The parts most settled lie on the Ohio river and its vicinity, in and about the 39th degree of latitude, which is similar to that of Philadelphia and Baltimore and about three degrees of latitude south of Boston. The weather is, consequently, much warmer than in New England. Further, the tract of country situated westward of the mountains enjoys a milder and more agreeable climate than the Atlantic coast on the same parallel. It is generally reckoned that the spring opens six weeks earlier and the autumn closes six weeks later than in Massachusetts. The western country is very little subject to snow. It rarely falls and very rarely lies more than two days. The northeasterly winds, which, in New England are the fruitful source of snow, are here very pleasant and salubrious.

The southwesterly winds are more disagreeable than any other. Tempests usually arise in the southwest, and though generally sudden and violent, are less productive of injury than in the eastern states. In the contiguity of the Ohio, the air is very humid and in the morning boggy. It is now nearly the middle of November, yet the air is mild enough to sit with the windows open and the grass seems as verdant as is usual in New England in the month of June. The winters are

said to be unsteady and the cold sometimes severe; they are also distinguished by frequent rains which render the roads very muddy and uncomfortable. Ice is of very short continuance in the State of Ohio, rarely lying more than a week at once. The streams which are tributary to the Ohio are sometimes frozen, but the river rarely freezes. The diseases of the country are said to be mostly of a bilious nature and are generally acute. Intermitting and continued fevers are frequent in autumn in the low lands and their vicinity, but the most elevated parts are generally healthful. Secondly in regard to the face of the country and soil. The face of the country in the State of Ohio is considerably diversified. The easterly and northeasterly parts, which comprise the country around Zanesville and Marietta, are rough and broken. The river bottoms are luxuriantly fertile, but the hilly tracts, although they are said to be much better than their appearance would indicate, are less productive than other parts. In the neighborhood of the Scioto river, which is about the middle of the State, the lands are level and wonderfully rich, the soil consisting entirely of a black rich mould. In the northern parts of the State the country is flat and marshy, but the soil is good. This is called New Connecticut. The southwestern part, including Cincinnati and the adjacent country, is agreeably uneven and more productive than any other part of the State. The emigration tends this way, so that the land is occupied for sixty miles, and is, consequently, rated very high. At the distance of sixty miles from the Ohio, land is held at the extravagant price of \$12.00 an acre, which, in other parts, and especially near Marietta, it may be procured for \$2.00. At present the Cincinnati country is the least eligible for farmers; the cultivation of the soil, it is said, is here very easy and profitable. Nothing more is required in clearing the land than to girdle the trees and burn the brush. The land is then plowed, harrowed and sown without any additional labor, except merely plowing once between rows. It is not unusual to raise 80 or 100 bushels of corn to the acre. Thousands and thousands are the families who came here in circumstances of indigence and distress, but, by a moderate share of industry, have arisen to circumstances of affluence and ease.

Thirdly, in regard to the rivers and streams of Ohio. It is peculiar to the western country to possess rivers unexampled in number and extent. The Ohio river stands first in beauty and magnitude.

It commences at Pittsburgh at the confluence of the Alleghany and Monongahela. It generally maintains a south-westerly direction until it discharges itself, at length, into the Mississippi, a distance of 1,132 miles below Pittsburgh and 1,000 miles above New Orleans. The Ohio in its passage to the Mississippi glides through a pleasant, fruitful and healthful country and carries a great uniformity of breadth, from 400 to 600 yards, until it approaches the Mississippi, where it is 1,000 yards wide. The Ohio has been described as most beautiful, "beyond all competition," in the Universe, whether we consider it for its meandering course through an immense region of forests, for its clean and elegant banks, which afford innumerable delightful situations for cities, villages and improved farms, or for those many other advantages which truly entitle it to the name originally given it by the French of "La Belle Riviere," which is "The Beautiful River." This description was penned several years since, and it has not generally been thought an exaggerated one.

The Muskingum is a fine gentle river, 250 yards wide at its mouth and navigable without any obstruction to Zanesville, and much further for small boats. The country in its vicinity is rougher than in many other parts and less fertile. Great Hockhocking is another of the tributary streams that fall into the Ohio. It is a considerable river, though much inferior to the Muskingum and Scioto, and is navigable, at high water, seventy miles. The towns of Athens and New Lancaster lie on this river. The Scioto is an important river of the State of Ohio. It is, generally, gentle in its current, bordered by rich flats, more or less subject to inundations in the spring seasons. It is navigable to Franklinton and Columbus with keelboats of ten tons. The soil in the vicinity of this river is exuberantly fertile though the country is generally unhealthful. The Great Miami is a large and important river of this State, possessing many tributary streams, fine lands, extensive settlements, towns, villages, mills, &c. It has a strong bed and rapid current, but no falls. Nearly all the rivers of Ohio have their origin in the neighborhood of Lake Erie and can easily be made to communicate with it.

Fourthly, in regard to the productions of the earth. In general it may be observed they are various and cheap. The productions of the earth in this State are, for the most part, similar to those of New England. There are few Chestnut or Pine trees, but Beech, Oak,

Hickory, White and Black Walnut, Maple, Yellow Poplar, Sycamore and Buttonwood are found in great abundance. The trees generally grow to an enormous size and height, especially the Sycamore, whose size is sometimes incredible. It may well be called the King of the Forest. Their monstrous growth, towering height and extended branches really fill the beholder with awe and astonishment. Between Wheeling and Marietta are several that measure from ten to sixteen feet over four feet above the ground, and this seems to be but their common size. In the neighborhood of Marietta there is one sixty feet in circumference. There is another in Scioto county on the land of a Mr. Abraham Miller, into whose hollow thirteen men rode on horseback, June 6th, 1808; the fourteenth did not enter, his horse being skittish and too fearful to advance into so curious an apartment, but there was room enough for two more.

The Black Walnut is a valuable tree, said to be equal in strength and durability to the Live Oak of the southern states. Its fruit, or rather nut, is delicious and much superior to any in New England.

Sweet potatoes thrive very well here, though it is sometimes difficult to preserve the seed. The paw-paw, a fruit resembling the cucumber, is generally much admired, its taste, when properly ripe, resembles that of a rich custard. Corn may be procured in Ohio for 20 cents and wheat for 75 cents a bushel. Flour is from \$2.00 to \$3.00 a hundred. Beef and pork for 4 and 5 cents a pound. Butter 12½ cents a pound. Salt 75 cents a bushel. Sugar, coffee and tea are very high, though maple-sugar may generally be procured in the spring at 12½ cents a pound. Chickens are sold for 12½ cents each. Geese for from 37½ to 50 cents each.

Fifthly, state of schools in Ohio. In this respect the State is very deficient. There are academies in the principal towns, but, in general, schoolmasters meet with little encouragement. There can be no doubt, however, that there will be a gradual improvement in this respect.

A college has been established at Athens on the Hockhocking river and two townships assigned for its support. The college lots are leased at a very low rate for ninety-nine years. Of course the funds at present are very small, being less than \$3,000 per annum. The college is nothing more than an academy. In a few years, however, it is to be hoped things will assume a more favorable aspect. The

Legislature has granted the college a very favorable charter, by which they have obtained great privileges. The trustees intend, very shortly, to erect a large brick building for collegiate purposes of 166 feet in length. Also they are about choosing a Professor of Mathematics and other subordinate officers.

Sixthly, state of religion. The state of religion, like that of schools, is at present less favorable than could be wished. In all the principal towns there are Presbyterian ministers of good character. They preach occasionally in adjoining settlements, which, at other times, resort to reading instead of preaching. There are few places, I believe, in the State of Ohio, that are not favored in a greater or less degree with good preaching. The regular clergy in the State of Ohio are generally of the Presbyterian order, and, of course, sound in doctrine and discipline. There are few Congregational ministers in the State. There is one at Marietta, a very worthy man, and another at Granville. I have not heard of any others. The sect of Methodists is very numerous and widely spread throughout the western country. This is certainly to be considered a great privilege in those places, where there are no other, though, doubtless, in many instances, productive of enthusiasm and delusion. After all there is reason to hope that there is much true religion among them.

In some parts of Ohio they hold camp-meetings. These usually continue three or four days, during which time the attendants sleep out, some in sheds prepared for the purpose, others in the open air. I saw one of these encampments, occupying about an acre and consisting of an open area, surrounded with log sheds. The area was fitted with seats, consisting of single logs, excepting a spot in the center, where was a pulpit and ministerial seats.

During the meetings the hearers spread themselves along the log benches and at night repose in the encircling cabins. They are, at these times, supplied with an abundance of ministers, perhaps to the number of twenty or thirty, who hold forth in rotation to their enthusiastic audiences. There are many other sects besides those I have mentioned, some of which, I understand, hold pernicious doctrines, such as Halcyonists, Universalists, &c. There is one, Lorenzo Dow, a man of singular manners and great popularity, who preaches occasionally in every part of the State. A few weeks ago he preached at Marietta to a crowded audience. At this time he made so great dis-

patch as to hold three meetings in the forenoon and two in the afternoon. What was a little extraordinary, he dispensed altogether with singing and prayer. No one can ascertain to what sect he belongs or what he believes. A few years ago, I am informed, he made a voyage to England for the express purpose of reading the Prince Regent a lecture on his vices and irregularities.

There are few Baptists in the State of Ohio. In general the means of religion are far more abundant than I had expected and much superior to those of Indiana and Kentucky. Bible societies are beginning to be established here. There are, I believe, several district ones; these have lately united to form a Bible society for the State of Ohio. The means of religion have doubtless improved very greatly within a few years and it is to be hoped will continue to do so in an increasing ratio. In conclusion, the natural advantages of the Western country are very great. Already the immense forests recede, cultivation smiles along the banks of the Ohio and its tributary streams, towns every here and there decorate their shores and it is not extravagant to suppose that the day is not far distant when the margin of each will form one continued village. The reasons for this supposition are numerous. The principal ones are the immense tracts of fine country that have communication with the Ohio by means of the great number of navigable waters that empty into it, the extraordinary fertility, extent and beauty of the river bottoms, generally high and dry, and with few exceptions from causes merely temporary remarkably healthful; and the superior excellence of their navigation through means of which the various productions of the most extensive and fertile parts of the United States must, eventually, be sent to market.

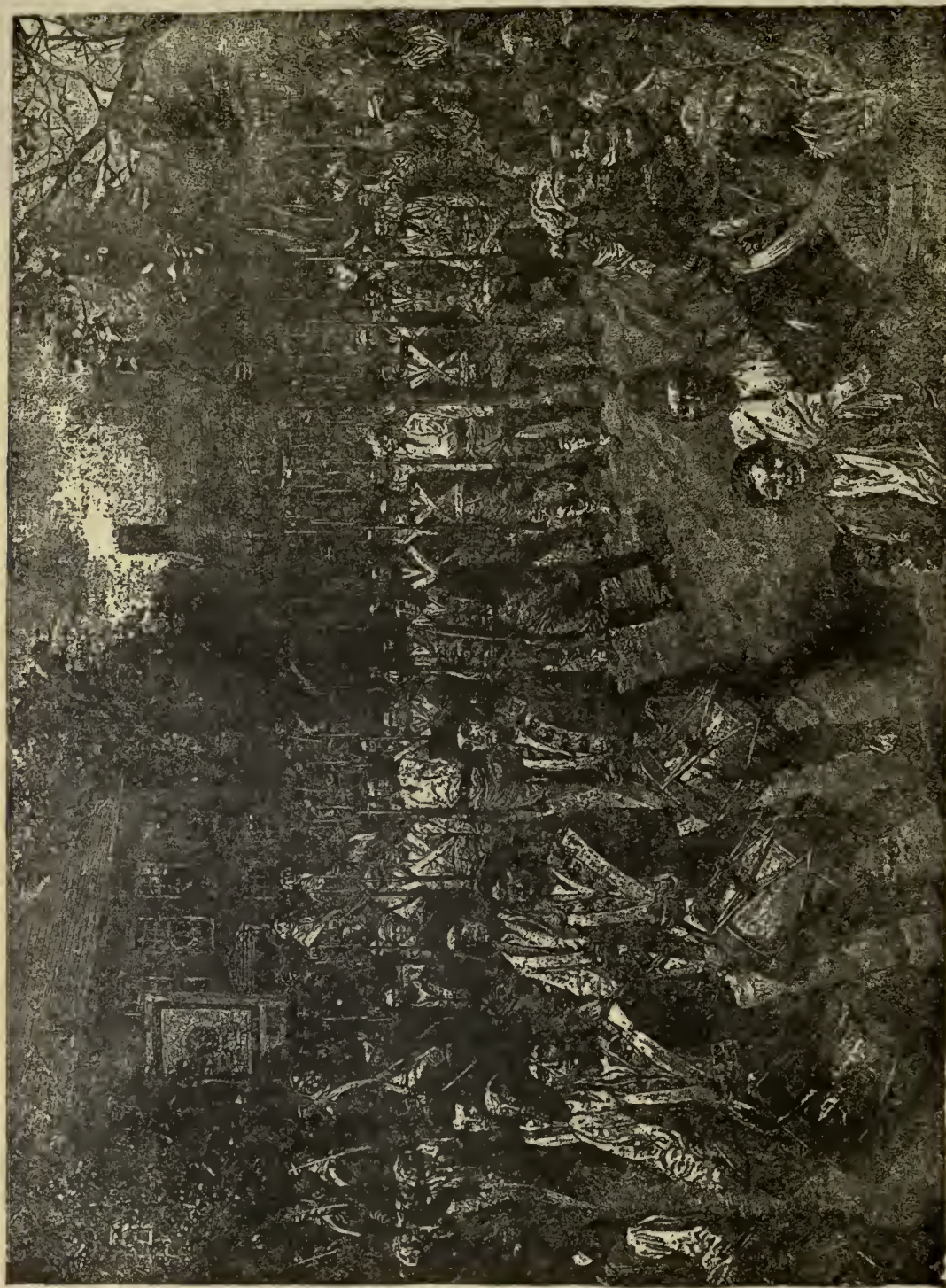
Salt is found in various parts of the country in great quantity and it is presumed may be found with a proper degree of care and labor on every stream. Mines also of coal and iron are abundant and indicate the future prosperity of the country in a manufacturing view. Indeed manufacturers already begin to flourish in many places, particularly at Zanesville and Cincinnati, and will doubtless progress with great rapidity. The people are generally industrious and enterprising in the State of Ohio, while in Kentucky their activity is palsied by distinction of classes and the predominance of slavery. In fine, all things proclaim the approaching grandeur of the western country and especially of the State of Ohio.

11th.—There was a considerable movement among the British boats below. This afternoon, Gen. Washington's pleasure-boat, coming down the river with a fresh breeze, and a topsail hoisted, was supposed, by the artilleryists at Mount Washington, to be one of the British tenders running down. A 12 pounder was discharged at her, which was so exactly pointed, as unfortunately to kill three Americans, who were much lamented. The same day, several of Gen. Lincoln's regiments arrived, two of which were posted on the North River.

12th.—Early in the morning, 80 or 90 British boats, full of men, stood up the sound, from Montre-fors Island, Long-Island, &c. The troops landed at Frog's Neck, and their advance pushed towards the causeway and bridge, at West-Chester mill. Col. Hand's riflemen took up the planks of the bridge, as had been directed, and commenced a firing with their rifles. The British moved towards the head of the creek, but found here also the Americans in possession of the pass. Our General immediately (as he had assured Col. Hand he would do) ordered Col. Prescott, the hero of Bunker Hill, with his regiment, and Capt. Lieut. Bryant of the artillery, with a 3 pounder, to reinforce the riflemen at West-Chester causeway; and Col. Graham of the New-York line, with his regiment, and Lieut. Jackson of the artillery, with a 6 pounder, to reinforce at the head of the creek; all of which was promptly done, to the check and disappointment of the enemy. The British encamped on the neck. The riflemen and Yagers kept up a scattering popping at each other across the marsh; and the Americans on their side, and the British on the other, threw up a work at the end of the causeway. Capt. Bryant, now and then, when there was an object, saluted the British with a field-piece.

In

FAC-SIMILE OF A PAGE OF GENERAL HEATH'S "MEMOIRS,"
DESCRIBING THE OPERATIONS OF THE BRITISH ARMY
AGAINST WASHINGTON'S TROOPS IN AND NORTH OF NEW
YORK CITY IN 1776



WASHINGTON'S VICTORIOUS ARMY ENTERING NEW YORK CITY, NOVEMBER 25, 1783, AS THE BRITISH EVACUATED THE CITY AND EM-
BARKED FOR ENGLAND

A History of Banks and Banking and
of Banks and Banking in the City of
New York :: :: :: :: ::

BY

W. Harrison Bayles

and

Frank Allaben

FRANK ALLABEN, Editor-in-Chief

CHAPTER IX

THE FIGHT AGAINST THE BANK OF THE UNITED STATES

Co-operation Between the Bank of the United States and the State Banks—Arrangement with the Bank of North America—With the Bank of Pennsylvania—The Bank of New York in the Financial Stringency of 1796—National Deposits Gradually Withdrawn from the State Banks—No Interest Paid on Government Deposits by the United States Bank—Close Relations with the United States Treasury—Jefferson's Plea for Government Deposits in State Banks—A Branch of the Bank of the United States Bank Established at New Orleans—Congress Memorialized by the Stockholders for Renewal of the Charter of the Bank of the United States—Secretary Gallatin's Favorable Report—The House Bill of 1810 for Renewal of the Bank's Charter—Prosperity of the Country and Organization of Nearly Ninety New State Banks During the Existence of the United States Bank—Opposition of the Republican Party—Second Memorial of Stockholders of the United States Bank—Memorial of the Directors of the Bank of New York—Joint-Resolution of the Bank of North America, Bank of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia Bank, and Farmers and Mechanics' Bank—Memorial of the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce—Petition of Nearly Nine Hundred Philadelphia Citizens—A Flood of Petitions—Duane's Fight against Renewal—Cary's Favorable Pamphlet—Astor's Opposition—Renewal Defeated—End of the First Bank of the United States—Details and Consequences of Liquidation—A Multitude of New State Banks—Speculation in Bank Stocks—Collapse of Fictitious Values During the War of 1812—Establishment of Girard's Bank.

IX

The Fight against the Bank of the United States



FROM the time it commenced business the Bank of the United States endeavored to maintain friendly relations with the State banks. Early in 1792 the directors appointed a committee to confer once a week with a similar committee of the Bank of North America, "for the purpose of communicating freely upon the business of both, as well to prevent improper interference with each other as to promote the accommodation of the citizen." The two banks made exchanges and settlements daily, and when the Bank of Pennsylvania was established, in 1793, it was included in this arrangement. A few years later these banks joined in uniform rules as to discounts and other routine matters. At a meeting of the committees, held March 2, 1797, the rule was adopted that "after March 31 all bills made payable at sight or on demand must be paid on the same day they are presented," and it was also agreed not to discount any note in which the words "without defalcation" or "without set-off" were omitted.

The situation was similar in New York until 1796, when financial stringency induced each bank to look to its own interest and slightly disturbed that cordial co-operation which had previously existed. The financial crisis in Europe had caused the Bank of England to suspend specie payments and the effects were felt in this country. The Bank of New York had become a heavy debtor to the Bank of the United States, and the New York branch demanded the payment of \$100,000 in specie on account, which, there was apprehension, would be followed by further demands. It was feared that the Bank of New York would be compelled to sell the public stock which it held as collateral, if the Government should not be punctual in its payments. Hamilton,

who continued his interest in the Bank of New York, wrote to Wolcott asking aid. "It would be wise, if possible," said he, "to anticipate a particular payment. It will be also useful to arrest for a time too free calls for the office." Wolcott promptly wrote in reply that the Bank of New York might rest assured of as full and cordial assistance from him as was in his power. He was of opinion, however, that they would have to rely, principally, on sales of stock, as it was impracticable to anticipate payments.

Before the Bank of the United States went into operation Hamilton, in negotiating the foreign bills drawn on the commissioners in Amsterdam and elsewhere, used the Bank of North America in Philadelphia and the Bank of New York in New York City, and he also carried large deposits in these institutions. On January 1, 1792, the public funds in the Bank of New York amounted to \$224,677, and on May 1, 1792, they were \$305,854. The deposits in the State banks were gradually reduced, not by transfer to the Bank of the United States, but by drafts to meet government disbursements. The concentration of the public deposits in the Bank of the United States, on account of its relations to the Government, followed as a matter of course.

No interest was paid by the bank on government deposits, and it was maintained that they were not profitable, as they were not permanent, fluctuating from time to time and from place to place. The heaviest and most frequent demands were made, of course, on the main bank, but each of the branches had to be prepared to meet treasury drafts at any time. On the other hand it was contended that the State banks would cheerfully undertake the transfer of public funds in exchange for the benefits to be derived from Government deposits. In the debates in Congress, in 1811, it was shown that the New York Branch loaned over four millions on a capital of eighteen hundred thousand, and it was claimed that this was due to the immense deposits of Government funds derived from revenue collected there. Government funds were transmitted by the bank from one place to another without direct compensation, but the monopoly of the Government deposits was probably a sufficient return for such service.

The relations of the bank to the Treasury was very intimate. Besides making extensive loans to the Government, it afforded assistance in exchange operations, both foreign and domestic, and gave

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assistance to importers in the payment of their customs duties. That the foreign exchange business of the Government was a source of profit is inferred from the fact that the second Bank of the United States was eager to secure it. The volume of this business on Government account was very large and generally fell to the bank or one of its more important branches.

The State banks, from time to time, made overtures to secure a share of the Government deposits. In the autumn of 1802, the Bank of Baltimore applied for a deposit of Government funds. Jefferson wrote to Gallatin: "The consideration is very weighty that it is held by citizens, while the stock of the United States Bank is held in so great a proportion by foreigners;" and in the same letter he says: "It is certainly for the public good to keep all the banks' competitors for our favors by a judicious distribution of them, and thus to engage the individuals who belong to them in the support of the reformed order of things." Again, in a letter to Gallatin, July 12, 1803, Jefferson says: "As to the patronage of the Republican bank at Providence, I am decidedly in favor of making all the banks Republican by sharing deposits among them in proportion to the dispositions they show; if the law now forbids it we should not permit another session of Congress to pass without amending it."

The proposition to establish a branch of the bank of New Orleans stirred Jefferson to a fresh outburst against it. Writing to Gallatin, December 13, 1803, he says: "This institution is one of the most deadly hostility existing against the principles and forms of our Constitution;" adding that now, while the Government was strong, they ought to bring "this powerful enemy to a perfect subordination under its authorities."

Gallatin, in reply, cited the advantages derived by the Government from banks, and especially from the Bank of the United States. These included a safe place for the deposit of public money; the quick transmission of funds from one part of the country to another; and the great facility which an increased circulation and discounts give to the collection of the revenue. He urged the establishment of a branch of the bank at New Orleans. He saw none but political objections against the banks. He says: "They are formidable only as individuals and as merchants, and not as bankers. Whenever

they shall appear to be really dangerous, they are completely in our power and may be crushed."

Gallatin was successful in overcoming Jefferson's objections, and the friends of the bank afterwards claimed that in signing the act of March 23, 1804, under which the New Orleans branch was established, Jefferson waived all opposition to the Bank of the United States on the score of its being unconstitutional.

In 1808, three years before the charter expired, the stockholders of the bank memorialized Congress for a renewal of their charter. The memorial was presented to the House on March 26, and was referred to the Committee of the Whole. Nothing further was done at that session. On April 20 it was presented to the Senate, and it was ordered "that the same be referred to the Secretary of the Treasury, to consider and report thereon at the next session of Congress." The memorial recited that "in view of the extensive operations of the bank, its intimate connection with public credit and finances, and the wide dispersal of the stockholders, duty to the Government, to the commercial world, and to themselves, prompted them to submit the expediency of protracting the duration of their charter." Without assurance as to the continuance of their charter, prudence and justice demanded the adoption of measures for a gradual dissolution. Dissolution would unavoidably impair the fiscal machinery provided by the bank, while the withdrawal of \$10,000,000 of banking capital would produce serious embarrassment to the trade and commerce of the country. In the petition was set forth the advantages derived by the Government from the bank. The Government had made a neat profit as a stockholder in dividends and on the sale of its stock. The bank had aided the Government by advancing loans amounting to millions of dollars, and by establishing branches, in some cases upon the suggestion of the Secretary of the Treasury, and "not always for the general emolument of the bank." It had enabled the Government to carry on its fiscal operations with ease, security and economy, and this without charge or compensation. It was claimed that the Government deposits were subject to such fluctuations, and to so much care and cost in transfer, that they could hardly be regarded as profitable; and that the Government had added little to the profits of the bank was shown by the fact that "the dividends of the bank had always been moderate, and usually less than those of other banks."

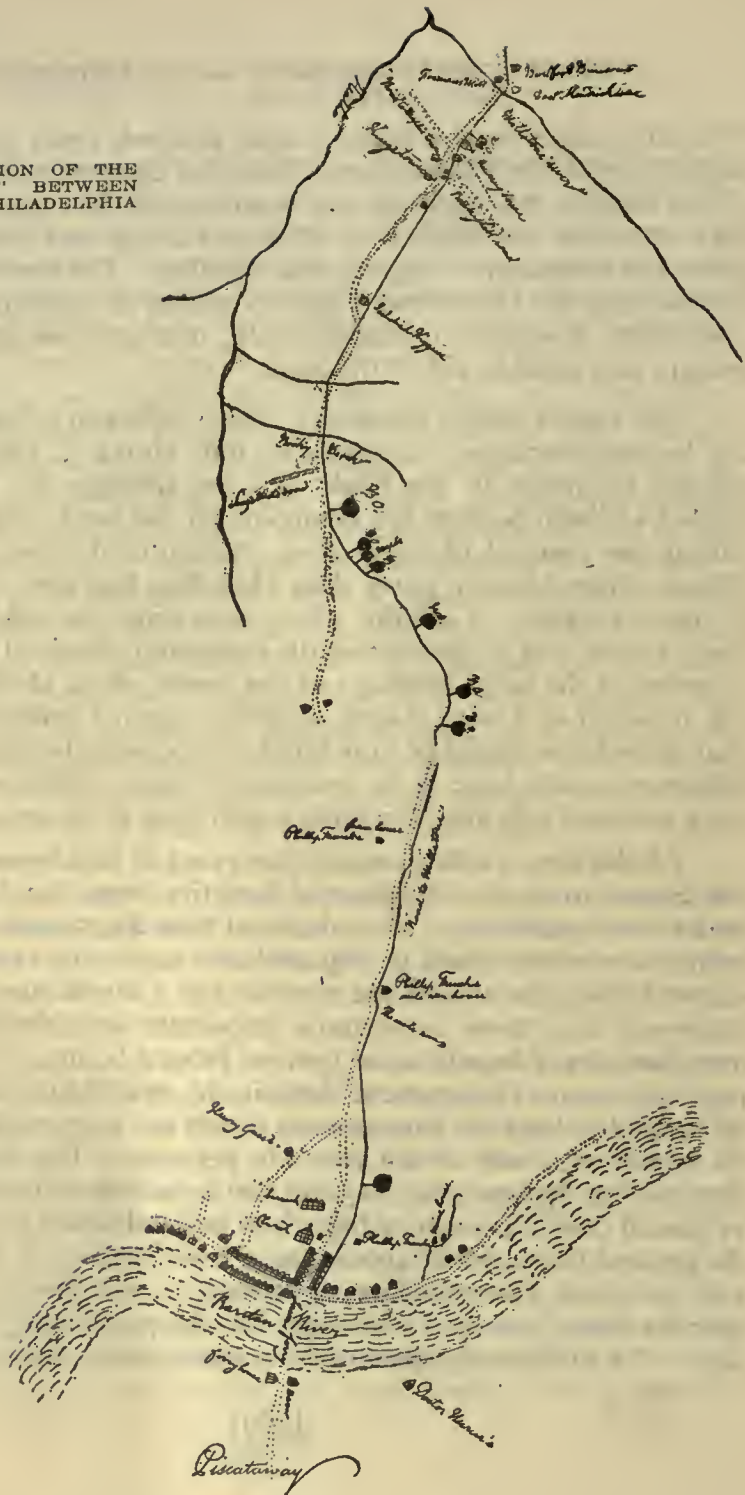
FIGHT AGAINST THE BANK OF THE UNITED STATES

The advantages to the bank, it was claimed, came rather from the confidence of the Government, "founded upon a constant knowledge of the interior management and condition of the bank," which had in turn attracted the confidence of both Europe and America and had given it a character of dignity and stability. The memorial concluded by assuring the Government that in a time of national apprehension and alarm, it might confidently rely, in every emergency, upon the prompt and reliable aid of the bank.

The report on the memorial, which had been referred to Gallatin for his consideration, was made by him March 3, 1809, and was decidedly favorable to the bank. In the struggle for renewal which ensued Gallatin became the champion of the bank and thus, in advocating the renewal of its charter, encountered more opposition and obloquy from his own party than Hamilton had met with in bringing it into existence. Gallatin, after reviewing the advantages to the Government and to the mercantile community derived from the bank, reverted to the large holdings of the banks' stock abroad, which were put forward as a very strong objection against renewal, and showed that if the bank should be liquidated, \$7,200,000, the amount of foreign holdings, would have to be remitted at once, whereas if the charter were renewed only the dividends would have to be sent abroad.

At the time Gallatin made this report it had become popular for the States to receive substantial benefits from the banks chartered under their authority. He calculated that \$1,250,000 was the maximum amount that could be obtained as a bonus for renewal, if it were deemed advisable to sell the charter for a fixed sum. He believed, however, that there were more important considerations than the mere temporary benefit to be derived from a bonus. The bank should pay interest on Government deposits of over \$3,000,000. It should be obliged to lend the Government a sum not to exceed three-fifths of its capital at a rate of not over six per cent. The capital should be increased to \$30,000,000, \$15,000,000 to be subscribed by such States as should desire to enter, a branch to be established in each sub-State, the general Government appointing a few directors in the parent bank, and the State Governments appointing a few directors in their respective State branches. In regard to the past history of the bank he says: "It sufficiently appears from that general view that the affairs

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IN THE DAYS OF THE FIRST UNITED STATES BANK THE RAILROAD WAS UNKNOWN, THE STEAMBOAT A NEW EXPERIMENT, AND THE STAGE-COACH STILL THE CHIEF MEANS OF TRAVEL.

of the Bank of the United States, considered as a money institution, have been wisely and skilfully managed."

The memorial of the bank was again presented to the House of Representatives, January 29, 1810, and referred to a committee which made a report, February 19, in favor of renewal. Agents of the bank had appeared before the committee authorized "to make compensation, either by loans at a rate of interest, or by a sum of money to be agreed upon, or by an increase of the capital stock by a number of shares to be taken and subscribed for by the United States, to an amount adequate to the compensation to be agreed upon for such renewal." April 7, 1810, a bill was introduced to continue the charter for twenty years with conditions suggested by Gallatin. It was proposed that the bank should pay a bonus of \$1,250,000, loan the Government on three months' notice any sum not exceeding \$5,000,000 at not over six per cent. and pay three per cent. on all Government deposits above \$3,000,000 remaining for a whole year. This bill was debated in Committee of the Whole, April 13, 1810, but it never got any further.

During the period covered by the charter of the Bank of the United States the population of the country increased more than ninety per cent., and nearly ninety new banks were created under State charters, with an aggregate capital of over forty millions of dollars. The country was flourishing in all the essential elements of wealth and power and the finances of the nation were placed on the most solid foundation. In the debate in Congress on the renewal of the charter, Fisk of New York estimated that the exports of the country, which, when the bank was established, amounted to \$18,000,000, had risen in 1804 to \$76,000,000, an increase due in large part to the increased activity of capital promoted and encouraged by the Bank of the United States, and argued that there was reasonable grounds to hope that an institution which had proved so beneficial to the country would be preserved and cherished. It had assisted the Government by very extensive loans, and more than \$100,000,000 of public money passed through its hands without loss.

As time went on there arose a bitter and relentless opposition to the re-chartering of the bank, the Republican or anti-Federal party arraying themselves almost solidly against it. Congress having failed to act on the first memorial, the stockholders submitted a second, only

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three months before the expiration of the charter. This was presented in both bodies of Congress, on December 18, 1810, and during the next three months the question of renewal was uppermost both in Congress and throughout the country. The subject was taken up in some of the State Legislatures, and those of Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Maryland and Virginia passed resolutions in opposition. The resolutions of the Legislature of Pennsylvania, passed by a large majority, instructed the Senators and Representatives of that State in Congress to vote against renewal.

The banks and trade organizations of the country were mostly in favor of renewal. They believed that loss to themselves and prostration to credit and confidence would follow if such a large concern should suddenly be forced to liquidate. The directors of the Bank of New York prepared the following memorial, which was presented to Congress:

"11th Congress.

Third Session.

"BANK OF THE UNITED STATES.

"(Communicated to the Senate, January 8, 1811.)

"To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, the memorial of the President and Directors of the Bank of New York respectfully sheweth:

"That, viewing with solicitude the question now before your honorable houses for the renewal of the charter of the Bank of the United States, they feel it their duty to express with all submission their sentiments upon the subject.

"They will not presume to enter into any general discussion of the utility of banking institutions, but will confine their observations to those points which their situation as directors of a bank gives them, perhaps, peculiar advantages in judging of.

"They view the institution of the Bank of the United States as highly useful to the State Banks. From the extent of its capital, its numerous branches, and above all from the protection of the Government, it is enabled to facilitate remittances to every part of the United States, to equalize the balance of specie capital among the different cities, and, in cases of any sudden pressure upon the merchants, to step forward to their aid in a degree which the State banks are unable to do. It is also able to assist any State institution which from peculiar circumstances may require it.

"The Bank of New York having been established prior to the incorporation of the Bank of the United States, the directors have witnessed from the very commencement of the branch bank in this city the influence of such an institution as well as the conduct of those to whose management it has been entrusted during that whole period, and your memorialists declare with confidence that in their opinion that power has been uniformly exerted with prudence as it respected the public; with great liberality as it respected other institutions.

"At any period great inconveniences must result from the sudden withdrawing of a considerable portion of the active capital of a commercial country; but, in the opinion of your memorialists, such an event would be attended with peculiar distress at the present time, when, from the aggressions of foreign Governments, such immense sums have been sequestered and in various ways detained in Europe, and when the merchants, from the embarrassments of commerce in almost every quarter, are deprived of their usual resources. It is well known that there has never been a greater demand for money in the commercial cities than at the present time, although it appears that the Bank of the United States has not yet commenced that reduction of its loans which must take place in case of the charter not being renewed. The demands already made upon the State banks have pressed them to their utmost limits, and from these causes they will be utterly unable to supply, in any considerable degree, that aid which has hitherto been afforded by the Bank of the United States. The consequences must be very great and individual distress, and heavy losses as well to the revenue as to all the moneyed institution. The renewal of the charter of the Bank of the United States will render such reductions unnecessary, and, by relieving the apprehensions now excited through almost every class of the community, restore that confidence so essential to the system of public credit under which the United States have so much prospered.

"Your memorialists, therefore, cannot but hope and solicit that the charter of the Bank of the United States may be renewed.

"M. CLARKSON,

"President.

"Attest: Charles Wilkes, Cashier."

Representatives of the four State banks of Philadelphia—the Bank of North America, the Bank of Pennsylvania, the Philadelphia

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Bank and the Farmers and Mechanics' Bank—at a meeting held December 15, 1810, adopted resolutions favoring renewal of the charter, declaring that “general distress and inconvenience will attend the cessation of so great a monied institution,” and expressing their opinion that “it cannot be injurious but advantageous to the State institutions.” The Philadelphia banks also sent a memorial to the State Legislature declaring that the dissolution of the bank would be materially injurious to the State banks.

The Chamber of Commerce of Philadelphia, in a memorial to the Senate, December 24, 1810, urging recharter, cited the many benefits conferred by the bank, both local and general. They asserted that one-third of the stock of the bank held in the United States was held in the State of Pennsylvania, which had been purchased at a premium, through faith in its management and perpetuity. These representative business men testified to its usefulness and its assistance to other banks, its good management, and its impartiality in its accommodations. Foreign trade having, for some time, been embarrassed on account of the embargo, and specie continuing to be exported, the mercantile interests, they declared, looked with alarm to the withdrawal of \$15,000,000 of circulation, the average amount of its loans, to the accumulation of specie in the bank to pay off the stockholders, to the withdrawal of \$7,000,000 of capital from the country to pay the foreign holders of stock, and to the payment of duties in specie instead of the notes of the bank.

The friends of the bank in Philadelphia were active in its support. A petition signed by 868 citizens of Philadelphia, dated January 31, 1811, recited the alarm with which they witnessed the opposition to renewal, and prayed that, if renewal were not granted, the bank should be given time to gradually close its affairs. Delegations from Philadelphia, one representing the manufacturers and mechanics and another the merchants, testified to the impartiality of the bank, the desire for its continuance, the absence of party influence from its management, and the stagnation of business and the prostration of credit which they believed would accompany dissolution. Some of the delegation of mechanics, all of whom were Democrats, had been customers of the bank for many years, and they united in contradicting the idea that the bank was partial or was influenced in the slightest by

One hundred Tons of merchandise I will contract to
to reimburse the cost of the boat and give you one hundred
and fifty thousand dollars for your patent, or if you
can convince me of the success by drawings or demonstrations

I will found you in the expenses and profits, please to
think of this and have the goodness to let me see whether
from you as soon as possible

I am Sir your most Obedient

Robert Fulton

AUTOGRAPH LETTER AND SIGNATURE OF ROBERT FULTON

Fulton's Success on the Hudson River With the First Steamboat, in 1807, Was One of the Most Revolutionary Events Which Occurred During the
Existence of the First Bank of the United States

A HISTORY
OF
NEW YORK,

FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE WORLD TO THE
END OF THE DUTCH DYNASTY.

CONTAINING

Among many Surprising and Curious Matters, the Unutterable
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Dutch Governors of New AMSTERDAM; being the only
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*De waarheid die in duist'er lag.
Die komt met klaarheid aan den dag.*

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

PUBLISHED BY INSKEEP & BRADFORD, NEW YORK,
BRADFORD & INSKEEP, PHILADELPHIA; WM. M'IL-
HENNEY, BOSTON; COALE & THOMAS, BALTIMORE;
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.....
1809.

FAC-SIMILE OF TITLE-PAGE OF ONE OF THE VOLUMES
OF WASHINGTON IRVING'S FAMOUS HUMOROUS
HISTORY OF NEW YORK

This Work, Which Appeared During the Life of the First
Bank of the United States, Was the Beginning of World-
Literature by American Writers.

the politics of its customers. It was said that in Philadelphia opposition to renewal was confined principally to the newspapers.

A flood of petitions flowed in from all sides, both for and against renewal. The *Aurora*, the organ of the Democratic party in Philadelphia, but a bitter enemy of Gallatin, in an editorial, November 8, 1810, offered twenty reasons why the charter of the bank should not be renewed. Duane, the editor, charged the bank with employing its influence in local elections, especially in Charleston and New Orleans. Duane, in the *Aurora*, and other opponents of the bank, charged it with deliberate and malicious attempts to depress the money market and with curtailing discounts in order to cause general business distress and thus force Congress to renew its charter. Specific cases of partiality and political influence were cited by its opponents.

One of the ablest advocates of renewal, in the pamphlet literature of the day, was Mathew Cary. He claimed authority to write on financial subjects from his experience of several years as director of the Bank of Pennsylvania. Cary's chief argument for renewal was the terrible calamity that would overtake the business community if the bank should be compelled to wind up its business.

John Jacob Astor, one of the wealthiest men in New York, in the early part of January, 1811, sent a verbal message to Gallatin, by a relative, assuring him that in case of non-renewal of the charter of the Bank of the United States, all his funds and those of his friends, to the amount of two millions of dollars, would be at the command of the Government, either in importing specie, circulating Government paper, or in any other way best calculated to prevent any injury arising from dissolution. Astor, it was said, "would go great lengths, partly from pride, and partly from wish to see the bank down." Profit in this instance was not his object.

It was generally admitted that the renewal of the charter of the Bank of the United States was a party question, and as the Democrats had an undoubted majority in Congress, the friends of renewal regarded the fate of the bank as sealed, while agents of the State banks were in Washington, hopeful of receiving a share of the Government deposits.

In the House of Representatives the renewal of the charter was indefinitely postponed, January 24, 1811, by a vote of sixty-five to sixty-four. In the Senate William H. Crawford of Georgia, who at



ASTOR LIBRARY, FORMERLY ON LAFAYETTE STREET, NEW YORK CITY, AT ONE TIME THE LARGEST LIBRARY IN THE UNITED STATES AND THE MOST FAMOUS PERMANENT MONUMENT LEFT BY JOHN JACOB ASTOR, MENTIONED ON THE PRECEDING PAGE

Astor Founded This Library at the Suggestion of His Friend, Washington Irving. Astor's Foundation is Now Merged in the New York Public Library, on Fifth Avenue, Between Fortieth and Forty-Second Streets

a later period was Secretary of the Treasury, reported a bill, February 5, 1811, to amend and continue in force an act entitled "An Act to incorporate the subscribers of the Bank of the United States," and ably advocated its passage. The provisions of the bill conformed in a great part to the views of the Secretary of the Treasury, contained in his able report, and was debated with warmth and animation for several days. On a motion, February 20, to strike out the enacting clause, the vote stood seventeen to seventeen, George Clinton, the president of the Senate, casting the deciding vote in the affirmative. Thus came to an end the first Bank of the United States.

The application for renewal of the charter having been refused, a petition was presented to Congress praying for an extension of two years to enable the bank to close up its affairs. It was referred to a select committee in each house, and both reported unfavorably.

In consequence of failure to secure a new charter, the Bank of the United States closed its doors for business on the afternoon of March 3, 1811, and upon recommendation of counsel, trustees were appointed to liquidate its affairs. On March 18, 1811, the trustees petitioned the Legislature of Pennsylvania for a charter for a bank with the whole amount of the capital of the Bank of the United States. This application was defeated, but was renewed in the next Legislature, and although liberal offers were made to the State, it was again rejected.

When it was definitely settled that the Bank of the United States would have to be put in liquidation, the collectors of the leading ports were instructed to deposit in the bank no more custom-bonds for collection, to withdraw those falling due after March 3, 1811, and to deposit them in State banks; the condition imposed being that preference in discounts should be given to those having duty bonds to pay. By gradual withdrawal the Government account was closed with the Bank of the United States, September 2, 1811, except a balance of \$70,000 in the New Orleans branch, for which a credit had been given to the War and Navy Departments, but not yet drawn. At this time the Government deposits were divided among twenty-one banks. It was reported that there had been no difficulty in the transmission of public money.

There being some doubt as to the notes of the bank being receivable in payment to the United States, and as the circuit court of Vir-

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ginia had recently decided that the notes of the bank were everywhere a legal tender in payment of duties, Gallatin urged the immediate repeal of that part of the law which, according to the recent decision, was considered as being in force. Congress accordingly, on March 19, 1812, passed an act repealing that section of the bank act providing that notes of the Bank of the United States were legal tender in payment to the United States.

In 1823 the amount of notes outstanding and unrepresented was \$205,000. By decree of the court the trustees were then released from further obligations to redeem outstanding notes. A fund of \$5,000 was set apart to meet cases of peculiar hardship. From this time up to 1849 the amount presented for redemption was about \$1,100, most of which had been held by an invalid Revolutionary soldier.

The work of liquidating the business of the bank was carried on with considerable dispatch, and without producing the dreadful financial disturbances apprehended. In the first year its loans and discounts were reduced nearly \$10,000,000, and its circulating notes \$6,500,000. On June 1, 1812, the trustees declared a dividend of seventy per cent.; October 1, 1812, another dividend of eighteen per cent., and a third of seven per cent. on April 1, 1813, making ninety-five per cent. within a little more than two years. Subsequent dividends were paid, between this time and 1834, making a total of one hundred and nine per cent. on the original capital.

Although the refusal of Congress to renew the charter of the bank was not followed immediately by disaster, the course of events, then threatening, in a few years brought the country and the Government to the very verge of bankruptcy, which the existence of the bank might and probably would have averted. Gallatin, writing in 1831, said: "The dissolution of the Bank of the United States deprived the country of a foreign capital of over \$7,000,000, which was remitted abroad during the year that preceded the war. At the same time the State banks had taken up a considerable part of the paper formerly discounted by the Bank of the United States. As the amount of this exceeded \$15,000,000, their aid was absolutely necessary in order to prevent the great distress which must have otherwise attended such diminution of the usual accommodations. The creation of new State banks to fill the chasm was a natural consequence. The expectation of great profits gave birth to a much greater number than was

wanted. From January 1, 1811, to January 1, 1815, 120 new banks went into operation, with a capital of \$40,000,000, adding about \$30,000,000 to the banking capital of the country. And as the salutary regulating power of the Bank of the United States no longer existed, the issues were increased beyond what was necessary."

Upon the failure of the Bank of the United States to secure a renewal or extension of its charter, the New York branch sought to obtain from the State of New York authority to continue its operations for a time as a State institution. A petition from the directors of the branch bank was presented to the Assembly, on March 4, 1811, praying for time to wind up its affairs, and that they might be allowed to discount for those persons who had accommodation paper in the bank until they could make arrangements to take it up. A bill making such provision passed the Assembly, March 18, but was rejected in the Senate, March 25, by a majority of seven.

In the early days of banking in this country a veil of mystery was more or less thrown over the operations of banks, and the public was entirely ignorant of the nature of their internal management and condition, knowing only what the directors were willing or thought desirable to give out. No banks were required to make public statements of their condition, and even the Bank of the United States, although required to make reports to the head of the Treasury, did not make such reports public. Exaggerated ideas were entertained of the powers and functions of a bank, and bank stock became a favorite subject of speculation. Thus it was not difficult to organize a bank, once a charter was obtained, and bank charters were eagerly sought.

In making loans to borrowers, the banks delivered to them their notes and received interest on them. This was presented to the public mind as a method of living on the interest of one's debts. Following this up, the speculators perceived that if they could pay for their shares in stock notes, instead of cash, borrowing the money from the bank itself to pay for them, they might get something for nothing. This is no idle speculation, for charters were granted to banks which expressly authorized the payment of the capital in stock notes. Professor Sumner found two such in Louisiana, one dated 1811 and the other 1818. If the bank survived, the dividends would probably exceed the interest on the stock notes and the difference would be a clear gain, without the investment of a cent.



NEW-YORK, July 29th 1807.

TO CHENCLETTE DUSSEAUSSON

A SAMPLE BILL OF THE OLD CITY HOTEL, ON LOWER BROADWAY, JUST NORTH OF TRINITY CHURCH-YARD, NEW YORK CITY, THE MOST FAMOUS HOTEL IN THAT CITY DURING THE EXISTENCE OF THE FIRST BANK OF THE UNITED STATES

Efforts were made to prevent this by issuing charters in which provision was made that no stockholder should be allowed to borrow of the bank, at or after any instalment should become due, until he had paid in full such instalment; but this did not prevent borrowing the money after it had been paid in. In 1804 Massachusetts granted several charters to banks in which provision was made that no money should be loaned to anybody until satisfactory evidence was presented to the governor and council "that the whole capital stock aforesaid is actually paid in and existing in gold, silver, or other coined metals in their vaults." To avoid this, banks borrowed their entire capital from other banks, and, having exhibited it to the public officers, returned it to its owners. Accordingly, a clause was introduced in the bank charters of 1811 requiring the directors to take an oath that the money paid in was intended to remain there as the capital of the bank.

In the four years following 1811, the State banks increased, according to Crawford, from eighty-eight to two hundred and eight, the capital from \$43,000,000 to \$88,000,000, the circulation from \$23,000,000 to \$110,000,000; while, relieved from the restraint of the national bank and not checked by adequate legal restrictions, in most of the States notes were issued without regard to capital or specie holdings.

In the month of June, 1812, the Government of the United States declared war against Great Britain, and in a short time more than all the disasters to the country predicted by the supporters of the national bank on account of its dissolution were verified. The State banks proved entirely unequal to the emergency. Instead of the anticipated contraction, there had been a rapid expansion of banking facilities, but much of the alleged bank capital was fictitious, a large number of banks having been organized upon capital represented by notes of the subscribers.

At the time the charter of the Bank of the United States expired, Stephen Girard, then the foremost merchant and the wealthiest man in the country, was the largest holder of stock in the bank. He believed that the bank had been so beneficial to the commercial and financial interests of the country that public sentiment would force a renewal of its charter, and he backed his convictions by making large purchases of the stock. He purchased the holdings of the Messrs. Baring of London, for which, with other foreign purchases, he is said to have paid one million eight hundred thousand dollars. Girard was

FIGHT AGAINST THE BANK OF THE UNITED STATES

one of the committee chosen at a public meeting in Philadelphia to go to Washington to urge before Congress the renewal of the charter, and he also joined in the effort to obtain a charter from the Legislature of Pennsylvania.

When a charter was denied both by the Federal and State authorities, Girard decided to establish a private bank of his own, partially to take the place of the Bank of the United States. The services of George Simpson, who had filled the office of cashier of the Bank of the United States for seventeen years and was familiar with all the business dealings of that institution, were secured in the work of organizing the new bank, and when this work was completed he was put in charge as cashier and manager. Girard also took into his employ the principal clerical force of the Bank of the United States. He purchased the bank building and the cashier's house for \$120,000, less than one-third of their cost, and on May 12, 1812, opened his banking house for business with a capital of \$1,200,000.

To stamp his bank with something of the permanence of a corporate institution, and to secure his depositors against delay or obstruction in withdrawing money after his death, he selected five trustees, to whom he executed a deed vesting in them at his death the assets of his bank in trust to pay depositors immediately. Among these trustees was David Lenox, president, and George Simpson, cashier, of the Bank of the United States.

An incident which helped to inspire confidence in the new institution was the fact that the trustees of the Bank of the United States, who were liquidating its affairs, opened an account in Girard's bank and deposited in its vaults five millions of dollars in specie. Most of the customers of the Bank of the United States opened accounts with Girard's bank, which also retained a large part of the custom-house business. The notes issued by the bank bore the device of an American eagle and a ship under full sail. They were signed by Girard and countersigned by his cashier, and although some of the banks at first refused to accept them, they finally came to be accepted as freely as other bank notes. Redemption in specie was never refused.

The establishment of Girard's bank did much, no doubt, to lessen the distress which otherwise must have resulted from the liquidation of the Bank of the United States. The bank began its career at a trying period in the nation's history, and its value to the Government was demonstrated on many occasions during the war which followed.

Articles of Incorporation of The National Historical Society

Incorporated under the Laws of the District of Columbia at Washington, on the Twenty-Sixth Day of April, in the Year of Our Lord, Nineteen Hundred and Fifteen, "For the Purpose of Promoting Historical Knowledge and Patriotism, and the Peace of Righteousness among Nations"



THE NAME by which the Society is to be known is "The National Historical Society."

The Society is to continue in perpetuity.

The particular business and objects of the Society will be:

(a) To discover, procure, preserve, and perpetuate whatever relates to History, the History of the Western Hemisphere, the History of the United States of America and their possessions, and the History of families.

(b) To inculcate and bulwark patriotism, in no partisan, sectional, nor narrowly national sense, but in recognition of man's high obligation toward civic righteousness, believing that human governments are divinely ordained to bear the sword and exercise police duty for good against evil, and not for evil against good, and recognizing, as between peoples and peoples, that "God has made of one blood all nations of men."

(c) To provide a national and international patriotic clearing-house and historical exchange, promoting by suitable means helpful forms of communication and co-operation between all historical organizations, patriotic orders, and kindred societies, local, state, national, and international, that the usefulness of all may be increased and their benefits extended toward education and patriotism.

(d) To promote the work of preserving historic landmarks and marking historic sites.

(e) To encourage the use of historical themes and the expression of patriotism in the arts.

(f) In the furtherance of the objects and purposes of the Society, and not as a commercial business, to acquire The Journal of American History, and to publish the same as the official organ of the Society, and to publish or promote the publication of whatever else may seem advisable in furtherance of the objects of the Society.

(g) To authorize the organization of members of the Society, resident in given localities, into associated branch societies, or chapters of the parent Society, and to promote by all other suitable means the purpose, objects, and work of the Society.

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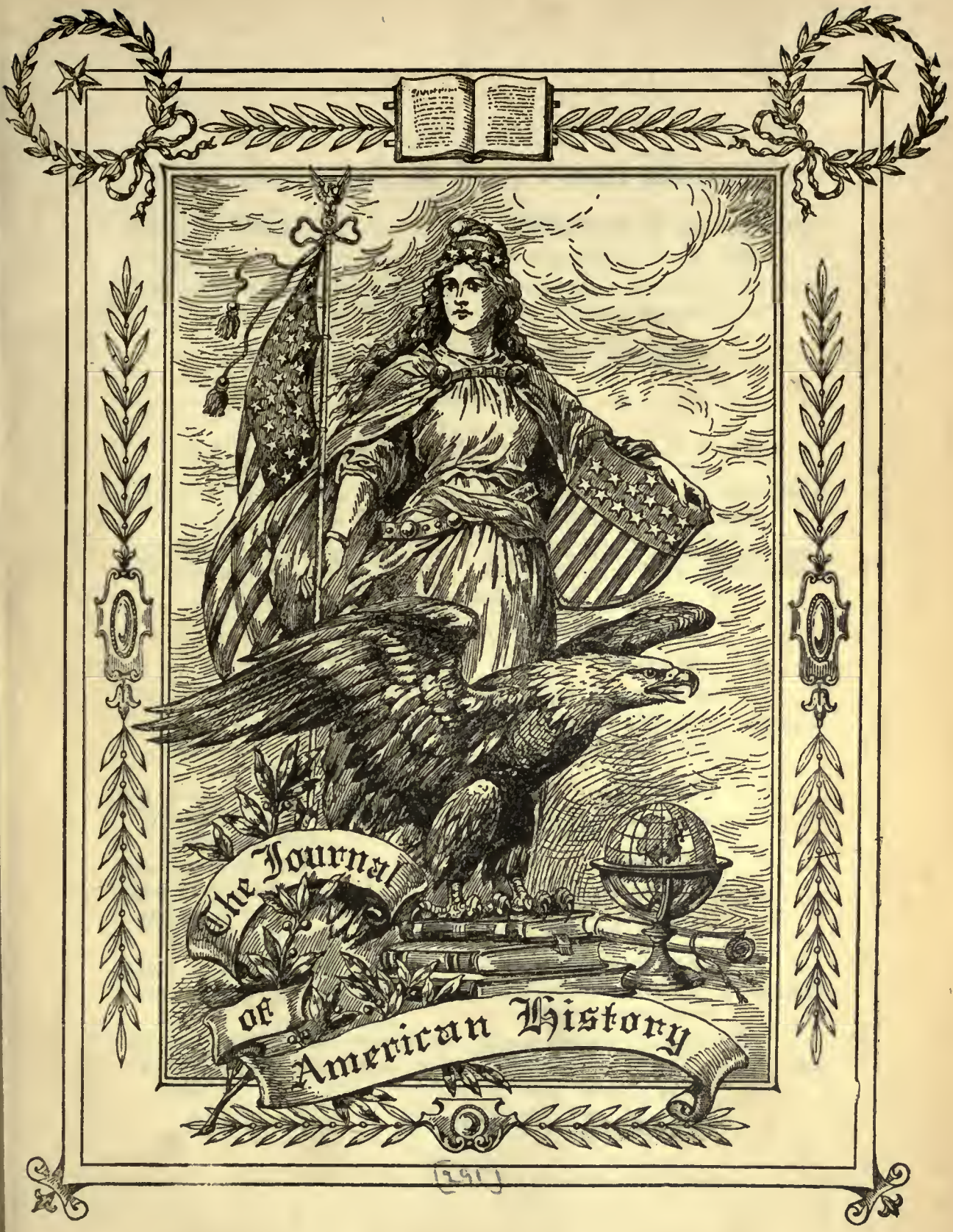
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FERDINANDO CORTES
CAVATO DA VN ORIGINALE FATTO IN AZI
CHEI SI PORTASSI ALLA CONQUISTA DEL MESSICO

THE FAMOUS SPANISH CONQUISTADOR WHO SEIZED THE AZTEC
EMPIRE IN MEXICO

Excelsior.

The shades of night were falling fast,
As though an alpine village passed
A youth who bore mid snow and ice
A banner with the strange device

Excelsior!

His brow was sad; his eye beneath
Fleeted like a falchion from its sheath,
And like a silver clarion rung
The accents of that unknown tongue

Excelsior!

In happy homes he saw the light
Of household fires gleam warm and bright;
Above the spectral glaci-ers shone,
And from his lips escaped a groan
Excelsior!

"Ere not the pass!" the old man said,
"Dark lower the tempest overhead,
The roaring torrent is deep and wide!"
And loud that clarion voice replied:
Excelsior!

O stay!" the maiden said, "and rest
Thy weary head upon this breast!"
A tear stood in his bright blue eye
But still he answered with a sigh
Excelsior!

"Beware the pine tree's withered branch!
Beware the awful avalanche!"
This was the meadow's last good night;
A voice replied, far up the height,
Excelsior!

At break of day as heavenward
The pious monks of St. Bernard
Uttered the oft-renewed prayer,
A voice cried through the startled air
Excelsior!

A traveler by the faithful hound
Half-buried in the snow was found,
Still grasping in his hand of ice
That banner with the strange device
Excelsior!

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There in the twilight cold and gray,
Lifeless but beautiful he lay,
And from the sky serene and far
A voice fell like a falling star
Excelsior!

Henry W. Longfellow.



A Scale of English Miles 63 to a degree

The Northeastern Boundary of Maine

The Troubles Between England and the United States in Reference to
the Boundary of Maine were Chiefly Caused by the Fact that
Little was Known of the Territory Involved at the Time
When the Boundary was Fixed

BY

MARIA M. IRISH



FOR almost sixty years the North-Eastern boundary line between Maine and Nova Scotia was in dispute, the dispute growing more and more heated as the years went on. John Francis Sprague says: "The first cause of the troubles was ignorance in regard to the country on the part of the Commissioners, both American and English, who were appointed to draw up the Treaty of 1783, and second, the instinctive desire of the Anglo-Saxon to possess himself of all the territory on earth within his reach."

To get at the "true inwardness" of the matter we must go back to the time when all this territory belonged to England, back to the close of the French and Indian war. When, in 1763, France ceded all her northern possessions in America to England—her chief stronghold being in Canada, with Quebec as the principal city—it was necessary for England to establish some government in the newly-attained territory, and she set off a portion toward the east, calling it the Province of Quebec and keeping the city of Quebec as capital. But instead of keeping the old French and English boundary, which was the southern shore of the St. Lawrence river, she made a new one. Starting at the mouth of the St. Lawrence, the line passed through the middle of the Bay of Chaleur, then along the Highlands toward the west in such a way that all the rivers and streams flowing into the St. Lawrence would be in the Province of Quebec, and all running southerly into the Atlantic would be in the Provinces of Maine and Nova Scotia. All this territory at this time belonged to England.

It was soon after this that the disturbances preceding the war of the Revolution, between England and her American colonies, which afterward became the United States of America, began to take place, and finally broke out into the Seven Years' War, ending in England's acknowledgment of the independence of the Colonies.

After the end of the war, in 1782-23, a Treaty was entered into between England and the Colonists, one part of which had to do with the boundaries between the two countries. We are to consider that part which describes the line between Maine and New Brunswick, as the western part of Nova Scotia was beginning to be called and known as the North Eastern Boundary. Now both the American and England Commissioners who drew up the treaty knew very little of this section of the country. They knew that the big St. John river flowed down from somewhere into the Bay of Fundy, but they knew almost nothing of its headwaters, or of the country back from its shores. It came out of the "forest primeval," known only to the Indians and a few hunters and trappers. In fixing the line they followed, I suppose, the one which seemed best according to the map which they had, which was Mitchel's, the best of the day. This is the description: "A line running from the mouth of the St. Croix river, in the Bay of Fundy, through the middle of said river to its source in the Schoodic Lakes, through the middle of said Lakes to the northern extremity, then due north to the Northwestern Angle of Nova Scotia, on the Highlands which divide the rivers and streams that fall into the river St. Lawrence, from those which fall into the Atlantic, thence along the Highlands to the head waters of the Connecticut river."

Now this would seem plain in its meaning, but as soon as there was an attempt to run the line questions began to arise, the first being, which of three rivers was the St. Croix. The French, having made small settlements in this region, had set up a cross at the mouth of several rivers, thus making it doubtful which should bear the name. John Adams, one of the Commissioners from the Colonies, says: "Upon Mitchel's map was marked out the whole boundary line of the United States, and the river St. Croix which was fixed on, was upon the map the nearest to the St. John river. "This map failed to be filed with the Treaty. The few inhabitants of the region, with the State of Massachusetts, claimed the river lying to the east, nearest to the St. John; the English, the one lying to the west, farthest from the St.

NORTHEASTERN BOUNDARY OF MAINE

John. The strip of land not being large, only about ten miles wide and one hundred forty miles long, and Massachusetts, together with the other colonies, being full of the business attending the drawing up of the Constitution of the United States, the formation of the government, the settling of disputes between the States, and all the various matters of government which in a way were new to them, had little time or interest to give to a little bit of disputed boundary line in the far-off Province of Maine, especially as it was mostly in the forest where the foot of white men had seldom been set. Besides, why should not Massachusetts attend to her own business?

So things went on, year after year, till the western river was settled on as the St. Croix intended in the Treaty of 1783, and by the Commissioners of the Treaty of Peace and Amity ratified by the United States and England in 1798, and the line was fixed to the head of the Schoodic Lakes. Nothing then remained but to run the line due north to the "Northwest Angle of Nova Scotia." This too would seem easy, but it wasn't, for England here raised a question as to where the Northwest angle was and also as to the highlands, claiming them to be those first reached after leaving the Schoodic Lakes, notwithstanding that England had already acknowledged, in her pleas, that the due-north line crossed the St. John, in reaching the highlands designated as the southern boundary of the Province of Quebec. Now the first highlands reached after leaving the Schoodic Lakes, would be those lying about Mars Hill, and would throw into the hands of the English an extensive tract of territory which had always been held to belong to Massachusetts. Massachusetts held to the text of the Treaty, "northwest angle of Nova Scotia" and "highlands that divide the waters flowing into the St. Lawrence and the Atlantic."

So the dispute was prolonged. Then came the war of 1812, one of the causes of which may well have been the fret over this line, and the question dropped out of sight for the time.

We next hear of it in 1814, when we find in the list of points to be discussed and settled before the signing of the Treaty of Ghent, this, "A revision of the boundary line between British and American territory, with a view to prevent future uncertainty and dispute, also to secure a direct communication from Halifax in the province of Nova Scotia, to Quebec." On the question being raised as to how such communication should be obtained, the reply was, "by cession

of the territory which intervenes between New Brunswick and Quebec." The Treaty of Ghent was signed, leaving this point unsettled, and the discussion between the two Governments continued for another term of years, during which the government of New Brunswick began to assume that the territory she wanted, actually belonged to her, and used and governed it accordingly, granting permits to cut lumber and selling grants of land, carrying out the principal that "possession is nine points of the law," and, as the years went on, making her claims run further and further south, even to the Schoodic Lakes, and west to the Penobscot river.

The people of Maine, living mostly in the southwestern portion, with no direct and easy communication between them and the eastern lands, heard only occasional and vague rumors of these doings; while the government, being situated in Boston, still further away, made only spasmodic efforts to check the depredations.

Also in these years the subject of separation of the Province of Maine from Massachusetts, and the formation of an independent State, was before the people, and more and more occupied their thoughts. This separation was accomplished in 1820, and one of the first acts of Governor King was to appoint surveyors to go to the Aroostook district to explore and observe, and to take a census, also to do some surveying in order, it would appear, to have some specific business, for during these years many of the trespassers had come to believe that they had a right to cut what timber they pleased on the State lands, and threatened to use roughly any one who interfered with them. The Commission started the first of March, on horseback, for the Aroostook, in order that they might see the timber before it was put into the streams. It was a hard and dangerous journey, through the deep snows and over the frozen streams which were beginning to soften in the spring sun. But they succeeded in collecting a good deal of information, and returned by way of Eastport on the "Packet."

As the State began to take some care and interest in the wild lands, the sale of them increased rapidly, both in the western part of the State, around Moosehead Lake, and along the Penobscot, as well as in the Aroostook. It was getting very dangerous business, for the more the trespassers were watched, the more desperate they became. One of the measures that the State was obliged to use, and which

incensed them, was to burn the hay which they had cut and made on the State meadows, ready for the next winter's use.

The surveyors and their assistants were obliged to spend nearly all the next summer in the woods. The authorities of New Brunswick, becoming more and more careless and bold in regard to the boundary, in 1825 the Legislature of Maine decided that inasmuch as a part of these lands were owned jointly by Maine and Massachusetts, the Land Agents of both States should go together and look the whole situation over, confer with the Governor-General of New Brunswick, and try to arrive at some settlement.

Accordingly, in September of that year, Colonel Coffin, of Massachusetts, and General Irish of Maine, went to the city of St. John, when they proceeded up river to Fredericton, Woodstock, The Grand Falls and Madawaska. The following is a report of this visit—not an official report, but compiled, partly from the meager lines of my grandfather's diary and from letters written by him at the time, and partly from the official report given by the two Land Agents.

"On our journey up the St. John, after leaving Grand Falls, we attempted to number the houses on the west bank, in order to get some idea of the number of inhabitants, but the many forest fires raging that fall, made the air so thick with smoke that we were nearly suffocated, and were obliged to keep to the east side. But from information obtained from the settlers later, we learned that there were more than 250 families in the region. Here at the junction of the Madawaska and St. John rivers a settlement had been made many years before by a few of the refugees from Acadia, who had first settled at St. Ann's (now Fredericton), but who when the English established a Military Post there, fled up river, so far up that they thought they never would be found, but a French Canadian had already built a mill a few miles above them, and little by little the settlement grew until now there were 222 houses and about 2,000 people, scattered up and down the two rivers for 20 miles.

"On the east side of the St. John, on undisputed New Brunswick territory, is the town of Tobique. Here lives George Morehouse, a magistrate who holds his commission from the Governor of New Brunswick. He seems to be a man arbitrary and overbearing by nature, and as he is the only magistrate in all this country it gives him a chance to exercise these traits, which he seems to have done to the

annoyance and indignation of the inhabitants. He seems to have made it his special business to harass the settlers on the Aroostook river, treating them as if they had no rights he was bound to respect, even forbidding them to work their land in some cases.

"The first of the Madawaska troubles seem to have come from his issuing warrents for small demands against the people, who resisted them sometimes by force, till there has come to be constant friction between them.

"Then too it is his business to collect the 'Alien Tax,' which New Brunswick has assessed on a part of the people living above Madawaska, under the claim that they are trespassers on 'Crown Lands.' "There is one man, John Baker, who settled here years ago, and has come to be rather a leader among the Americans. He has prospered in his business, having cultivated his land well, built a Saw and Grist Mill, opened a little Store and is now engaged in building a new house, he seems an enterprising man. He and Morehouse have evidently had several clashes. He and one of his neighbors requested us to give them deeds of their farms, which we did. These men have already been instrumental in sending agents to the Massachusetts Legislature to present the troubles of the settlers, for several times their lumber has been confiscated while being floated down river, and they could get no redress, for Morehouse said they were 'Aliens' and trespassers. And since Maine has been a State, the two have been to Portland to lay the case before the Legislature, making the journey on foot and by canoe.

"We made Madawaska our headquarters and struck into the woods in all directions, exploring and observing as well as surveying. We found the timber unusually fine, both hard and soft, and the soil rich and productive, that on the west side of the St. John better than on the east side. There are large tracts of rich Intervale covered with fine grass; back from the Intervale the land rises in beautiful slopes, backed again by extensive tracts of level land, and still further back gentle swells, all covered with fine soft and hard wood growth. The land along the Aroostook river we found of excellent quality also. All through these parts the settlers were raising large quantities of wheat, oats, barley and hay, and the best potatoes I ever ate; there must be some special quality in the soil that potatoes need. Indeed everything that can be raised in New England we found in abundance, except

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Indian corn, which does not ripen well here. But the people are not what I would call good farmers, for the land being so productive, they take what it will yield with least labor, and put their greatest effort into lumbering. We found them a quiet and industrious people in the main, deserving the care of the government, but objecting stoutly to having British laws enforced on them, and wishing to have their land troubles settled, that they may know that they own their homes, and to which country they owe allegiance. There is a large proportion of Yankees among them with many Irish and Scotch, as well as descendants of the French Acadians, also some officers and others in the employ of the New Brunswick government. We feel that they surely ought to be looked after not only by the government of Maine, but by the United States as well.

"We inspected the whole territory as well as we could, being hindered more or less by the fires, took testimony in regard to trespassers, took a Census, and not having received any answer to our letter written on our first arrival, to the Governor General of New Brunswick, we decided to go back to Fredericton and get an interview with him if possible, or with some responsible person, and learn what was intended in regard to the permits for the coming winter.

"We were leaving Madawaska feeling that we had gained much valuable information, although during the last of our stay we had burned a good deal of hay, and received many black and threatening looks as we passed in and out about our business, yet no one had disturbed us, as we had let it be understood that we were surveyors, and had only burnt the hay during the very last of our trips, and did not think news of it could reach town till after we had left.

"The voyage down river was particularly pleasant, the foliage had changed color decidedly, the hard-wood tracts being gorgeous with crimson and yellow mixed with the dark green of the Spruce and Pine and the blue haze of smoke like a veil thrown over the whole.

"At the Aroostook settlement we heard that the Governor General of New Brunswick had revoked his permits for the coming winter.

"After consultation we decided to appoint an agent, living in this region with power to issue permits to cut lumber, as a great many lumbermen had already brought their supplies up river, and would in all probability take the lumber, with a permit if they could get it easily, without it if they could not, rather than lose their supplies.

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"This proved a wise move, for quite a sum of money was received from these men, who seemed willing to pay for permits when they found that they must.

"Arriving at Fredericton we waited on the Governor at his office and were told that he was not there but at his home out of town, which was threatened by forest fires. We called again in the morning, he had not returned, neither was there any answer to our letter written weeks before. We left word that we were at the Fredericton Hotel and for him to send his communication there before 7 o'clock Thursday morning (this being Tuesday), as at that hour we would be obliged to leave for St. John to board the Friday packet going west. While waiting we conversed with many Merchants and others of the town, finding that they did not feel that the Treaty of 1783 was just, as it cut them off from a free passage between Halifax and Quebec.

"Not any message of any kind coming from the Governor we were obliged to leave on Thursday morning, having failed in this part of our commission. We dropped down river in a fishing boat, and long before we reached St. John, began to smell the sea, and felt our blood tingle with the fresh salt breeze. Taking our passage, the next morning we boarded the packet and were soon started toward home, reaching Portland in due season, and reporting our doings to the Governor."

This visit of the Land Agents, as far as the trespassers were concerned, served only as a check, but did not put a stop to the depredation on the timber lands, and failed utterly to bring about any settlement of the troubles. The next few years many were prosecuted, but that did little good, as it was almost impossible to get witnesses.

A Sheriff and posse was sent down, but they were met by what purported to be a band of Mohawk Indians, roughly treated and driven off, and their guide nearly killed.

In 1827 John Baker invited the American citizens of Madawaska to gather at his home to celebrate the Fourth of July by setting up a flag-staff, and raising an American flag. This invitation was accepted by all who considered themselves American citizens, many of the French people coming too. A flag was made by surrounding a rude drawing of the American Eagle on white, by stars, and adding a few red stripes. A general good time was indulged in, speeches were made, among others one by Baker, and we may presume they were patriotic

speeches. During the gathering it was proposed to draw up a paper stating that, being so far from their government, they had decided to form themselves into a society to adjust disputes, and to make laws for the community, and that they would not submit to any further enforcement of British law. This they asked all the people to sign, which was done. It was understood that this paper was provisional, and to be in force but one year, or until some arrangement could be made with the Legislature for a Magistrate to be sent them. It was later claimed by Mr. Morehouse that Baker refused to allow the mail-carrier to pass his place on the river, but this Baker denied, and it would hardly seem reasonable, as the carrying of the mail through this section of the country was a great convenience to the settlers.

Governor Harvey of New Brunswick, on hearing of this gathering, sent officers to look into the matter, demanding the paper, and that the flag be hauled down. This Baker refused to do. Before this, some one had realized that a paper of this kind was a dangerous thing to have in keeping, and had destroyed it.

No arrests were made at this time, but later, in September, a sheriff with an armed band appeared at Baker's house early in the morning, surrounding the house, taking Baker from bed, and without allowing him a word in defense, hurried him off to Fredericton, and lodged him in jail. His home, store, mills, and lumber were all confiscated, and his family driven out. This case caused a long and bitter quarrel between the two Provinces, but at last Baker was released on parole, but none of his property was returned to him.

In 1831 an attempt was made to hold an election in Madawaska, of a Representative to the Maine Legislature. This led to the arrest and trial of several persons, who were convicted of treason and sentenced to fine and imprisonment. They were afterward released at the request of the United States government.

In 1837 Ebenezer Greeley was sent by the United States government, as Agent to take a Census and make a distribution of the famous "surplus money" from the United States Treasury.

When the New Brunswick government heard that he was numbering the people, they arrested him, but the officials at Fredericton were afraid to imprison a United States officer and he was set at liberty, and returning to Aroostook, took up his work again. But Governor Harvey again hearing of him, and this time that he was dis-

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tributing money, took it for granted that he was bribing the people to become United States citizens, and ordered his second arrest. This time he was imprisoned, and only released on an imperative message from President Van Buren. Again he returned to his work and finished it without hindrance.

In 1829 the subject was referred to the King of the Netherland for arbitration, and for two years was under his consideration. His verdict was so unsatisfactory to both countries, however, that it was not accepted.

Through all these years, since 1820, each Governor of Maine had tried to a greater or less degree to rouse the people of the State, and the Legislature to vigorous action in this matter. Each one admitted the danger of the unsettled line.

In 1831 Madawaska was incorporated as a town of Maine. In 1838 the searching report of the Joint Committee appointed to look up the matter, together with the increasing arrogance of the Province people, seems to have touched public opinion more than any thing else had done. Governor Kent made this plain statement in his message that year: "It is a remarkable fact that fifty-five years after the recognition of American independence by Great Britain, and the formal and precise demarcation of our limits, in the Treaty of Peace, the extent of those limits and the territory rightfully subject to our jurisdiction, should be a matter of dispute and indifference."

The depredations increasing, in spite of all that had been done, in 1835 the United States sent General Wool, with representatives from Maine, to the border to establish military posts, that in case of war the United States might not be entirely defenceless, showing that the idea of "Preparedness" is not altogether new in the policy of the United States.

At length Maine awoke to the feeling that she had suffered enough at the hands of her neighbors, held a secret session of the Legislature, and authorized the raising of a band of two hundred men to accompany a sheriff to the eastern border. Accordingly a company under command of Captain Rines quietly left Bangor, on February 4, 1839, with sheriff Strickland. Making a forced march they reached the border in three days, surprising the trespassers and easily capturing them, but pressing on to Madawaska, they were met by a large force of British militia, and the captain and a part of his men

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were taken prisoners. The sheriff, with the remainder of the force, retired to township No. 10 (now Masardis), and fortified themselves, while he himself returned as quickly as possible to Augusta for more help, and instructions.

In the meantime the trespassers had armed themselves, and defied the American government. At the same time Governor Harvey issued a proclamation, declaring that British territory had been invaded by United States troops, and ordering out 1,000 militia. He also sent a communication to Governor Fairfield demanding the withdrawal of the troops.

This sounded the war note so long predicted. Messengers were sent from Augusta (now the seat of government in Maine) to all the towns. A call was made for 10,000 militia to gather at Township No. 10, and within a week the men were either in the camp, or on their way there, and this in the dead of winter, through the heavy snows.

At the same time word was sent to Washington of the situation, and the government was thoroughly aroused. Congress, being in session, voted to support Maine with money, and 50,000 men if necessary, and General Scott was sent to confer with the governor at Augusta where he arrived within a week. They immediately sent a message to Governor Harvey, informing him of what had been done, and what would be done if he persisted in his purpose to hold the lands claimed by Maine; also demanding the release of all prisoners, and the restoration of lands and property, with damages, taken from John Baker.

Governor Harvey, feeling probably that his 1,000 militia looked rather small beside the 10,000 already assembled in Aroostook, and the 50,000 which could be added to them, also knowing that he did not have the backing of the home government in any such high-handed measures, immediately wilted, agreeing not to send troops into the disputed territory or attempt to drive out the Maine troops already there, to release all prisoners, restore lands and pay damages.

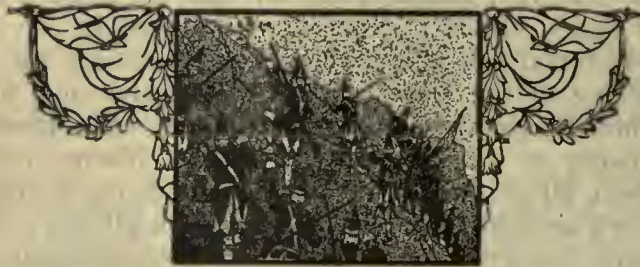
Governor Fairfield, in return, pledged himself not to disturb the New Brunswick settlers; also to allow a free communication between New Brunswick and Canada across Maine lands, until further instruction.

The excitement calmed, the prisoners on both sides were set at liberty, and what is known in history as "The Aroostook War" was over, but only for the time.

The unfixed boundary still remained a menace, and for two years things went on much the same. But in these two years Daniel Webster, who was secretary of State at Washington, felt that this was a danger point, and in 1842, after long correspondence with the British Home government, Lord Ashburton was sent to Washington with authority to draw up a new Treaty for the settlement of this boundary.

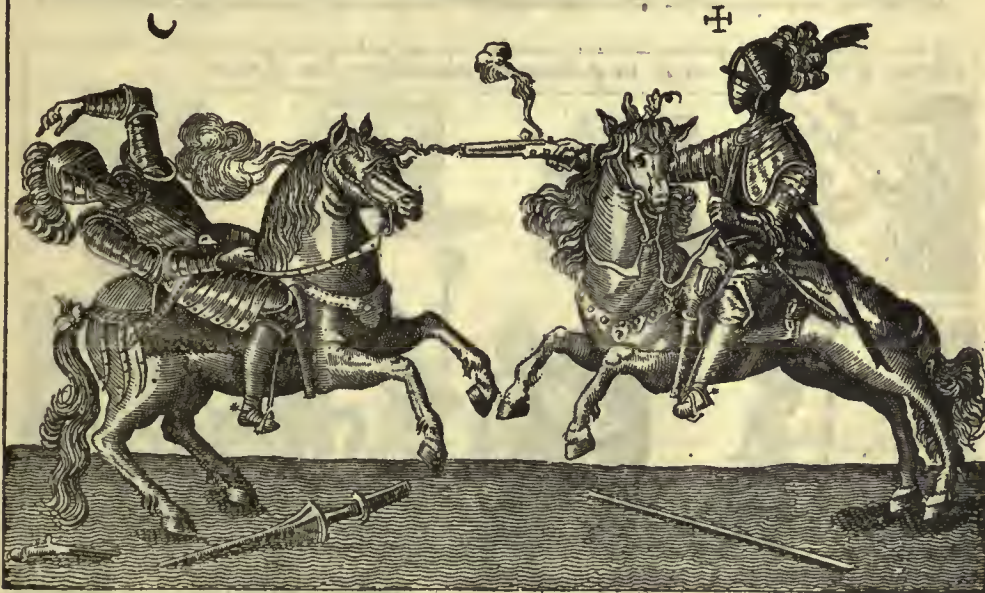
The two went carefully over the whole subject, considering the rights and needs of both nations, and at length, in view of the fact that New Brunswick needed land between the St. Lawrence and St. John rivers, in order to have a thoroughfare between Halifax and Quebec for transportation of mail, etc., it was agreed that Maine should give up a large strip of land north and east of the St. John river, from the Grand Falls to St. Francis, and east of the St. Francis Lakes. In return Maine was to have free transportation on the St. John river, \$150,000 from the United States government, and \$200,000 for expenses incurred in defending the border, while the United States government was to receive from England certain valuable tracts of land on the shores of Lakes Champlain and Superior.

The Webster-Ashburton Treaty was ratified on August 22, 1842. Here ended the long dispute, and this time the line was immediately surveyed.





His Combat with GRVALGO Cap. of three hundred horsemen.



THE "KNIGHTLY" ADVENTURES OF CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH AS DEPICTED BY THE
HIGHLY IMAGINATIVE ILLUSTRATOR OF HIS "TRUE TRAVELS" PUBLISHED IN 1629.

See Also Other Examples on the Next Page

*Capt^t SMITH led Captive to the BASHAW of
NALBRITS in TARTARIA*



Three TVRK'S heads in a banner given him for Armes :



How he was presented to Prince SIGISMVNDVS, Chap. 8.

Chaumiere des Prairies

BY

CLARA GOODE



IN the heart of the Blue Grass Region, long before its lovely, primeval forests had been destroyed by ruthless hands, Chaumière des Prairies, one of the handsomest and most historical homes in America, was founded. Nine miles from Lexington, Kentucky, on the Harrodsburg Pike, stands an old brick house, which represents the last remains of the destruction of that old manse whose grandeur at that time excelled any thing west of the Alle-colonial homes of Virginia.

ghanies. Nor was its splendor even surpassed by any of the old

Soon after Daniel Boone built the Wilderness Road, leading through Cumberland Gap into Kentucky, many pioneers came to settle in the wild forests of this State. Among them was David Meade. He left one of the most beautiful estates in Virginia, and came with his family, in the summer of 1796, to settle in Jessamine, now Fayette County.

The Boston Historical Society, in its annual quarto publications of historical homes in America, says: "‘Maycox,’ the Meade home on the James River in Virginia, contained six hundred acres. The pleasure grounds adjoining the house contained about twelve acres laid out in a most beautiful, and enchanting manner. Forest and fruit trees are here arranged as if nature and art had conspired together to strike the eye most agreeably. Beautiful vistas, which open as many pleasing views of the river, the land thrown into many artificial hollows or gentle swellings with the pleasing verdure of the turf, and the complete order in which the whole is preserved, altogether tend to form it one of the most delightful, rural seats that is to be found in the United States, and do honor to the taste and skill of the proprietor, who is the architect."

The beauty of "Maycox" was enhanced by other neighboring,

costly plantations of Virginia. On the opposite bank of the James River, directly across from this place, was "Westover," the magnificent home of two in succession of the name of Bird, in their time among the most distinguished and wealthiest men in America. A Royal grant of several thousand acres was given to Colonel William Bird by the Crown in 1727 for running the dividing line between Virginia and North Carolina.

Amid such surroundings David Meade left Virginia. He loved the wild beauty of nature more than the implanted European life around him.

He was educated in England. He possessed, besides the two necessary qualifications to enter the highest European society, namely, genealogy and a large fortune, also a striking physique, a fine intellect, and a strong, unblemished character. Much of his young manhood was spent in gay European life, of which he was very fond. Yet his ideal home was a broad sweep of landscape, where he could enjoy nature to the fullest. In the midst of this he could implant his European ideas of landscape, architecture, and art. Thus his dream was realized when he built Chaumière des Priere in Kentucky.

Inconsistent as it may seem with the wild surroundings, where his neighbors were happy to possess a three-faced cabin built of hewn logs, arose this stately mansion, built on the Norman plan, with turrets and battlements. Here Rafinesque, one of the most celebrated scientists of his time in America, laid out the gardens, assisted by an English landscape gardener. The hundred acres nearest the house were entirely devoted to pleasure grounds. This was surrounded by a low stone wall, which was almost concealed by honeysuckles, rambling roses, and other vines, so arranged that some kind would be in bloom throughout the season. In front of the pleasure grounds was a beautiful park, where a large gate, with two great stone pillars, formed the entrance. This park could well vie with the most artistic grounds laid out today by a landscape gardener. Throughout the grounds were drives and walks through gardens of evergreens and shrubery. In the midst of the garden was a tea-house, surrounded by fountains and statuary. Here a lake was built, with an artificial island in the midst of it. A stone bridge led from the island to the mainland. On the border of the lake was the 'Temple of the Niads,' which was utilized as a seed repository. A force of men, for many

months, were kept busy throwing up brick and mortar to represent an old castle ruins.

There were also found here many artificial caves, containing the bones of gigantic humans, and were, likely, the remains of the ancient catacombs built by a prehistoric race, which Rafinesque declares were in Central Kentucky.

A descendent of Colonel Meade, Miss Jessie Woodson, who now lives about four miles from Chaumière, says that most of the house was of one story, in the style of a villa, built of various materials, of stone, wood, brick and mud. The part of mud was a large bed-room. The dining-room was a large square room, wainscoted with black walnut. Here often a hundred guests were comfortably seated. The large square hall was called the stone passage. This led into numerous passage ways, lobbies and dens.

Doctor Craik, the rector of Christ Church in Louisville, Kentucky, described Chaumière as he saw it when he visited there in 1825: "To see such a place at that time—1825—was a pleasure which could not be given by any thing of the like sort in America. Every one who went to Lexington, or any part of the Blue Grass Country, visited Chaumière as a matter of course, to enjoy the wondrous beauty which the taste and genius of one man had created."

Doctor Holly, the distinguished President of Transylvania College, who was a frequent visitor there, says in a letter written in 1818: "I went with a party of ladies and gentlemen, nine miles in the country to the seat of Colonel Meade, where we dined and passed the day. This gentleman, who is near seventy, is a Virginian of the old school. He has been a great deal in England in his youth, and brought home with him some English notions of a country seat, though he is a great Republican in politics. Mrs. Meade is very mild and lady-like, and though between sixty and seventy, plays upon the piano-forte with the facility and cheerfulness of a young lady.

"Colonel Meade is entirely a man of leisure, never having followed any business, and never using his fortune but in adorning his place and entertaining friends and strangers. No word is ever sent him that company is coming. To do so offends him. But a dinner at the hour of four is always ready for visitors, and servants are ever in waiting. Twenty of us went one day without warning, and were entertained luxuriously on the viands of the country. Our drinks

consisted of beer and wine. He does not allow cigars to be used on his premises."

He was scrupulously particular about the turf. He kept a small army of little negroes constantly picking up sticks, rocks, mulberries or any thing that might fall from the trees.

Among the distinguished guests that visited Chaumière were four presidents, Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Monroe, General Jackson and General Taylor. Henry Clay is spoken of by his relatives as being a frequent visitor there and a great favorite. Both Aaron Burr and Blennerhasset often visited the place. Doubtless Burr used all the cunning and fascination for which he was so justly noted to beguile Colonel Meade and some of his distinguished guests, but it was of no avail, for Meade was too loyal an American and too proud of his father's brilliant record in the Revolution, as Washington's *Aide* and close advisor, to consider for an instant Burr's plan to separate Louisiana from the United States and by its union with Mexico to found a great Empire in America.

Burr was a close friend and college-mate of David Meade, Jr., and when the former was brought through Lexington, on his way to Richmond, Virginia for trial, David Meade, Jr., belonging to the Guard, obtained permission to entertain his visitor for three weeks, while awaiting the time for the trial. While he remained a prisoner on parole of honor in the home of Colonel Meade, the wedding of his youngest daughter, Elizabeth, to Judge Creighton, of Chillicothe, Ohio, took place. James Moore, the celebrated minister of Christ Church in Lexington, performed the ceremony. He was the first pastor of that church and the one of whom James Lane Allen has so beautifully written in "The Flute and Violin." Availing themselves of his presence, all the grandchildren of Colonel Meade, as well as all the little negroes on the place, were baptized. A relic of this occasion, a white damask table-cloth, is still carefully preserved in the Meade family. It was used at the wedding-breakfast on the mahogany table in the large dining-room, where sat at the feast nearly a hundred guests, making merry with toasts from Burr and other distinguished visitors.

Another frequent visitor here was George Rogers Clark. He and Colonel Meade would often sit up till early morning. In Colonel Meade he always found an interesting listener to the story of his great

conquest of the North West, when he gave to America the vast region between the Ohio River and the Great Lakes.

When Lafayette was invited in 1824 to visit America, he was royally entertained at Chaumière.

Shortly after the death of Colonel Meade, Edward Everett visited the family. After being shown the many attractions about the place, the little granddaughter of Colonel Meade took him for a row in her boat, the *Ellen Douglas*. Mr. Everett, being delighted with her charming manner, and her skillful oarsmanship, jokingly called her, "The Lady of the Lake," by which name she was known throughout the rest of her girlhood.

General Scott often visited here, and many a time played chess with this same little granddaughter. At nine years of age she beat him at a game of chess. Her grandfather told her she need not attribute so much to her skill as a player as to Scott's state of mind, as he was then very much oppressed over a love affair. The object of his affections was a very beautiful young girl, who had so many suitors that she could not exactly make up her mind which to take. After the first ardent pleading for her hand, his only encouragement was the answer, "Wait till you are sufficiently promoted." Exerting every effort to achieve success with such a reward in view, he was soon promoted to Colonel. He hastened with the joyful news, thinking she would be happy to share the honors with him. To his great chagrin she again replied, "Wait till you are sufficiently promoted." Though disheartened, he went to work with renewed energy. It was not long till he arose to the rank of Major. Believing nothing in the way now, he went back with the question, only to receive the same answer, "Wait till you are sufficiently promoted." During this heart-struggle he would go to the peaceful retreat of Chaumière, where he poured out his troubles to Colonel Meade, and he always found consolation and encouragement. "Put forth one more great effort, young man," said he, "If you are sure that life is not worth living without her." The cherished promotion finally came. Timorously he again repeated his question. Finally yielding to his entreaties, she became the dutiful wife who made General Scott so happy.

Both Mr. Meade and his wife delighted in wearing the costumes of olden times. He always wore a square coat and knee breeches, the fashion of English gentlemen, when he was living in England. The

color of his clothes was always the same, a drab, with court vest and large cuffs. His white silk stockings were gartered with jeweled buckles. The buttons on his coat and vest were of silver, with the Meade Crest on them.

Mrs. Meade's dress was always of satin, with the long waist and full skirt of olden times. She wore ruffs about the neck and elbows. She had costly jewels which she added to her toilette on special occasions. She generally drove into Lexington in a golden colored carriage drawn by six horses, but around the place for general use she used a chaise.

There were always about twenty servants about the house. A most interesting and superior woman was the house-keeper, Betsy Miller. She lived to be over ninety. Colonel Meade brought her, together with her mother, from England. He said he knew her to be a direct descendant of Charles Stuart. Adversity had compelled both mother and daughter to seek work as domestics. So she had been identified with the Meade family nearly all her life. When she died she left to the Meades many family souvenirs of early times, including much silverware marked with her name. Among other things, were several chintz dresses over a hundred years old. There is a red morocco slipper among the relics. It has very high heels and pointed toes. She brought it over from Scotland, where it was worn at a ball given in honor of King Charles on his restoration to the throne.

On the walls of Chaumière hung many costly paintings. Among them were several by Sir Joshua Reynolds, and some family portraits painted by Thomas Hudson, the instructor of Reynolds.

Many ancient relics of celebrated forefathers, who played an important part in English history, are still cherished in the Meade family. Among these heirlooms is an ebony and ivory crucifix of exquisite workmanship, formerly belonging to or a gift from one of the Popes. Another heirloom is a gold medal, on which is a Latin inscription composed by Charles the Fifth, given to one of the Meade ancestors for valiant service to Church and State. Among other things is a mahogany chest, and there are other pieces of old mahogany, and some mirrors. Mrs. Meade's piano is the first one ever brought to Kentucky, and is still carefully preserved in the family.

On the walls of the home of Miss Woodson is the family escutcheon, with which is connected an interesting story. While Colonel

CHAUMIERE DES PRAIRIES

Meade was in school in England, he was summoned to appear at a funeral. On arriving at the strange place, he was informed that the family was named Meade, and that he was the only living male relative of that branch of the family. He was told that the Meade escutcheon belonged to him, and that he must take it off the coffin of the old gentleman. Tradition says that Campbell's poem, entitled "Come where my Love Lies Bleeding," was inspired by the history of the heart and bloody hand seen in the corner of this escutcheon. Colonel Meade said that the escutcheon came from the family estate, Connor Castle, in Ireland, one of his ancestors having married the heiress of Connor Castle.

Colonel Meade died at the age of ninety-four. The greatest sorrow of his life was the death of his only son, David. Dying young and unmarried, the name of this family of Meade passed away. After his death none of the relatives were able to keep Chaumière, and it was sold and the personalty divided among the female heirs. Only one wing of the house now remains, in which is the octagon-shaped drawing-room, and a few small rooms. Thus into oblivion has passed Chaumière des Prairies.



"HELL GATE" PERILOUS TO MARINERS, IN EAST RIVER BETWEEN NEW YORK CITY AND THE LONG ISLAND SHORE, IN 1776.



MAP OF ACQUISITIONS OF CONTINENTAL TERRITORY BY THE UNITED STATES WEST OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER

Frontier Life in Southwest Kansas

BY

ROBERT M. WRIGHT



FORT DODGE was located in 1864, by Gen. G. M. Dodge, United States volunteers, the site being an old camping-ground for trains going to New Mexico. It is in latitude $37^{\circ} 50'$ north longitude 100° west. A Colorado regiment camped there before the establishment of the post. It was a four-company post, and was abandoned in 1882. Fort Larned was established October 22, 1859, for the protection of the Santa Fe trade, on the right bank of the Pawnee Fork, about seven miles above its mouth, $38^{\circ} 10'$ north latitude, longitude 22° west. It was named, June, 1860, for Col. B. F. Larned, then paymaster-general, though first called Camp Alert.

The site for the location of Fort Dodge was selected because it was where the wet route and the dry route intersected. The dry route came across the divide from Fort Larned, on the Pawnee, while the wet route came around by the river, supposed to be about fifteen miles further. The dry route was often without water the whole distance, and trains would lay up to recruit after making the passage, which caused this point on the Arkansas river to become a great camping-ground. Of course the Indians found this out, to their delight, and made it one of their haunts, to pounce down upon the unwary emigrant and freighter. Numerous were their attacks in this vicinity, and many were their victims. Men were butchered in the most horrible manner, stock was killed, and women taken into captivity more terrible than death, and even trains of wagons were burned. Some of the diabolical work I have witnessed with my own eyes, and will speak of some of it later.

The government was obliged to erect a fort here, but even then the Indians struggled for the mastery, and made many attacks, not only on passing trains, but on the troops themselves. I witnessed the

running off of over 100 horses, those of Capt. William Thompson's troop of the Seventh United States cavalry. The savages killed the guard and then defied the garrison, as they knew the soldiers had no horses on which to follow them. Several times have I seen them run right into the fort, cut off and gather up what loose stock there was around, and kill and dismount and deliberately scalp one or more victims, whom they had caught outside the garrison, before the soldiers could mount and follow.

Early one very foggy morning they made a descent on a large body of troops, mostly infantry, with a big lot of transportation. At this time the government was preparing for a campaign against them. It was a bold thing to do, but they made a brave dash right into and among the big mule trains. It was so dark and foggy that nothing was seen of them until they were in the camp, and they made a reign of bedlam for a short time. They succeeded in cutting about fifty mules loose from the wagons and getting away with them, and killing, scalping and mutilating an old hunter named Ralph, just as he was in the act of killing a coyote he had caught in a steel trap, not 300 yards from the mule camp. Of course they shot him with arrows, and then speared him, so that no report should be heard from the camp. "Boots and saddles" was soon sounded, and away went two companies of cavalry, some scouts following, or at least acting as flankers, I among the latter. The cavalry kept to the road while we took to the hills. In the course of time we came up to the Indians—the fog still very heavy—and were right in among them before we knew it. Then came the chase. First we ran them, and then they turned and chased us. They outnumbered us ten to one. More than once did we draw them down within a mile or two of the cavalry, when we would send one of our number back and plead with the captain to help us; but his reply was that he had orders to the contrary, and could not disobey. I did not think he acted from fear or was a coward, but I told him afterward he lost an opportunity that day to make his mark and put a feather in his cap; and I believe he thought so, too, and regretted he had not made a charge regardless of orders.

In the fall the Indians would come in, make a treaty, and draw rations, and break the treaty as soon as the grass was green in the spring. I have seen the Arkansas bottom for miles above and miles below Fort Dodge covered with Indians' tepees and ponies—thousands

of the former and many thousands of the latter—the Indians all drawing rations, and the whole country full of game, black with buffalo and large bands of antelope, with deer on the islands and in the brush, and not a few elk in the breaks and rough country. I have indeed traveled through buffaloes along the Arkansas river for 200 miles, almost one continuous herd, as close together as it is customary to herd cattle. You might go north or south as far as you pleased and there would seem no diminution of their numbers. When they were suddenly frightened and stampeded they made a roar like thunder and the ground seemed to tremble. When, after nightfall, they came to the river, particularly when it was in flood, their immense numbers, in their headlong plunge, would make you think, by the thunderous noise, that they had dashed all the water from the river. They often went without water one and two days in summer, and much longer in winter. No one had any idea of their number.

One day a Mexican Indian, or at least a Mexican who had been brought up by the Indians, came in and said his train had been attacked at the mouth of Mulberry creek, the stock run off, and every one killed but him. This was the first outbreak that spring. We afterward learned this Mexican had been taken in his youth and adopted by the Indians, and had participated in killing his brothers. In fact, he had been sent to the train to tell them that the Indians were friendly. They captured the train and murdered every one in it, without giving them the ghost of a show. The Mexican was then sent to Fort Dodge to spy and find out what was going on there, because he could speak Spanish. Major Douglas sent a detachment down, and true enough there lay the train and dead Mexicans, with the mules and harness gone. The wagons were afterward burned. The train had passed over the old Fort Bascom trail from New Mexico, a favorite route, as it was much shorter than the Santa Fe trail and avoided the mountains, but scarce of water and very dangerous. At last it became so dangerous that it had to be abandoned. The trail which came into the Arkansas four miles west of the town of Cimarron had to be abandoned for the same reason.

Many attacks were made along the route, and three trains that I know of were burned, and several had to be abandoned and stock driven into the Arkansas river on account of the scarcity of water. The route was called the "Hornado de Muerti" (the journey of

death; very significant was its name). At one time you could have followed the route, even if the wagon trail had been obliterated, by the bleaching bones. There are two places now in Grant or Stevens county, on the Dry Cimarron, known as Wagon Bed Springs and Barrel Springs. One was named because the thirsty freighters had sunk a wagon-bed in the quicksand to get water; and in the other place because they had sunk a barrel. Sixty miles above where this route came into the Arkansas, there was another called the Aubrey route, which was less dangerous because less subject to Indian attacks and water was more plentiful. Col. F. X. Aubrey, a famous freighter, established this route, and it became more famous on account of a large wager that he could make the distance on horseback from Santa Fe to Independence, Mo., in eight days. He won the wager, and had several hours to spare. Colonel Aubrey had fresh horses stationed with his trains at different places along the whole route. He afterwards made his famous trip down through the wilds of Arizona and California, accompanied by a single Indian, and came back to Santa Fe, after a six months' journey, with marvelous stories of the rich finds he had made. He had the proof with him in the shape of quartz and nuggets. When some gentleman questioned his veracity, immediately a duel was fought, in which the colonel was killed. No money, bribe, threats or coaxing could induce that Indian to go back and show where these riches lay. He said: "No, I have had enough. Nothing can tempt me again to undergo the hardships I have endured from want of food and water and the dangers I have escaped. Death at once would be preferable."

Aubrey was a French Canadian by birth, and made two trips on horseback between Santa Fe and Independence, the first in eight days, in 1850, and the second, on a wager of \$1,000, in five days, in 1852. He was killed by Maj. R. H. Weightman, once editor of the *Santa Fe Herald*. See "The Overland Stage to California" (by Frank A. Root, 1901), pages 54 and 425.

A few miles east of where the Aubrey trail comes into the Arkansas is what is known as the "Gold Banks." Old wagon bosses have told me that along in the early fifties a party of miners, returning from California richly laden, was attacked by Indians. The white men took to the bluffs and stood them off for several days and made a great fight; but after a number were killed and the others starved

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out for water, they buried their treasure, abandoned their pack animals, and got away in the night, and some of the party came back afterwards and recovered their buried riches. Another version of the story says that they were all killed before they reached the States. At any rate, long years ago there were many searches made, and great excitement was always going on over these bluffs. In 1859 I saw a lot of California miners prospecting in the bluffs and along the dry branches that put into the Arkansas; and I was told they got rich color in several places, but not enough to pay. In this vicinity, and east of the bluffs, is what is named Choteau's island, named after the great Indian trader of St. Louis, the father of all the Choteaus. Here he made one of his largest camps and took in the rich furs, not only of the plains, but of the mountains also.

In the fall of 1862 I was going back East with one of Majors Russell & Waddell's large ox trains. I think we had thirty or forty wagons, with six yoke of oxen to the wagon. Our wagons were strung five or six together and one team of six yoke cattle attached to each string. It was the latter part of November, and we were traveling along the Arkansas river bottom about ten miles west of where Great Bend is now located. It was a very hot afternoon, more like summer than winter—one of those warm spells that we frequently have in the late fall on the plains. I was driving the *cavayado* (cave-yard—that is, the loose cattle). The Mexicans always drove their *cavayado* in front of their trains, while the Americans invariably drove theirs behind. I had on a heavy linsey-woolsey coat, manufactured from the loom in Missouri, lined with yellow stuff, and the sleeves lined with red; and, as I said, it was very warm; so I pulled off my jacket, or coat, and in pulling it off turned it inside out. We had an old ox named Dan, a big, old fellow with rather large horns, and so gentle we used him as a horse in crossing streams, when the boys often mounted him and rode across. Dan was always lagging behind, and this day more than usual, on account of the heat. The idea struck me to make him carry the coat. I caught him and by dint of a little stretching placed the sleeves over his horns and let the coat flap down in front.

I hardly realized what I had done until I took a front view of him. He presented a ludicrous appearance, with his great horns covered with red and the yellow coat flapping down over his face. He

trudged along unconscious of the appearance he presented. I hurried him along by repeated punches with my *carajo* pole, for in dressing him up he had gotten behind. I could not but laugh at the ludicrous sight, but my laughter was soon turned to regret, for no sooner did old Dan make his appearance among the other cattle than a young steer bawled out in the steer language, as plain as good English, "Great Scott! what monstrosity is this coming among us to destroy us?" and, with one long, loud beseeching bawl, put all the distance possible between himself and the terror behind him. All his brothers followed his example, each one seeing how much louder he could bawl than his neighbor, and each one trying to outrun the rest. I thought to myself, "Great guns! what have I done now!" I quickly and quietly stepped up to old Dan, fearing that he too might get away, and with the evidence of my guilt, took from his horns and head what had created one of the greatest stampedes ever seen on the plains, and placed it on my back, where it belonged. In the meantime the loose cattle had caught up with the wagons, and those attached to the vehicles took fright and tried to keep up with the *cavayado*. In spite of all the drivers could do, they lost control of them, and away they went, making a thundering noise. One could see nothing but a big cloud of dust. The ground seemed to tremble.

Nothing was left but Dan and I after the dust subsided, and I poked him along with my *carajo* pole as fast as possible, for I was anxious to find out what damage was done. We traveled miles and miles, and it seemed hours and hours, at last espying the wagon boss still riding like mad. When he came up he said: "What caused the stampede of the *cavayado*?" I replied that I could not tell, unless it was a wolf that ran across the road in front of the cattle, when they took fright and away they went, all except old Dan, and I held him, thinking I would save all I could out of the wreck. There stood old Dan, a mute witness to my lies. Indeed, I thought at times he gave me a sly wink, as much as to say: "You lie out of it well, but I am ashamed of you." I thought that God was merciful in not giving this dumb animal speech, for if he had they certainly would have hung me. As it was, the wagon boss remarked: "I know it was the cussed wolves, because I saw several this afternoon, while riding in front of the train. Well," he continued, "that wolf did n't do a thing but wreck six or eight wagons in Walnut creek, and from there on for the next

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five miles, ten or twelve more; and the most of them will never see the States again, they are so completely broken up. Besides, one man's leg is broken and another's arm, and a lot of the men are bruised up. Three steers have their legs broken, and the front cattle were fifteen miles from where we are now, when I overtook them."

I have seen many stampedes since, but never anything to equal that. I have seen a great train of wagons heavily loaded, struggling along, drivers pounding and swearing to get the cattle out of a snail's pace, and one would think the train too heavily loaded, it seemed such a strain on the cattle to draw it, when a runaway horse or something out of the usual would come up suddenly behind them, and the frightened cattle in the yoke would set up a bawl and start to run, and they would pick up those heavily loaded wagons and set off with them at a pace that was astonishing, running for miles and overturning the wagons. The boss in front, where he was always supposed to be, would give the order to roughlock both wheels, which would probably be done to a few of the front wagons. Even these doubly locked wagons would be hurled along for a mile or two before the cattle's strength was exhausted, and apparently the whole earth would shake in their vicinity.

Fort Lyon, Colorado, was originally established August 29, 1860, near Bent's Fort, on the Arkansas river, and called Fort Wise. The name was changed June 25, 1862. June 9, 1867, the post was newly located at a point twenty miles distant, on the north bank of the Arkansas, two and one-half miles below the Purgatory river, in latitude $38^{\circ} 5' 36''$, longitude $26^{\circ} 30''$ west.

I came from the mountains in the spring of 1864 to Spring Bottom, on the Arkansas river. The Cheyennes, Arapahoes and Kiowas were committing many depredations along the Arkansas that summer.

Shortly after our arrival, my partner, Joe Graham, went to Fort Lyon after supplies to stand a siege, as we expected daily to be attacked, the hired man and myself remaining at the ranch to complete our fortifications. On the night of Graham's return I started for Point of Rocks, a famous place on the Arkansas, twenty miles below our ranch, to take a mule which he had borrowed to help him home with his load.

The next morning at daylight our ranch was attacked by about 300 Indians, but the boys were supplied with arms and ammunition,

and prepared to stand a siege. After they had killed one Indian and wounded a number of their ponies, the savages became more careful; they tried by every means in their power to draw the boys outside; they even rode up with a white flag and wanted to talk. Then they commenced to tell in Spanish, broken English, and signs, that they did not want to hurt the boys; they simply wanted the United States mail stock; and if it was given up they would go away. When this modest demand was refused, they renewed their attack with greater fury than ever before.

My wife and two children were with me at the ranch at the time, and, at the commencement of the fight, Mrs. Wright placed the little ones on the floor and covered them over with feather beds; then she loaded the guns as fast as the boys emptied them. She also knocked the clinking from between the logs of the building, and kept a sharp lookout on the movements of the Indians. After she detected them crawling up from the opposite side to that on which the boys were firing. Upon this information the boys would rush over to where she had seen them, and by a few well-directed shots make them more than glad to crawl back to where they had come from. This was long before the days of the modern repeating rifle, and of course they had only the old-fashioned muzzleloaders.

For about seven hours the Indians made it very warm for the boys; then they got together and held a big powwow, after which they rode off up the river. The boys watched them with a spy-glass from the top of the building until they were satisfied it was not a ruse on the part of the savages, but that they had really cleared out.

Graham then took my wife and two children, placed them in a canoe, and started down the Arkansas, which was very high at the time. The hired man saddled a colt that had never before been ridden, and left for the Point of Rocks. Strange as it may seem, this colt appeared to know what was required of him, and he ran nearly the whole distance—twenty miles—in less than an hour and a half. He was the only animal out of sixteen head that was saved from the vengeance of the Indians. He was a little beauty, and I really believe that the savages refrained from killing him because they thought they would eventually get him. He was saved in this manner: After the attack had been progressing for a long time and there came a comparative lull in the action, my wife opened the door a little to see what

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the Indians were up to, while the boys were watching at the loopholes; the colt observed Mrs. Wright, made a rush toward her, and she throwing the door wide open, the animal dashed into the room and remained there quiet as a lamb until the battle was over.

The Indians killed all our mules, horses, and hogs—we had of the latter some very fine ones—a great number of our chickens, and shot arrows into about thirty cows, several of which died. The majority of them recovered, however, although their food ran out of the holes in their sides for days and weeks until the shaft of the arrows dropped off, but, of course, the iron heads remained in their paunches; still they got well.

I had just saddled my horse, ready to start back to the ranch, when the hired man arrived, bringing the terrible news of the fight. He told me that I would find my wife and children somewhere on the river, if the savages had not captured them. "For my part," he said, "I am going back to my people in Missouri; I have had enough." He was a brave man, but a "tenderfoot," and no wonder the poor fellow had seen enough. His very soul had been severely tried that day. I at once called for volunteers, and a number of brave frontiersmen nobly responded; there were only two or three, however, who had their horses ready; but others followed immediately, until our number was swelled to about a dozen. A wagon and extra horses brought up the rear, to provide means of transportation for my wife and little ones.

When we had traveled thirteen miles, having carefully scanned every curve, bend and sand-bar in the stream, we discovered Graham, Mrs. Wright and the children about two miles ahead, Graham (God bless him!) making superhuman efforts to shove the boat along and keep it from upsetting or sinking. They saw us at the same moment, but they immediately put to cover on a big island. We shouted and waved our hats, and did everything to induce them to come to us, but in vain, for, as they told us afterward, the Indians had tried the same maneuvers a dozen times that day, and Graham was too wary to be caught with chaff. At last Mrs. Wright recognized a large, old, white hat I was wearing, and she told Graham that it was indeed her husband, Robert. When they reached the bank, we took them out of the canoe more dead than alive, for the frail, leaky craft had turned many times, but Graham and Mrs. Wright, by some means, had always righted it, and thus saved the little children.

A party went with me to our ranch the next day, and we witnessed a scene never to be forgotten; dead horses, dead hogs, dead cows and dead chickens piled one upon another in their little stockade. Two small colts were vainly tugging at their lifeless mothers' teats; a sad sight indeed, even to old plainsmen like ourselves. Both doors of the building were bored so full of bullet holes that you could hardly count them, as they lapped over each other in such profusion. Every window had at least a dozen arrows sticking around it, resembling the quills on a porcupine. The ceiling and walls inside the room were filled with arrows also. We thought we would follow up the trail of the savages, and while *en route* we discovered a government ambulance, wrecked, and its driver, who had been killed, with two soldiers and citizens, so horribly butchered and mutilated that the details are too horrible and disgusting to appear in print. They had also captured a woman and carried her off with them, but the poor creature, to put an end to her horrible suffering, hung herself to a tree on the banks of a creek northeast of where the Indians had attacked the ambulance. In consequence of her act, the savages called the place White Woman. The little stream bears that name today; but very few settlers, however, know anything of its sad origin. (It was on this creek, some years later, that the gallant Major Lewis met his death wound at the hands of the Indians, while bravely doing his duty.)

After the fight at Spring Bottom, I moved down to Fort Aubrey, where, in conjunction with Mr. James Anderson, I built a fine ranch. At that place we had numerous little skirmishes, troubles, trials, and many narrow escapes from the Indians. In 1866 I went to Fort Dodge. Now, one might be inclined to think that the kind of life I had been leading—the hard experience—that a person would be anxious to abandon it at the first favorable opportunity; but this is not so. It gives one a zest for adventure, for it is a sort of adventure that you become accustomed to; you get to like it; in fact, there is a fascination about it no one can resist. Even to a brave man—God knows I make no pretension to that honor—there is a charm to the life he cannot forego, yet I felt an irresistible power and could not permit myself to give it up.

Mr. A. J. Anthony and I bought out the Cimarron ranch, twenty-five miles west of Fort Dodge. The company of which we purchased

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were heartily tired of the place, and eager to sell, for two of their number had been brutally murdered by the Indians while attempting to put up hay. Anthony was an old "Overland stage messenger"; had seen lots of ups and downs with the Indians on the plains, and rather enjoyed them. So we got together some of the old-timers and went to making hay. Right there our troubles commenced. We both had seen a great deal of the Indians and their methods before; but we didn't realize what they could and would do when they took the notion. If we didn't see some of the savages every day it was a wonder; and once that summer they actually let us alone for four weeks. I remarked to my partner: "There is something wrong in this; they must be sick." So they were. When they came in that winter and made a treaty, they told us the cholera had broken out among them, and the reason for their remaining away for so long a time was on account of the scourge. The cholera was perfectly awful that summer on the plains; it killed soldiers, government employees, Santa Fe traders, and emigrants. Many new graves dotted the roadsides and camping places, making fresh landmarks.

I remember of two soldiers coming up with the mail escort one night who were severely reprimanded by their sergeant for getting drunk, at which they took umbrage, stole two horses, and deserted the next day. One of them returned on foot about noon, stating that the Indians had attacked them early in the morning, got their animals from the picket line, shot his partner through the right breast; that he had left him on an island twelve miles up the river. Our cook had been complaining a little that morning, and when I went to his room to see him he said that he had dinner all ready, and would like to go along with us after the wounded soldier. I told him no; to stay at home, go to bed, keep quiet, and above all else to drink very little cold well-water. The sergeant took six men and the escort wagon with him, and I followed on horseback.

When we arrived opposite the island we hailed the soldier, and he came out of the brush. He walked up and down the river bank, and made signs to us that his right arm was useless, and he seemed to be in great pain. The sergeant called for volunteers, but not a man responded. The Arkansas was swimming full and the current was very swift in one place for about 300 yards. It appeared that none of his comrades liked the fellow very well, one of them saying,

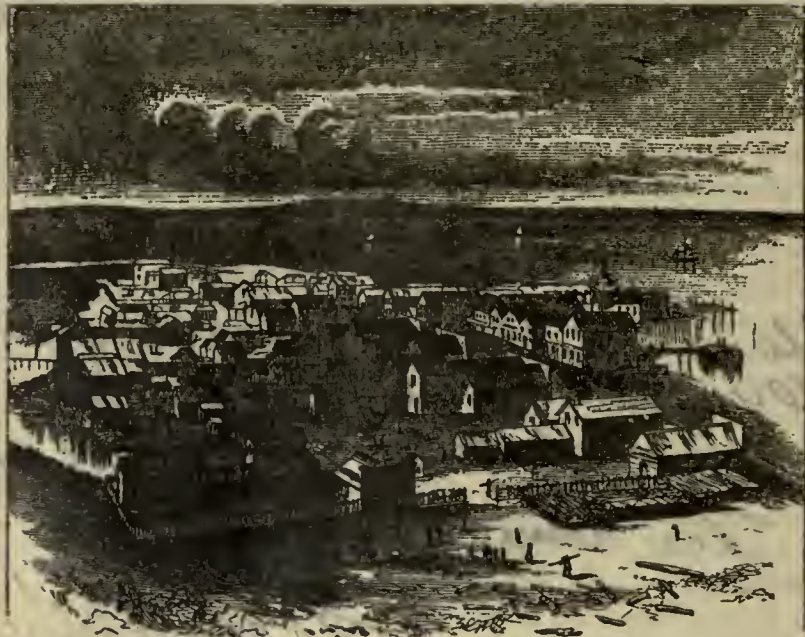
when the sergeant asked for some one to go over, "If he don't swim, or at least make an effort, he can stay, and I hope the Indians will get him." I said, "Boys, this won't do; I will get him," and after him I went. When I reached the island I sat down and reasoned with him; told him exactly what I required him to do. He seemed very grateful, and knew that I was risking my own life on him. He was a powerfully built fellow, and his wound had almost paralyzed his right side. He said: "Mr. Wright, I appreciate what you have done for me, and what you are about to undertake; now, before God, I will let go my hold if I see you cannot make it." He stayed nobly by his promise. When we had gone under water several times, and the current was bearing us down, and it appeared that every minute would be our last, he said, in the despair of death: "I am going; let me go." Treylied, "For God's sake, no; hold on." I then felt inspired. I said to myself, this man has a grand nature; I am going to save him or sink with him. Indeed, all these thoughts flashed through my mind, and, as God is my judge, I would have done it, as at that moment I had no fear of death whatever. When I reached the bank I was completely exhausted and had to be helped out of the water. I was awfully sick; it seemed that my strength had left me absolutely. It was fully an hour before I was strong enough to ride.

Strange to say, I lay side by side with this poor man in the hospital at Fort Dodge, after his rescue. He was excessively kind and attentive, and when I began to convalesce—for the same night I was stricken down with cholera—we exchanged drinks; he took my brandy, I his ale. He would insist in saying that the cause of my sickness was the terrible exertion I had made that day in his behalf; but it was not so. When I got back to the ranch, after our ride up the river, our poor cook was in a terribly bad fix. I knew that he was gone the moment I saw him, although he was still sitting up and appeared cheerful, except when the cramps would seize him. I asked him what he had been drinking. He replied that his thirst was so intolerable that he drank a whole bucketful of canned lemonade. I said to him, "My poor boy, make your peace with God; tell me the address of your parents or friends." He answered: "I have none; it makes no difference; I think I will pull through all right." In an hour he was dead. We were laying him out in the shade on the east side of the house, and I was in the act of tying up his jaws, when a breeze from

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the south seemed to enter his mouth and was wafted back into mine. I said then, "There, boys, I have tasted the cholera from this poor fellow," and at once set about making my preparations as to my business affairs and other matters. Before two o'clock in the morning I was down with the dreadful disease. Barlow, Sanderson & Co., the proprietors of the "Overland Stage," to whom I had shown many favors, the moment they heard of my illness, sent an ambulance and escort of soldiers, and I was conveyed to the hospital at Fort Dodge. There, under the kind and careful treatment of Doctors De Graw and Wilson, I recovered.

We'll tread the prairies as of old
Our fathers sailed the sea
To make the West as they the East
The homestead of the free!
John G. Whittier



PORT TOWNSEND, ON PUGET SOUND IN THE STATE OF WASHINGTON,
IN THE YEAR 1870

Foreign Relations of the United States as Shown by American Treaties

BY

J. STEPHEN BLOORE



IN "Leading American Treaties" C. E. Hill has given a survey of the important aspects of the foreign relations of the United States. In view of recent "treaty fights" it is interesting to note the fates meted out by different Senates to former treaties which have been negotiated by far-seeing and liberal-minded statesmen, especially where there has been no precedent for the provisions of the compact. Probably no country of the world has had its proposed relations with foreign nations so mercilessly examined and exposed to the light of publicity.

One of the chief accusations against Woodrow Wilson was that of undue assumption of power, and perhaps this charge was first made, in the history of the United States, against Thomas Jefferson, when he authorized the Purchase of Louisiana. The following statement is made by the author: "The treaty aroused in the minds of statesmen at Washington an embarrassing number of Constitutional questions. The chief cause of complaint by the Federalists seems to have been that Jefferson assumed more executive power than Washington or Adams had dreamed of doing; and that the Louisiana Purchase furnished the most alarming example."

Even Jefferson, a strict constructionist of the Constitution, realized the difficulties which such an acquisition would raise as to the prerogatives of the executive. Two solutions of the problem were submitted, one by Attorney-General Lincoln and one by Gallatin. The former advised that the treaty should be made to provide for an adjustment of the boundary with France. The opinion of Gallatin is

best given in his own words as quoted by the author: "To me it would appear, (1) that the United States as a nation have an inherent right to acquire territory; (2) that whenever that acquisition is by treaty, the same constituted authorities in whom the treaty making power is vested have a constitutional right to sanction the acquisition."

Jefferson was willing to accept neither of these views, and wished to have an amendment to the Constitution adopted expressly providing for such contingencies. He found no support for this idea, however, and finally left it to the "wisdom of the Congress" to accept or to reject what he had done. That the action of Congress in approving that treaty, and the bill which carried it into effect, was indeed a wise one, is attested by the enormous resources and tremendous development of the West and the part which it has played in building the nation.

Another acquisition of territory of which this book treats and which, while ridiculed at the time of purchase, has since entirely justified the hopes of those who engineered the deal and now bids fair to exceed all preconceived ideas of its value, was the buying of Alaska, in 1867, for \$7,200,000. The treaty making this cession was formulated during the night, signed at four a. m., and sent to the Senate at noon. Probably there are few instances of such hasty action in drawing up a treaty of any character.

There was little opposition to ratification, despite the fact that many considered it "a bad bargain palmed off on a silly administration by the shrewd Russians." Popular opinion held that "the ground was frozen six feet deep; no useful animals could live there." However, Charles Sumner studied the resources of Alaska and, thus equipped to champion the treaty, led the fight for ratification vigorously and successfully.

More important than the mere addition of territory to the country was the fact that the purchase opened the way for two very important arbitrations between the United States and Great Britain. The first settled questions arising from the seal fisheries, and determined that "the United States has not any right of property or protection in the fur seals frequenting the islands of the United States in the Bering Sea, when such seals are found outside the usual three mile limit." The second case concerned the boundary of Alaska and Canada, and was decided in favor of the United States. When the seriousness of

the questions involved is considered, these examples become significant, especially in a day when a large section of world-opinion is demanding more arbitration and a slower resort to arms in the settlement of controversies. They are characteristic of the relations between the two countries.

The book is particularly timely in the presentation of the circumstances surrounding the adoption of the Monroe Doctrine. The reasons for this expression of policy is clearly shown by the following words of the author: "Adams feared an invasion of Cuba by France. And he commented on the refusal of Great Britain to join the Holy Alliance as foreboding an alliance between Great Britain and Spain against France. 'As the price of her alliance, the two remaining islands of Spain in the West Indies present objects no longer of much possible value or benefit to Spain but of such importance to Great Britain that it is impossible to suppose her indifferent to them.' . . .

"It was this international situation with respect to Cuba, as it appeared to American statesmen, that inspired the Monroe Doctrine, as announced in the message of December 2, 1823. . . .

"The Vital interests of the United States in Cuba inspired the Monroe Doctrine. . . .

"True Russia came in for her share of suspicion. . . . Adams feared that Russia planned the extension of her jurisdiction indefinitely southward from Alaska and that, under the circumstances, Spain could not and would not resist."

It is clear then from these extracts that this general declaration of policy was prompted by certain very definite international situations. It would be interesting conjecture to imagine the result if Cuba had had a geographical location such that its interests were not so intimately bound up with those of the United States. Perhaps there would have been no Monroe Doctrine and the opponents of the League of Nations would have lost one of their most popular arguments against the entrance of the United States into that League. The question arises whether the men who formulated that Doctrine intended it as a guide for all future world-relations, or whether they expected that national growth might some day make a broader policy more expedient.

Since the utterance of that famous Doctrine, this country has had strong interests in Cuba. From the time that our opposition to its

transfer by Spain was announced by Adams, the United States has had to deal with the incompetence of Spain, on the one hand, and with the complicated domestic relations of the island on the other. The first necessitated a war, which was closed by the Treaty of Paris in 1898. This put an end to the troubles with Spain. The Platt Amendment was an attempt to perpetuate the effect of the Monroe Doctrine in Cuba after her independence had been established, and to settle internal difficulties. It provided, among other things, for intervention by this country to settle domestic disputes, when that is necessary to safeguard life and property, and since its adoption the United States has several times taken over the entire administration of the island under the authority thus granted.

The author gives a very full account of the opening of Japan to foreign commerce by Perry. Included in it are enlightening comments on the character of Perry and his special fitness for his mission. The reception which was given to the American ships is given in detail, and it illustrates the Japanese character and love of form and ceremony. Perhaps one reason why the American expedition was successful, when so many others failed, was because Perry and his men approached the Japanese in their own way. They did not attempt to force American ideas and customs upon them, and therefore their achievement stands as a diplomatic triumph for the men who directed it. The spirit in which it was undertaken is best shown by the instructions given to Perry and quoted by the author.

The instructions stated that "In his intercourse with these people, who are said to be proud and vindictive in their character, he should be courteous and conciliatory, but at the same time, firm and decided. He will therefore, submit with patience and forbearance to acts of discourtesy to which he may be subjected by a people to whose usages it will not do to test by our standard of propriety, but, at the same time will be careful to do nothing to compromise in their eyes his own dignity or that of the country. He will, on the contrary, do everything to impress them with a just sense of the power and greatness of this country, and do satisfy them that its past forbearance has been the result, not of timidity, but of a desire to be on friendly terms with them."

Perry's actions were always in accordance with these instructions and the success of the expedition showed the wisdom of this

FOREIGN RELATIONS AS SHOWN BY AMERICAN TREATIES

generous course. It is a curious circumstance that the nation which was instrumental in opening up Japan to foreign trade, and to the expansion consequent upon that trade, should be the one that now finds it necessary to make laws restricting that expansion, in so far as it tends to be made in their direction.

The treaties and international situations which have been mentioned are merely a few chosen from among the many of which the author treats in this most interesting book. Not only are the terms of the various agreements given but also the historical background, and the circumstances which prompted the acceptance or rejection of various provisions. As reference to these very incidents are continually being made in these days of readjustment, not only the student of history but any who wish to be well informed will find this book full of interesting and informative reading.



THE BEVERLY ROBINSON HOUSE, NEAR WEST POINT, ON THE HUDSON, THE MILITARY HEADQUARTERS OF BENEDICT ARNOLD WHEN HE PLOTTED HIS TREASON WITH GENERAL CLINTON AND MAJOR ANDRE



JOHN HAWKINS, ONE OF THE DESTROYERS OF THE SPANISH ARMADA
AND A BOLD EXPLORER OF THE PACIFIC COAST OF NORTH AMERICA.

The Migrations of the Potawatami

BY

KENNETH S. MITCHELL



ONE day as I was on a train passing a point about five miles southwest of Plymouth, Indiana, I saw not more than one hundred feet from the car window a lone statue of an Indian. My inquiring mind wondered as to what the statue represented and why it was there in the open country, but upon second thought I guessed that perhaps it might be a statue of a Potawatami Indian chief. By that time the train had sped on (put a question mark after "sped," for it was a branch line of the Vandalia), and all I could do was to resolve to return there some day and investigate more fully, which thing I later did.

It was noon, and the middle of September, when I arrived again at Plymouth and began my walk out upon this one-time Indian country toward the one spot upon which my interest was riveted—the monument.

I set out upon a slanting path up the face of a sloping headland which follows near the accompanying stream of water. It was a cow-path and not so deep as the Indian trail which once traversed that strip of woods, but I felt pleased to walk therein and watch the sparkling water wash the granite rocks so clean in the stream below.

I was sure this had once been primeval forest threaded thick with paths made by the tender feet of the timid deer; but now the sun with his celestial splendor penetrated through to the ground for wide areas, and the silvery cobwebs floated in the open between the scattered trees. This was the same sun these venerable Indians had worshiped before they learned from the white man about the good and beneficent *Kitchemonedo* (The Great Spirit,) and wicked *Matchemonedo* (The Evil Spirit). Everything combined to make the view particularly captivating, and I was thrilled to look out upon the meadow growth,

the wilderness of deep grasses, and wild berry-bushes nestled among the woodlands. The tickle-grass with its fluffy, russet coat waved so feathery before me that I just wanted to lie down in it, but I remembered the monument and kept sauntering on.

I saw no Indians, but my imagination helped me to see their color in every iron-weed, and the form of one in every decaying log or post. I became "argus-eyed" and I wished for Gyges' ring, which would make me invisible. I wondered where they all could be, for I saw a *tepee* in every shock of corn and the Indian villages of fodder were thick and well arranged; their inhabitants could not be far, and yet they were not near. The cattle I saw were not buffalo, but appeared so across the landscape of this erstwhile Indian land. I heard the bark of the dogs (of which the Potawatami had many). An occasional group of discarded railroad ties over along the railroad loomed up and appeared as though a log cabin or block-house had been destroyed by the fury of the redmen. But as long as they would let me pass unmolested, I resolved I would proceed whither I had started—the spot where the Indian is carved and enthroned in white granite.

I found the small but stately monument near an Indian's paradise. "Twin Lakes," the people call the place. There are actually six of them, no one of which has an inlet, but all are fed by springs. Their present names bear no semblance to the names the Indians had called them, but rather they possess such names as Lawrence Lake, Myer's Lake, Cook's Lake, Hollem Lake, Kreifbaum Lake, and Mill Pond. Yet they *are* the same lakes in which the Potawatami so delightfully fished in years gone by.

As I stood on the ridge between the two principal lakes and gazed on the shimmering afternoon water, I still wondered where the Indians were and if they were provided with such beautiful lakes where they now are. I knew the fishing was still good for I saw inexperienced palefaces out in their rowboats catching fish. I knew the wild geese and ducks would soon be there on their southward journey for a few were there already. The fish and wild geese were there; where were the Indians?

My trip to the graven image on the hill added information to my inquiring mind. I thought "Eureka!" for I had found the nest of in-

MIGRATIONS OF THE POTAWATAMI

formation which I sought. I had arrived for the purpose of looking; I lingered to marvel and reflect. The monument is situated in a triangular tract of land, made so by the railroad intersecting the public highway at that place. This tract of about an acre contains only the statue with eight cement posts and a chain surrounding it, a brushpile, some young trees, and some grass, visibly. Underneath that grass are the dead and decayed (I almost wrote forgotten) bodies of Indians, some of the remains of which were dug up when the railroad was put through. The plot of ground is fenced on the side next to the highway with 65 concrete posts and a continuous iron chain, which attracts the attention of passers-by.

If they will stop and go over to the modest, but beautiful piece of statuary, they can read on the glazed face (the south face) this grewsome bit of history:

"In Memory of Chief Menominee
And His Band of 859 Potawatami Indians
Removed From This Reservation
Sept — 4 — 1838 By A Company of Soldiers
Under Command of General John Tipton
Authorized By Governor David Wallace."

Just below the above inscription the interested traveler can read that the monument was erected in 1909—71 years after the last Indians were removed from that section. The Governor of Indiana at that time was J. Frank Hanly, and the author of the law providing \$2500 for the memorial was state Representative Daniel McDonald of Plymouth, (himself having a small heritage of Indian blood). It is stated further that the trustees for purchasing and erecting this monument were: Col. A. F. Fleet, Culver; Col. William Hoynes, Notre Dame; and Charles T. Mattingly, Plymouth. They received the land as a donation from John A. McFarlan. The final piece of information engraved upon that substantial block of stone is the name of the contractors—B. C. Southworth & Son, of Plymouth. The visitor perhaps may notice that the monument at its base is seven feet square, and from the ground to the top of the standing, life-size statue of the lone Indian which caps the monument it is 18 feet.

Then with sober thoughts and uneasy blood the paleface turns away to proceed on his course. As he turns to go, he views again the

beautiful stretches of landscape dotted with the lonely fodder wigwams which contrast with the modern, painted structures, then perhaps he grumblingly remarks to himself, or to those accompanying him, that the monument is indeed *insignificant*, and that it is too bad the Indians have been driven from pillar to post until they are on the brink of the Pacific ready to jump in. He feels too a sense of shame and humiliation that the Indian has been treated perhaps unfairly.

Yet, his sorrow does not match that of the Potawatami, who surrounded by soldiers armed with muskets, the sharp crack of which always shot grief into the Indian heart, turned his back on this lovely portion of God's earth and started off on that other September day to Kansas, so distant that many of them died before the strenuous march was completed. The bodies of those who died on this trip were disposed of by one of the three Potawatami methods: (1) Inhumation, (2) Scaffold of tree exposure, (3) Cremation.

As the traveler passes from the monument, he falls to wondering perhaps about the history of the Potawatami tribe, and it is for his information that we review their history here. The Constitution of the United States contains this clause, "Congress shall have power to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes." The Indians existed as *sovereign* peoples before our Constitution, and the Potawatami did as a tribe, as evidenced by the 37 treaties with the United States in which they later took part, so we shall have to go back previous to that to trace them.

The Potawatami Indians are of Algonquian stock. The Chipewewa, Ottawa, and Potawatami were originally one people according to traditions current among all three tribes. The name, "Potawatami" means, "People of the place of the fire." They probably acquired that name while they were in the prairies, where an accidental fire, or one started to scare up the game, may be fed by the tall autumn grasses, and become a great conflagration swelling into a burning ocean and sweeping on with the speed of a wild horse, leave nothing behind but the smoking plains under a robe of solid black.

Prior to 1670 the history of the Potawatami is entirely conjectural, but the most likely presumption is that they crossed the Mackinaw straits into the northern peninsula of Michigan and gradually moved westward, where they encountered the fierce Sioux warriors and were driven into the Green Bay district.

MIGRATIONS OF THE POTAWATAMI

In 1670 the Potawatami were located on the islands of Green Bay, around the Jesuit mission of St. Francois Xavier, and along the south shore of the bay, and back along the Fox river in Wisconsin. Along the north shore of the bay was the Sauk tribe, while the Winnebago who were not fishermen went into the forests to live on venison and bear meat.

The Potawatami gradually but steadily migrated southward around the edge of lake Michigan. They did not migrate rapidly, for Indians are not a nomadic people unless molested. But by 1700 the Potawatami were on the Milwaukee river; at the present site of Chicago; over in the beautiful St. Joseph valley; and even into land belonging to the Miami tribe, on the south. We have knowledge of their conquest of the Illinois tribe about 1765 when they gained valuable prairie lands in northern Illinois. They also spread eastward into southern Michigan, and southward and eastward toward the Wabash river.

The Potawatami are spoken of by contemporary whites as inveterate horse-thieves and cruel and relentless savages. There is no doubt but that they were addicted to polygamy. The warriors are described as short and heavy-set, while the women of the Potawatami tribe are described as inclined to be corpulent and greasy.

Their cruelty as exhibited at the massacre at Ft. Dearborn, where Chicago now stands, on August 15th, 1812 is thus described by Copley: "They brained innocent children, clinging to their mother's knees, and then struck down the mothers, and with hands reeking with blood, tore their scalps from their heads even before death had put an end to their sufferings." One little wonders that when General Harrison crossed the Wabash at Montezuma enroute to meet Tecumseh, he gave orders to the advance guard to shoot every Indian at sight, and the rough frontiersman, John Tipton, entered in his diary, "Fine News."

Yet, one cannot refrain from recalling that the worst depredations done by the Indians were done after they became acquainted with the white vendors of rum, brandy, and whisky. This was partly the reason for their brutal savagery at Ft. Dearborn, the liquor being supplied in that case by the British.

Originally, the Potawatami were very polite and obliging to strangers. They were very docile with the French and were kindly

disposed to the Christianity which the French brought them. Later they intermarried much with the French as shown by such French names as Nedeaux, and Cicott being in the list of Indian signers to treaties. They liked the French and fought with them against the British and the Iroquois up until 1763. Pontiac, an Ottawa chief, seiged Ft. Pitt (now Pittsburg) from May 9th to October 30th, 1763. The Potawatami Indians helped him begin this seige, but withdrew in June and made peace with the British October 12th.

From 1775 to 1795 the Potawatami fought with the British against the United States, and again took sides with the British in 1812 to 1815, when the terrible massacre at Ft. Dearborn, referred to above, took place.

In August, 1795, when General Wayne met the various Indian tribes at Greenville, Ohio, to enter into an important treaty, the Potawatami served notice on the Miami that they were going to occupy part of their lands, and later did so, despite the protests made by the Miami. The Miami characterized them as squatters, "never having had any lands of their own, and being mere intruders upon the prior estates of others." It is accurate history that the Potawatami, as much as any Indian people lived much as separate, roving bands, which separated "according to the abundance or scarcity of game, or the emergencies of war."

By the year 1800, the land of the Potawatami began at the Milwaukee river in Wisconsin, extended around lake Michigan as far as Grand river, (90 miles north of the present southern boundary of Michigan), and on across southern Michigan to lake Erie, and where Detroit now stands. It included much of northern Illinois, and in Indiana down along the Wabash river as far as Pine Creek, where Attica is now situated, bordering on the Kickapoos of the Vermilion river.

There were fifty villages in this territory, and the tribe was subdivided into five bands: (1) St. Joseph River, (2) Wabash River,, (3) Huron River, (4) Michigan, (5) Prairie Band of Potawatami in Illinois and Wisconsin.

This was the greatest and most illustrious period in the history of the Potawatami. This was about the time our great Lincoln was born, and about the time this central region began to be transformed into states; Illinois became a state in 1818, and Indiana in 1816 with

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only 15 counties, all of which were at the southern extremity of the present state. In 1816, the land where Indiana's present capitol building stands belonged unquestionably to the Indians.

But with surprising quickness the white settlements pressed upon the Indians and the encroachments continued until the sight of a white man caused the flesh of the face of an Indian to twitch with emotion—sometimes fear, and sometimes savage anger. The remarkable effort of the Shawnee chief, Tecumseh, and his brother, The Prophet, to organize the Indian tribes into a confederacy proved to be like the apples of Sodom (beautiful fruit, but within full of ashes) and terminated in definite defeat at Tippecanoe in 1811. After that the force of the Indians was broken, and they disposed of their lands piecemeal to the whites. The climax of their savage career had come, and they were now hated and miserable outcasts in their own land. Their zenith had passed, and they were fast receding into "oblivion and forgetfulness."

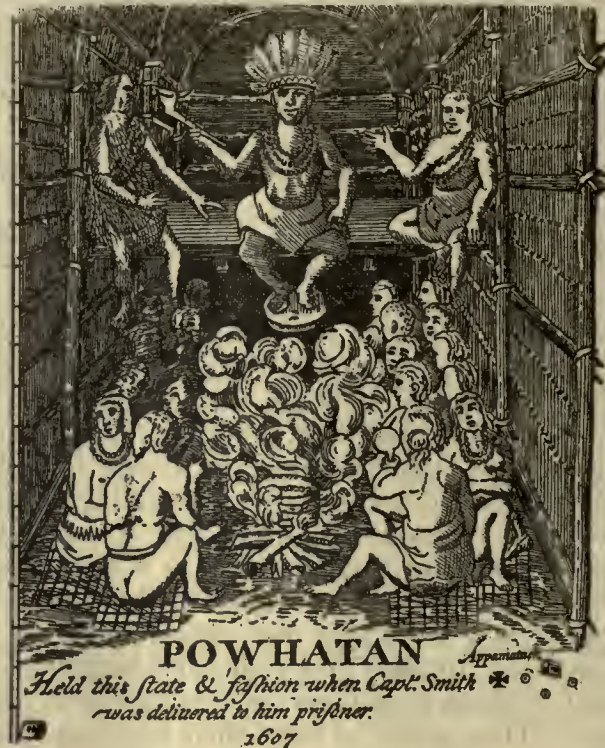
The treaty whereby the Potawatami gave up their last lands in Illinois and Indiana was made in 1836. (Today less than 500 of any tribe live in those two states combined). Some of them left soon and with many individuals of other tribes settled in what is now western Iowa, where they became known as the "Prairie Potawatami," and where a county was later named for them. A few departed at once into Canada where today about 200 of them reside on Walpole Island in Lake St. Claire in Ontario. Those who remained until rounded up by Col. Abel C. Pepper, and Gen. John Tipton, a hero of Tippecanoe and later Indian Commissioner, were driven from the location of the monument mentioned, south and west, passing Otterbein, eight or nine miles west of Lafayette, Indiana, and on into the unknown and unkind west, where they finally settled in what is now northern Kansas and became known as "Potawatami of the Woods," causing a county near Topeka to later receive their name.

That was in 1838. In 1846 (the year Iowa became a state) those in Iowa and most of those in Kansas were united on a reservation in southern Kansas. They asked to have their kinsmen, the Chippewa and Ottawa tribes, brought there too, but it was not done.

In 1861 (the year Kansas became a state) these Potawatami took lands in severalty and became "Citizen Potawatami," but the majority were dissatisfied, and in 1868, subsequent to the treaty made at Wash-

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ington, February 27, 1867, most of them were removed to a tract of land in Indian Territory, now central Oklahoma, where about 900 now are and where another spacious county bears their name. Some 800 are yet in the state of Kansas. About 250 of the Prairie Band are yet in their ancient country in northern Wisconsin, and about 450 of the Potawatami of Huron are in lower Michigan, nearly 100 being near Battle Creek. These four groups of semi-citizens together with the group of 200 individuals in Canada constitute the scattered remnants of the Potawatami people, as they exist today.



POWHATAN AND THE INDIANS OF VIRGINIA, AS PORTRAYED IN CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH'S "TRUE TRAVELS," 1629

The English Manors in New York

BY

JOEL N. ENO, A. M.



THE English manors in New York were granted under the Act known as "12 Charles II., cap. 24," passed in 1660, under the title, "An Act taking away the Court of Wards and Liveries and Tenures in capite by knight service and purveyance, and for settling a revenue upon his Majesty in lieu thereof" . . . "And all tenures of any honours, manors, lands, tenements, or hereditaments, of any person or persons, bodies politic or corporate, are hereby enacted to be turned into free and common soccage. . . any law, custom or usage to the contrary hereof in any way notwithstanding." The fourth section of the Act provides "That all tenures hereafter to be created by the King's Majesty, his heirs or successors, upon any gifts or grants of any manors, lands, tenements, or hereditaments, of any estate of inheritance at the common law, shall be in free and common soccage only, and not by knight service or in capite." So no feudal rights or privileges were granted in New York, by the patent which Charles II gave, March 12, 1664, to the Duke of York,—the king himself having no power to grant such to any one. This act in effect abolished the Norman feudal tenure by service, in consideration of a payment of revenue taxes, substituted therefor. Says Robert L. Fowler, "Real Property Law of the State of New York," 3d edition, 1909, page 46: "The confirmation of the abolition of the burdens of feudal tenures, by the statute 12 Charles II. chapter 24, which turned all lay tenures into tenures by free and common soccage, marks the formal ending of the feudal system in England. The project was consummated under the Commonwealth, and only confirmed by the Act . . . The War of Independence made but slight changes in the law of real property in New York." (p. 49). The word "lay" is used for

1. American Students' Blackstone, p. 281.

distinction from church and glebe lands. United States Attorney-General Sullivan says that this Act "did more in turning the mind of England to freedom than did Magna Charta."

The first Constitution of New York expressly continues the law theretofore in force and not repugnant to a republican form of government; the State being substituted for the Crown. Lands patented under the Great Seal of the State were, however, made allodial; and, by the Revised Statutes (1824-1830), all lands were made allodial. Blackstone points out that no new manors in feudal tenure, have been or could be created in England since the Statute "*Quia Emptores*," 18 Edward I., or 1290 A. D., because it is essential to a manor that there be tenants who hold of a lord (paramount) (or "*in capite*"), and there has been no tenant *in capite* since the accession of Edward I.; and no tenant of a common lord, since the statute, could create any new tenants to hold of himself. The Duke of York, being a subject, was, by the Statute, *Quit Emptores*, precluded from creating any new manors whereby tenure of the manor would be created; hence his manor-grant of Fordham, 1671, while he was only a proprietary, has been called illegal; but this principle does not retroact on the Dutch patroonships. The manors of New York are "modern freehold manors," not the old feudal or common law manors. The reason for founding them in New York, as in England and Ireland, was the desire to create proper and cheap jurisdiction and courts, in territories remote from the seat of government. (Fowler, p. 58.) "The common law of England was substituted, except in a few instances, for the ancient Dutch law in New York by the articles of surrender, 1664; but those who held under Dutch ground-briefs and transports were protected in their estates; these briefs and transports being later confirmed and repatented."

The tenure by which the Duke of York himself held, as proprietor of New York, was already a long-established one, stated in a conventionalized formula in the charters of Virginia of 1606, 1609, and 1612; the New England charter of 1620; the Massachusetts Bay charter of 1629; the charter of Gorges for Maine, 1639; the charters of the Carolinas, 1663 and 1665; of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, 1663; the charter of New York and New Jersey to the

I. T. R. Brodhead, History of N. Y. v. 2, Appendix.



PETRUS STUYVESANT, GOVERNOR-GENERAL, TEARING UP IN RAGE THE LETTER
IN WHICH THE ENGLISH DEMANDED THE SURRENDER OF NEW NETHERLAND
IN 1664

Duke of York, 1664 and 1674; in almost identical words in all; so that all may be represented by this patent to the Duke of York, granted by Charles II. March 12, 1664: "To be holden of us our Heirs and Successors, as of our Mannor of East Greenwich in our County of Kent, in free and Comon Soccage and not in capite, nor by Knight Service, yielding" [then follows the nominal consideration which is acknowledgement of the overlordship of the grantor, which in this case is] "and rendering. . . . of and for the same, yearly and every year, forty beaver skins when they shall be demanded, or within Ninety Days after." It is the same tenure and formula which is transferred, and by which the manorial and other lands under the English system were held as, for example, in the Patent of Southampton, L. I., 1676 and 1686: "To bee holden of his Majesty his heirs and successors in free and common soccage according to the Mannor of East Greenwich Yielding rendering and paying therefor yearly and every year the sum of one lamb or value thereof upon the five and twentieth Day of March at New York;" upon which condition the king makes a grant "of all the privileges and immunities belonging to a town within this government." This tenure was not feudal, but allodial, like that of the Dutch patroons preceding, and like the Anglo-Saxon; of which Blackstone says, "Manors are in substance as ancient as the Saxon Constitution"; though the name does not occur; for "book-land, or charter land, which was held by deed, under certain rents and free services, in effect differed nothing from free-soccage lands"; which are held by a fixed rent, are devisable by will, divisible among children, and can be sold. The Duke's proprietary rights merged in the rights of the Crown, February 6, 1685, when he became King James II., and New York became a royal province. It was required of those who held patents (briefs or transports) from the Dutch, that they obtain a renewal from the English Governor, paying two shillings sixpence per hundred acres. In this year, 1685, the Rensselaer patroonship was changed to a manor, though the lords of the manor never seem to have exercised the right to hold the court leet and court baron granted. In the grant of each of the manors, the yearly token of acknowledgment was specified, though the values varied.

THE ENGLISH MANORS IN NEW YORK

FORDHAM MANOR

The earliest (and one of the smallest) of the English manor-grants was Fordham, erected into a manor in November, 1671, by the Duke of York, and granted "To John Archer, his heirs and assigns, forever, fully . . . as if he held the same immediately from his Majesty"; the tenure being "as of the manor of East Greenwich in the County of Kent, in free and common soccage and by fealty only yielding rendering and paying yearly and every year unto his royal highness the Duke of York, and his successors, or to the Governor, as all acknowledgement and quit-rent, twenty bushels of good peas, upon the first day of March."

LIVINGSTON MANOR

The next manor-grant² in point of time was Livingston Manor, granted by James II through Governor Dongan, July 22, 1686; a combination of two tracts just below Rensselaerwyck, bought by Robert Livingston from the Indians: the first purchase, July 12, 1683 extending from Roeloff Jansen's Kill down to a point opposite to Saugerties Kill; other lands extended to the bounds of Massachusetts and Connecticut. For the first tract he paid 300 guilders in sewant; the fishing and hunting rights being reserved to the Indians; who acknowledged the payment July 18, 1683, and Governor Dongan granted the patent to it November 4, 1684. The eastern or Taghkanic tract he bought from the Indians, their deed being dated August 10, and the patent August 27, 1685; and the manorial grant of the combined tracts July 22, 1686; each tract, however, at its own quit-rent; "unto said Robert Livingston . . . his Heires and Assignes forever to be holden of his said Majestye in free and Common Soccage According to the Tenure of East Greenwich in the County of Kent in his Majestys Kingdome of England Rendering and paying as a Quitt Rent for the same twenty shillings (for the Taghkanic purchase, eight shillings) Current Money of the Province yearly and every year at Albany on the five and twentieth day of March . . . I have and by these presents Doe erect and make the said tracts . . . into one Lordship and Mannor of Livingston; and I the said Thomas Dongan have also given unto the said Robert Livingston . . . full power and authority

2. Documentary History of N. Y. v. 3.

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at all times and forever hereafter in said Lordship and Manor one Court Leet and one Court Baron to hold and keep at such time and times and so often yearly as he or they shall see meet . . . and to distrain for the rents, services, and other sums of money payable by virtue of the premises, and means for possessing all waifs, estrays, wrecks, deodands . . . together with Advowson and right of patronage to all and every the church and churches erected or established" . . . Doc. Hist. of New York, v. 3, pages 622-627 of the octavo edition. On page 629 it is stated, in 1702, "Mr. Livingston has on his manor of 16 miles long and 24 broad but 4 or 5 cottages; men that live in vasalage under him, and are too poor to be farmers, having not wherewithal to buy cattle to stock a farm." Of this estate, Livingston sold to Governor Hunter, in 1710, for the use of the Palatine immigrants, 6,000 acres.

PELHAM MANOR

Pelham manor-grant by the King, James II. October, 1687, to John Pell, heir of Thomas, included the privilege of "one Court Leet and one Court Baron . . . with Advowson and right of patronage"; the lands to be holden in free and common soccage, according to the tenure of East Greenwich . . . yielding rendering and paying therefor yearly and every year forever to his Majesty . . . or officers, twenty shillings good and lawful money of the province on the five and twentieth day of the month of March, in lieu and stead of all rants, services and demands whatever." Thomas Pell had bought from the Indians in 1654, a tract for a manor, 9,166 acres; he granted to Fairfield, Connecticut settlers, June 24, 1664, East Chester, chartered March 13, 1666; the rest of his tract was confirmed to him by royal patent October 6, 1666; now Pelham, New Rochelle, and part of Westchester. In absence of evidence, it seems much more natural that he formed the name of the manor on his own name, for Pell-ham, than that he borrowed it bodily from Pelham manor in Herefordshire, as claimed.

PHILIPSBOROUGH MANOR

Philipsborough manor-grant,² June 1693, by William and Mary, with privilege of one court leet and one court baron, advowson and

1. The capital fire, 1911, burned the patents at Albany. Copies of grants of Cortlandt, Scarsdale, Fordham, Pelham, Morrisania and Philipsborough in Scharf's History of Westchester Co., V. I. See also Bolton's History, Westchester Co.



THE PHILIPSE MANOR HOUSE, STILL STANDING IN
YONKERS, JUST NORTH OF NEW YORK CITY.



VAN CORTLANDT MANSION AT KINGSBRIDGE, STILL
STANDING IN VAN CORTLANDT PARK, NEW YORK CITY.
ON THE JACOBUS VAN CORTLANDT ESTATE, "THE LITTLE
OR LOWER YONKERS," SOMETIMES CALLED "THE LOWER
CORTLANDT MANOR."



Lewis Morris

CHIEF-JUSTICE LEWIS MORRIS OF NEW YORK, LORD OF THE MANOR OF MORRISANIA, WHOSE SUPPORT OF RIP VAN DAM AGAINST GOVERNOR COSBY OF NEW YORK IN 1732-3, AND OF PETER ZENOER TO MAINTAIN THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS IN NEW YORK IN 1735, "WAS THE OERM OF AMERICAN FREEDOM—THE MORNINO STAR OF THAT LIBERTY WHICH SUBSEQUENTLY REVOLUTIONIZED AMERICA."



RACINO TROPHY WON ON OCTOBER 11, 1751, BY LEWIS MORRIS, JR., OF MORRISANIA MANOR, WHO WAS AFTERWARDS A SIONER OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, WITH A HORSE CALLED "OLD TENOR," RUNNINO ON A COURSE IN NEW YORK CITY ON "THE CHURCH FARM," PROBABLY TRINITY CHURCH PROPERTY NOW IN THE LOWER PART OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

THE ENGLISH MANORS IN NEW YORK

right of church patronage "to Frederick Philips, his heirs and assignees forever, reserving unto us free egress of all our and their forces, horse and foot, that shall from time to time pass said bridge (Kingsbridge) . . . to be holden of us in free and common soccage, according to the tenure of East Greenwich . . . yealding rendering and paying therefor yearly and every year, on the feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, at our fort of New York, unto us our heirs and successors the annual rent of £4 12s. current money of said province in lieu and stead of all former rents, services, dues, duties, and demands." Frederick Philips, proprietor at the time of the Revolution, being a Tory, his great estate after the war was confiscated, parcelled out, and sold.

MORRISANIA MANOR

Morrisania manor-grant¹ to Lewis Morris, May, 1697, by William III. "to be holden in free and common soccage according to the tenure of our manor of East Greenwich" . . . and authority "one court leet and one court baron to hold . . . and all waifs, estrages . . . together with the advowson and right of patronage and all and every church and churches erected or established" . . . yielding rendering and paying therefor yearly and every year on the feast day of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin, unto us our heirs and successors at our city of New York, the annual rent of six shillings, in lieu and stead of all former rents, dues, services and demands whatsoever."

CORTLANDT MANOR

Cortlandt manor-grant², June 17, 1687, by William III.; the north part of Westchester county, from the Hudson to the first boundary line between New York and Connecticut, 20 miles by 10; bought from the Indians by Stephen Van Cortlandt, 1683, except part acquired by him from others who had so bought; granted authority "to Stephen Van Cortlandt his heirs and assigns in said lordship and manor, one Court Leet and one Court Baron to hold at such time and times, and so often yearly . . . as he or they shall see meet . . . and to distrain for the rents, services, and other sums of money payable by virtue of the premises, and means for possessing all waifs, estrays, wrecks, deodands . . . and fines, together with Advowson and right of patronage

1. De Lancy, origin and history of the Manors of Westchester Co. in Scharf.

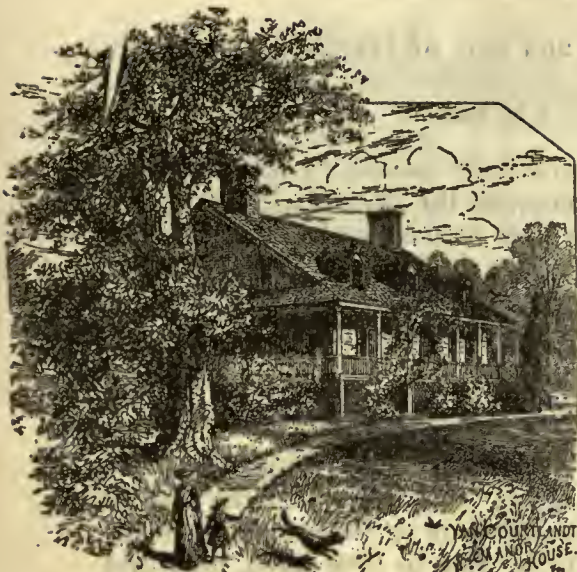
2. De Lancy on Scharf's History of Westchester Co., V. 1, p. 116.

to all and every church erected in said manor, and Wee do . . . appoint . . . Stephen Van Cortlandt to be our sole and only Ranger . . . and after the expiration of twenty years next ensuing . . . grant (that he) shall and may return and send a Discreet inhabitant in and of said manor to be a representative of said manor in every Assembly . . . To have and to hold possess and enjoy all and singular the said lordship and manor of Cortlandt and premises . . . as free and common soccage as of our mannor of East Greenwich . . . yielding rendering and paying therefor yearly and every year forever unto us our heirs and successors, at the city of New York on the feast day of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary the yearly rent of forty shillings current money of our said province, in lieu and stead of all other rents, services, dues, dutys and demands whatever."

Cortlandt manor contained 86,213 acres east of the Hudson, and 1,500 west of the Hudson. The privilege of ranger, to regulate hunting and fishing and the right to be represented by a member in the Assembly was peculiar to Cortlandt manor among the six manors of Westchester county; this privilege of representation was not used till 1734, when Philip Verplanck was elected, and reelected till 1768, 34 years; the longest period of such service occurring either in the province or in the State of New York. The only other manors to which the privilege was granted were Rensselaerwyck, 1705, and Livingston, 1715. By 1750 all Cortlandt manor was inhabited, and by 1770 tenants began to acquire soil right by purchase from the landlords, and by 1847 there were remaining only 2,500 to 3,000 acres of "leased land," exclusive of the estate of General Pierre Van Cortlandt; hence no anti-rent trouble.

SCARSDALE MANOR

Scarsdale manor-grant to Caleb Heathcote, March, 1701, by William III, was "to be holden . . . in free and common soccage, according to the tenure of our mannour of East Greenwich . . . paying therefor yearly . . . at our city of New York, five pounds current money of New York, upon the Nativity of our Lord, in lieu and stead of all services, dues, duties or demands whatever." The population of the manor was scanty, and Heathcote was his own steward. The partition of the manor took place in 1774. Its name was from Scarsdale hundred in Derby, where Heathcote was born. The lands now constitute the



THE VAN CORTLANDT MANOR HOUSE, IN THE NORTHWEST PART OF WESTCHESTER COUNTY, NEW YORK, A PATRIOT RENDEZVOUS DURING THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

Colonel De Herr Stephanus Van Cortlandt, first Lord of the Manor, was Mayor of New York City in 1677 and 1686, Colonel of the King's County Militia and Justice of the Supreme Court of New York.

MAP OF A PART OF THE SOUTHERN SECTION OF WESTCHESTER COUNTY, JUST NORTH OF NEW YORK CITY, SHOWING THE LOCATION OF COLONEL CALEB HEATCOTE'S MANOR OF SCARSDALE.



towns of Mamaroneck, Scarsdale, and part of Harrison and North-castle.

OTHER MANORS

There are also certain quasi-manors; or manors by name and implication, small in territory compared with the preceding, and apparently, with one or two exceptions, private estates or plantations. Thus Christopher Billopp in 1668 obtained from the Duke of York a tract of 1,163 acres in the extreme southern part of Staten Island, called the "Manor of Bentley," after the name of his ship; this he left to his daughter and heir, Eugenia, whose husband, Thomas Farmar, adopted the name of Billopp. Now Tottenwilk. (Clute, *Annals of Staten Island*, page 48.)

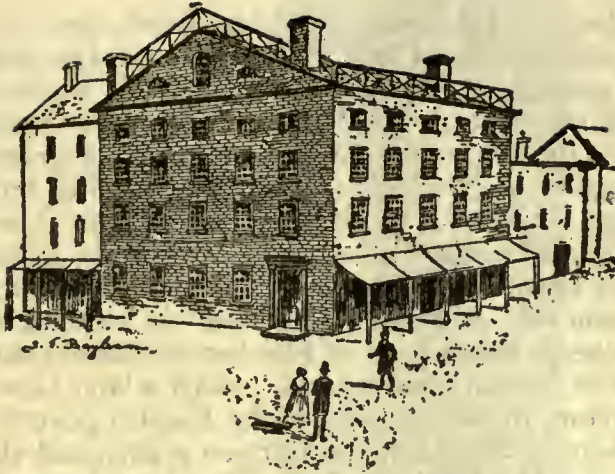
Captain Thomas Chambers, of Esopus, near Kingston, New York, October 16, 1672, obtained a grant "which shall for the time to come be held, deemed, reputed, taken and be, an entire enfranchisement manor of itself, and shall always from time to time have, hold and **enjoy** like and equal privileges with other manors within the government; and shall in no manner nor in any wise be under the rule, order or directions of any town court, but by the general Court of Assizes or as from time to time the said Captain Chambers shall receive orders or directions from the Governor and his Council." In 1686 Governor Dongan issued a new patent, and "erects, makes, and constitutes the said tracts and parcels of land into one Lordship and Manor of Fox Hall," and allowed him one court leet and one court baron. (Schoonmaker, *History of Kingston*, page 63.)

Horse Neck (now Lloyd's Neck) at Oyster Bay, a tract of about 3,000 acres bequeathed to Grizzle Sylvester by her betrothed, Latimer Sampson, on taking a perilous journey to Barbadoes, from which he never returned, was erected into a manor called "Queen's Village" in 1685 by Governor Dongan, but was annexed to the town in 1691. James Lloyd obtained it by right of his wife, Grizzle Sylvester.

Judge John Palmer received a grant of a tract of 25,000 acres¹ on Staten Island, March 31, 1687, from Governor Dongan, which ends its patent "the same shall from henceforth be called the Lordship and Manor of Cassiltowne, Yielding . . . one lamb and eight bushels of

1. *Land Papers, N. Y.*, p. 44.

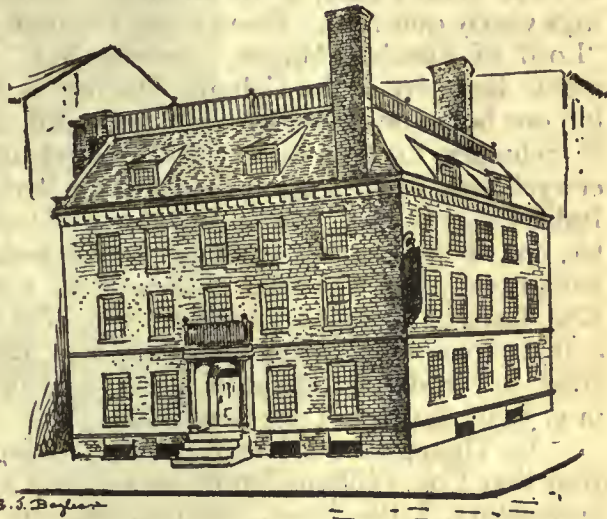
2. *Doc. Rel. to Colonial Hist. of State of N. Y.*, V. 2, p. 549.



VIEWS OF THE DE LANCEY HOUSE, AFTERWARDS THE FAMOUS FRAUNCES' TAVERN, STILL STANDING IN NEW YORK CITY AT THE CORNER OF BROAD.

IN THE LONG ROOM OF THIS TAVERN WASHINGTON BID FAREWELL TO HIS OFFICERS, DECEMBER 4, 1783.

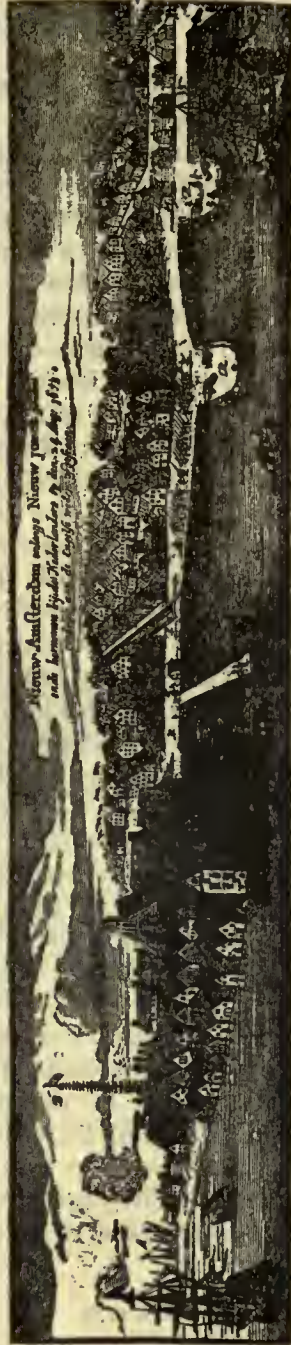
A shot from the British steam ship "Asia", fired at New York City in August, 1776, struck the Tavern and called forth the following lines from Philip Freneau, the Poet of the Revolution:



"Scarce a broadside was ended 'till another began again—
By Jove! It was nothing but fire away Fiannagan!
Some thought him saluting his Sallys and Nancys
'Till he drove a round-shot thru' the roof of Sam Francis."

winter wheat," now Caseton. This grant was transferred April 16, 1687, to Dongan and in 1688 he erected on it his manor house (burned 1878, his distillery still standing). As he had no child, his nephew Walter obtained most of the estate. The Palmer transaction seems to have been used to avoid the gift by the Governor of a manor-grant to himself. In consideration of "money" (amount unspecified, but enough to satisfy the legal formality), Palmer transferred it to Dongan. (Close v. 60). Francis Lovelace, an earlier Governor, in 1670, is said to have been called Lord of Pavonia Villa; but the only record of his land is as "the farm of Col. Francis Lovelace," in 1680; and Governor Benjamin Fletcher is called Lord of Fletcheron Manor; but this may only be one of the "extravagant grants," which a later Governor, the Earl of Bellomont, in 1699 reports to the English government, as "seven million acres granted away in thirteen grants, and all of them uninhabited, except Mr. Rensselaer's." "The Lordship and Manor of Fletcherdon" was the grant of a tract "called the Highlands" to Capt. John Evans, 30 by 40 miles, September 12, 1694, at 20 shillings yearly quit-rent. Though the Viscount de Fronsac enrolls him as "Lord of Fletcher Manor, created 1694," volume 4 of the "Documents Relative to the Colonial History of New York" says "there is but one house on it, or rather a hutt," 1701; and the Viscount's "Philip P. Schuyler, Lord of Beverwyck, created 1650," is impossible, as Beverwyck was in possession of the Van Rensselaers until 1652; West India Co., 1652-64²; but is probably confused with Col. Peter Schuyler, one of the Fletcher grantees, whom Bellomont calls a "New York landgrave"; and he seems to have made a like mistake in his "Isaak Kyq, Lord of Kypsburg, created 1688," for the "manor of Kipsburg," a tract four miles along the Hudson at Rhinebeck, granted June 2, 1688, to Hendrick and Jacobus Kip, sons of Isaac Kip. (See his list in v. 39 of the New York Geneal and Biogr. Record, page 292.)

In Thompson's History of Long Island, v. 1, pages 477-8 we find that Col. William Smith on October 22, 1688, bought from the proprietors, Little Neck, Brookhaven, erected into a manor by the name of St. George, and containing 600 acres of upland, besides meadow,—by Fletcher, October 9, 1693. Fronsac lists also Lion Gardiner, Lord of Gardiner Manor, now Gardiner's Island, 3,300 acres; Thomas Mayhew, Lord of the Manor of Tysbury, 1671; and his brother Matthew, Lord of Mayhew manor, 1685; both the Mayhews



NEW AMSTERDAM, TRANSFORMED INTO NEW YORK CITY BY ITS CONQUEST BY THE ENGLISH IN 1664, BECAME NEW ORANGE IN 1673. THE DATE OF THE ABOVE VIEW, HAVING BEEN CAPTURED BY A DUTCH FLEET, AND REMAINED UNDER DUTCH RULE UNTIL NOVEMBER 10, 1674, WHEN IT AGAIN PASSED TO THE ENGLISH, BY THE TERMS OF THE PEACE OF WESTMINSTER, AND WAS AGAIN NAMED NEW YORK.

The Capital of the Province of New York as it looked when the Old Dutch Patroonships Began to be Transformed into English Manors.

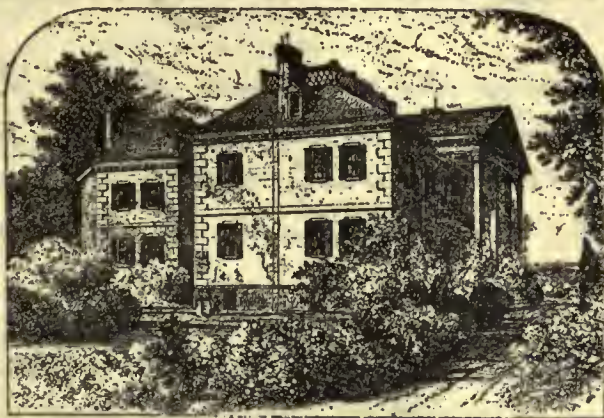
on Martha's Vineyard, at that time part of the Duke's County. The reason why East Greenwich (now Greenwich, starting-point of longitude reckoning) is chosen as the model for manor-grants, is discussed by Edward P. Cheyney in the *American Historical Review*, v. 11, pages 29-35, (Oct. 1905); he says "Examination of the customs of the manor does not disclose anything very characteristic or unusual." He does not find ground for the suggestion of Blackstone, adopted by De Lancey, that the model tenure is peculiar to the county of Kent. As Charles Elton shows in "The Tenures of Kent," the county presented examples of almost every tenure known to England; gravelkind being more distinctive of Kent than any other, though not so much as commonly supposed. Cheyney traces the formula, and refers to the memorial to Queen Elizabeth in 1600, which states that above 10,000 manors in England held as by this tenure; that it had then been in vogue some fifty years; and while the manor of East Greenwich was a favorable specimen to choose for a model, the choice was made on grounds of convenience, because it was the favorite and usual dwelling-place of the Tudor sovereigns, (who had held crown lands there from the early parts of the 15th century), and was consequently the seat of the court and of the officials who had charge of land-grants. Westminster, though an occasional residence, was not a manor, hence not available for a model. (See Acts of the Privy Council, no date, II. 423-433; and III. 3-55, 181, 460.)

As for the ecclesiastical terms used in several New York manor-patents, "advowson" is from Latin *advocatio*, a "calling" or request to the bishop or his official representative, to admit the clergyman named in the request, to the rectorship of the church named; the naming or offering of the clergyman by the patron, originally the person who built or endowed the church, is called "presentation." The patron may be represented by the church wardens and vestrymen. A parish might contain two or more manors; thus the parish of Westchester contained the manors of Pelham, Morrisania, Fordham, and part of Philipsborough; later, the towns Westchester, Eastchester, Yonkers, and the manor of Pelham. "Induction" was the putting of a clergyman in possession of the church with its rights, profits, and appurtenances, by order of the bishop or his representative, who at the time of the manor-grants was the Governor.

1. De Lancey, in Scharf's *Westchester*, V. 1, p. 95.

THE ENGLISH MANORS IN NEW YORK

Rents, as to the power to "distrain" them. Rents of manorial property were of three kinds. 1. Rent service; that is, payment of money or produce, and fealty, which was the only rent known to the common law, and to which the right of distress was incident. 2. Rent charge; created by deed; no fealty annexed, and consequently no distress, unless so inserted in the deed, in case of non-payment. 3. Rent seek or barren; no power to distrain. Rent service was that generally reserved in manor-leases in New York, which were usually for long terms; a few leases in perpetuity, "fee-farm" leases, the lessees being called freeholders. Quit-rents were payable to the Crown, or after the Revolution, to the State of New York; incidents of all manors, or other Crown grants of every kind.



ROGER MORRIS HOUSE, STILL STANDING ON WASHINGTON HEIGHTS, IN THE UPPER PART OF NEW YORK CITY, WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS, IN SEPTEMBER, 1776.

Here also lived Madame Jumel, whom Aaron Burr married in his old age, though they soon parted.

Hymn from "Bitter Sweet."

"For Summer's bloom and Autumn's blight,
For bending wheat and blasted maize,
For health and sickness, Love of Light,
And Love of darkness, hear our praise!

"The trace to thee our joys and woes, -
To thee of Calves still the Cause -
We thank Thee that Thy Hand bestows;
We bless Thee that Thy love withdraws.

"The bring no sorrows to Thy Throne;
We come to Thee with no complaint,
In Providence Thy will is done,
And thus is so come to the Saint.

"Here on this blessed Thanksgiving night,
We raise to Thee our grateful voice;
For what Thou dost, Lord, is right
And thus believing, we rejoice."

Springfield, Mass. E. J. Sallman

Articles of Incorporation of The National Historical Society

Incorporated under the Laws of the District of Columbia at Washington, on the Twenty-Sixth Day of April, in the Year of Our Lord, Nineteen Hundred and fifteen, "For the Purpose of Promoting Historical Knowledge and Patriotism, and the Peace of Righteousness among Nations"



THE NAME by which the Society is to be known is "The National Historical Society."

The Society is to continue in perpetuity.

The particular business and objects of the Society will be:

(a) To discover, procure, preserve, and perpetuate whatever relates to History, the History of the Western Hemisphere, the History of the United States of America and their possessions, and the History of families.

(b) To inculcate and bulwark patriotism, in no partisan, sectional, nor narrowly national sense, but in recognition of man's high obligation toward civic righteousness, believing that human governments are divinely ordained to bear the sword and exercise police duty for good against evil, and not for evil against good, and recognizing, as between peoples and peoples, that "God has made of one blood all nations of men."

(c) To provide a national and international patriotic clearing-house and historical exchange, promoting by suitable means helpful forms of communication and co-operation between all historical organizations, patriotic orders, and kindred societies, local, state, national, and international, that the usefulness of all may be increased and their benefits extended toward education and patriotism.

(d) To promote the work of preserving historic landmarks and marking historic sites.

(e) To encourage the use of historical themes and the expression of patriotism in the arts.

(f) In the furtherance of the objects and purposes of the Society, and not as a commercial business, to acquire The Journal of American History, and to publish the same as the official organ of the Society, and to publish or promote the publication of whatever else may seem advisable in furtherance of the objects of the Society.

(g) To authorize the organization of members of the Society, resident in given localities, into associated branch societies, or chapters of the parent Society, and to promote by all other suitable means the purpose, objects, and work of the Society.

The Membership body of The National Historical Society consists of—

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